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CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SYRIA.

10

1860-61.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

A F F A I R S O F S Y R I A .

1860-61.

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CONFIDENTIAL

Correspondence relating to the Pacification of Syria:
1860-61.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell—(Received July 6.)

(No. 839)

My Lord,

Paris, July 5, 1860

I have been very much interested to hear from you as soon as possible, as the mail from Syria had brought him very afflicting intelligence

On waiting on his Excellency, he read me various reports which had reached him from Damascus and Beyrout, varying in date from the 10th to the 21st ultimo, giving accounts of the massacres and horrors which the Christian population of the Lebanon, and more particularly the inhabitants of Rasheya and Zahlé, had undergone at the hands of the Druses and Bedoun Arabs, under the eyes of the Turkish Authorities, without any protection from, if not with the connivance of, the latter

As the Consuls of the Five Powers at Beyrout seem to have acted in complete accord, your Lordship will no doubt have received information direct from thence. The reports which have reached the French Government appear to be founded on information given by fugitive Christians alone. It is to be hoped, therefore, that there may be some exaggeration in them. Still, if but a tenth part be true, enough has occurred to excite universal reprobation, while the inability of the Turkish Authorities to maintain order and tranquillity is clearly shown in the Minutes of the proceedings of the Consular Body at Beyrout.

M. Thouvenot was much moved while reading these reports to me. He said that it would be impossible to leave matters in this state in Syria; that when the horrible treatment to which the Christian population had been exposed came to be known, there would be but one cry of indignation in France. Neither sex nor age had been spared; priests, women, and children, had been indiscriminately slain; the convents had been plundered, and the Sovereign Authority being impotent, or unwilling to act, there was no saying what the vengeance might bring. The arrangement of 1845 ought not to be considered a dead-letter, and authorized the interference of Europe. It might be impossible for either France or England to send troops to restore order; but no doubt their ships-of-war would be able to protect their Consular Officers, and such of their subjects as remained on the coast; but this would not be sufficient. Might not a Commission from the Five Powers be sent into the disturbed districts; and if it was found that the Porte was unable to furnish the force necessary to restore order, might not the Sultan be invited to ask for troops from the Viceroy of Egypt?

I said that I felt sure that Her Majesty's Government would deplore, as much as could the Imperial Government, the horrible excesses and atrocities which had been committed, and would be most ready to join with the Imperial Government in taking measures to insure an efficient protection of the Christian inhabitants of the Lebanon, and a better administration of the Government of Syria. But I must add, not however with a wish of palliating the conduct either of the Turkish Authorities or of the Druses, that it was Sir H Buwerc

union that the latter had received considerable provocation from the Maronites. With respect to the measures to be taken, I could not, I said, venture to give an opinion, further than to remark, that I doubted whether Her Majesty's Government would approve the notion of asking assistance of the Viceroy of Egypt. It was to be hoped, I added, that the reinforcements which it was known had been sent from Constantinople, would be found sufficient to restore order and tranquillity, and it was to be presumed, that if any benefit could be hoped from the presence of a Commission named by the Five Powers, the Representatives at Constantinople would already have taken the step of sending one.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he had inquired, by telegraph, of the Marquis de Launay, what measures had been taken by the Five Powers? His Excellency admitted that there were grave objections to employing the troops of the Viceroy of Egypt in Syria. Still, he said, that it was to be apprehended that, in the present penury of the Turkish Treasury, the Porte would be unable to send such reinforcements as would be necessary (he considered those already sent would prove insufficient); and then what other course, he asked, would be open?

It appears, from the French reports, that a further consequence of these atrocities will be a scarcity, from the destruction or non-cultivation of the crops. The fugitives who have escaped the massacres are in a state of the greatest destitution, and are supported by rations and money given by the French Consular Agents.

M. Thouvenel will send to London copies of the reports which he has received

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 2.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 669A)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 6, 1860.

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will press on the Porte the necessity of using the utmost efforts to repress the disturbances in Syria; but we shall advise the Sultan not to call for assistance from the Viceroy of Egypt, who is aiming at independence.

A British squadron will be sent to the coast of Syria, and, if necessary, marines will be landed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 3.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — (Received July 10.)

(No. 832)

M

Paris, July 9, 1860.

WITH reference to the telegram, repeated in your Lordship's despatch No. 672 of the 6th instant, stating that Her Majesty's Government could not advise the Porte to ask the assistance of the Viceroy of Egypt to restore order

in Syria, but that Her Majesty's Government would direct a squadron to be sent to the coast of Syria, and marines to be landed, if necessary, I have the honour to state that M. Thouvenel seems satisfied at the decision taken by the Porte to send Fual Pasha, with extraordinary powers, to that country.

The French Government have also directed two men-of-war to proceed to the coast of Syria.

The instructions to the Officers commanding enjoin them to endeavour to act in concert with the men-of-war of any other nation which they may meet.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 4.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 305.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 10, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the course which you have followed with regard to the disastrous state of things in Syria.

The first and most important object is to put an end to bloodshed and the destruction of property, and to restore tranquillity and order in that province, and you will, in concert with the Representatives at Constantinople of the other Great Powers, continue to press the Porte to make every exertion and take every measure to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs there.

Her Majesty's Government, on the 9th instant, directed the Vice-Admiral commanding Her Majesty's Naval Forces in the Mediterranean to proceed with to the coast of Syria, and have ordered him to act with Her Majesty's Consuls in affording protection to the lives and property of Christians; and in execution of this duty to land the marines from the ships under his command, if such a measure should be necessary.

Her Majesty's Government understand that the French Government has also sent ships of war to the Syrian coast with a similar object.

I have further to inform your Excellency, that Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the other Powers of Europe on the subject of the outbreak in Syria.

You will communicate to the Porte so much of this despatch as will be sufficient to evince the importance which Her Majesty's Government attach to the preservation of life on the coast of Syria, and their intention to co-operate with other Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 5.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Erskine.

(No. 17.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1860.

I RECEIVED your telegram of yesterday, informing me that Prince Gortchakoff had expressed great satisfaction at the communication which you were instructed by my telegram of the 10th instant to make to his Excellency in regard to the disturbances in Syria.

In reply to Prince Gortchakoff's inquiry as to what measures are contemplated by Her Majesty's Government, I have to instruct you to state to his Excellency, that for the present Her Majesty's Government propose to assist the Turkish Government in protecting British subjects and Christians residing on the coast from massacre.

By this means we trust that Fual Pasha may be relieved from the necessity of opposing the Druses on the coast, and may be enabled at once to send succour to Damascus, where the lives of all Christians, and amongst them of Her Majesty's Consul and other British subjects, are in imminent danger.

Measures for the general and permanent pacification of Syria must be settled at Constantinople by the Representatives of the Great Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

M. Thiers to Count Pernin. (Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Pernin, July 17, 1860)

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 16 Juillet, 1860

LES évènements qui viennent de se passer dans le Liban ont, comme nous devions nous y attendre, profondément ému l'opinion et tous les Cabinets ont compris qu'ils leur créaient des devoirs. Tous se sont empressés de fournir à leurs Agents sur les lieux les moyens en leur pouvoir pour protéger les populations Chrétiennes, et il est à espérer que ces moyens, combinés avec l'envoi des troupes Ottomanes mises à la disposition de Fual Pachà, suffiront pour arrêter au moins l'effusion du sang. Mais, après de pareilles scènes et une semblable perturbation dans tous les rapports, il ne suffit pas, pour satisfaire aux principes de justice et d'ordre et pour rétablir un état de choses durable, de comprimer l'insurrection et d'obliger les Druses à déposer les armes. La situation exige des mesures propres, à la fois, à réparer d'effroyables calamités et à en prévenir le retour.

Dans cette seconde partie de la tâche, les Puissances, M. le Comte, ne paraissent avoir un rôle tracé d'avance par les antécédents de la question. Les contestations entre les Maronites et les Druses, bien qu'elles n'aient point encore pu être présentées un tel caractère d'acharnement et pris des proportions aussi fâcheuses, ont déjà, à diverses époques, occupé les Cabinets; et l'arrangement de 1845, destiné à régler le régime administratif dans le Liban, est le résultat d'un accord conclu entre eux et la Porte. Cet arrangement se trouve aujourd'hui méconnu par les Druses; et les Puissances qui en avaient arrêté les conditions et les termes avec le Gouvernement Ottoman sont, par cela même, naturellement appelées à examiner de concert avec lui, les causes auxquelles il convient d'en attribuer la violation ainsi que les dispositions qu'il peut y avoir lieu d'y substituer. La Porte n'a jamais fait de faute d'admettre les bons offices de la diplomatie dans les conflits qui ont successivement éclaté entre les populations du Liban, et l'accord que nous jugons indispensable ne constituerait nullement une innovation ou une acte d'intervention dont on aurait à redouter l'effet pour la considération ou l'indépendance de la Turquie. Il serait conforme aux précédents et l'on n'y pourrait voir qu'une conséquence logique d'une entente antérieure à laquelle la Porte elle-même a prêté les mains et qu'elle doit désirer de maintenir intacte; elle y trouvera un moyen de donner à de nouveaux arrangements toute l'autorité nécessaire.

Pour se former une idée exacte des faits accomplis et des nécessités de la situation, la voie à suivre me semble indiquée par la nature des choses. Les Puissances ne seraient pas suffisamment éclairées sur les difficultés et les besoins dont il faut tenir compte, si l'on ne procédait par voie d'examen sur les lieux et d'enquête collective. Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur jugerait donc utile d'envoyer une Commission formée de Délégués des Puissances et de la Porte. Cette Commission serait et voyager dans le Liban pour rechercher les circonstances qui ont provoqué les derniers conflits, déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin, étudier pour les soumettre à l'approbation de leurs Gouvernements et de la Porte les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées en vue de conjurer de nouveaux malheurs.

Si, comme l'accord qui s'est établi spontanément dans les appréciations de toutes les Cours à la nouvelle des massacres in Liban me donne lieu de l'espérer, elles approuvent cette idée, elles auront entre les mains tous les éléments nécessaires pour concourir avec la Porte un arrangement qui, résultant d'un examen approfondi et réunissant une adhésion unanime, offrirait toutes les chances possibles de durée.

C'est donc avec confiance, M. le Comte, que je vous invite à faire part de cette proposition au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique; j'adresse la même communication aux Cours de St. Pétersbourg, de Vienne, et de Berlin. De tous temps la sollicitude de la France s'est exercée dans le Liban. C'est une tradition que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté ne saurait répudier. Elle nous imposait le devoir d'accomplir cette démarche auprès des Puissances. Toutefois, en prenant l'initiative dans les circonstances présentes,

nous ne sommes dirigés par aucune vue particulière, ni par le désir préconçu de pourvoir en faveur de l'une des deux populations entre lesquelles le conflit s'est élevé aucun avantage exclusif. Nous ne nous proposons d'autre objet que de concourir avec les Puissances, et au même titre, dans l'intérêt de la paix de l'Orient, à rétablir le calme et l'ordre sur un point où ils ne peuvent être troublés sans la mettre sérieusement en danger.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture de cette dépêche à Lord John Russell et lui en remettre copie.

Agréé, &c.

THIERS

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(N. 126)

Sr,

Foreign Office, July 17, 1860.

THE French Government are desirous of proposing to the Turkish Government that a Commission of Delegation from the Porte and from the Great Powers should be sent to the Libanon, for the purpose of investigating the circumstances attending the recent acts of violence which have been committed in that district.

This Commission would have for its object to determine the responsibility of all persons concerned in those proceedings; to consider what compensation or punishment may be due, and finally to submit to the Sultan their opinion upon the measures best calculated to prevent further calamities.

Her Majesty's Government agree to this proposal, and I have accordingly to instruct you to give it your support.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 8.

Mr. Erskine to Lord J. Russell. (Received July 18.)

(N. 127)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, July 11, 1860.

I HAD the honour late last night to receive your Lordship's telegram, directing me to apprise the Russian Government that a British squadron was about to visit the coast of Syria, in consequence of the recent massacre of Christians in that province.

This morning I went down to Peterhoff, where Prince Gortchakoff is now in attendance on the Emperor, and informed his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were ready to concert measures with the Government of Russia for the protection of their respective subjects and the Christian population in those parts. He could scarcely conceal the triumph with which he received this communication, and told me that he was sure the whole world would sooner or later admit that he had not at all overrated the grievances under which the Christian subjects of the Porte were now suffering.

As I did not see any advantage in provoking a discussion on this point, I refrained from reminding his Excellency that the atrocities which had called forth the animadversion of Her Majesty's Government had nothing in common with the alleged state of normal misrule in Bulgaria, Bosnia, &c., which had led to the mission of the Grand Vizier; and contented myself with observing that the same frankness, and the same determination to protect the Christians in Turkey which had induced Her Majesty's Government to reprobate these atrocities, and to send a squadron to Syria, ought to satisfy his Excellency that Great Britain would be equally firm in compelling Turkey to do justice to her Christian subjects, in case it should be proved beyond the possibility of doubt that they were really exposed to the ill-treatment to which he had called the attention of Europe.

Prince Gortchakoff eventually promised to take the Emperor's orders upon

the... I have no doubt the...
 It would be...
 I have no doubt the...
 I have no doubt the...

I have, &c.
 (Signed) L. M. ERSKINE.

N 2

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell—(Received July 18)

(No. 916. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 17, 1860.

YOUR Lordship will probably have received, before this despatch reaches you, a despatch from M. de Perigny, on the subject of the present state of affairs in the Lebanon. A similar despatch has been transmitted to the Courts of the other Great Powers. The object of it is to propose that a Mixed Commission should be sent into the Lebanon, with the object of restoring tranquillity, inquiring into the origin of the late excesses, and punishing the authors of it.

When M. Thouvenel's despatch was written, the disastrous news from Damascus, which has since reached this Government, and which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship this morning, by telegraph, had not arrived.

I saw M. Thouvenel this afternoon. He had just returned from St. Cloud, where he had been in consequence of the fresh intelligence to which I have adverted. He said that he had had a long conversation with the Emperor on the subject of the Lebanon, and that he had expressed his opinion in favour of active intervention on the part of Europe. Public opinion would not brook the continued supineness of Europe in presence of such disasters. It was clear that the Porte had no authority left, and that the whole country was in a state of anarchy.

I asked M. Thouvenel whether he had any particular plan to propose. He replied that he would propose nothing, because he felt that, in the present state of affairs in Europe, any proposition coming from France would be suspected. He felt further, that there was no plan which could be proposed which would not be fairly open to some objection or other. He intimated, however, the opinion that foreign troops might be sent and disembarked at Beirut, and that it would be difficult for England, Austria, and France, to send detachments for that purpose.

I remarked that we ought well to weigh the consequences of such a proceeding; that the precedent of disembarking British, Austrian, and French troops, in order to restore order in Syria, might be quoted by Russia, whenever the latter might think it expedient to send troops into the European Provinces of Turkey.

M. Thouvenel repeated that no proposal which could be made could be free from all objection. He meant, of course, that the consent of the Powers should be asked before any occupation of Turkish soil should take place. He considered that the very fact of disembarking a few troops would strike terror into the aggressors, and restore confidence to the Christian populations. If some course of this kind was not adopted, it was his deliberate conviction that, before long, the Turkish Empire would collapse.

Although what I have stated passed in the light of conversation only, I could see that M. Thouvenel was anxious that I should repeat these details to your Lordship, in order to ascertain your opinion and that of Her Majesty's Government on his suggestion.

He said further, that it seemed to him the time was come when the affairs of Turkey must become the object of a Conference, not that he would

propose one, for the same reason which he had already stated. Any such proposal, coming from him, would be viewed with suspicion; and he was much afraid that such would be its fate were it made by any other Great Power, except Prussia.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) COWLEY.

No. 10.

Mr. Erskine to Lord J. Russell—(Received July 20.)

(No. 39)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, July 14, 1860.

ON my communicating to Prince Gortchakoff the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 12th instant, stating that for the present Her Majesty's Government merely contemplated protecting British subjects and the Christians on the coast of Syria, and that more permanent measures of pacification must be concerted at Constantinople, his Excellency desired me to acquaint him that he would willingly send instructions in this sense to the Russian Envoy in Turkey. The officer in command of the only Russian vessel of war on the coast of Syria would, he added, be prepared to co-operate, if necessary, with the British naval force, without any fresh orders from hence, but he also should be directed to consult with the officer in command of Her Majesty's squadron as to the best mode of affording protection to the European residents and Christians.

Prince Gortchakoff, however, again urged me to give him some more definite notion as to the character of the "further and permanent measures" Her Majesty's Government had in view. I replied, that it was probably

difficult for your Lordship as it would be for his Excellency to determine at present what remedy would be most applicable to a state of things which was so complicated and with which you could be but imperfectly acquainted, and that what Her Majesty's Government proposed was to send a Commission of the Great Powers at Constantinople should the Russian Government be so disposed.

I have since spoken with Prince Gortchakoff, and he has expressed his opinion that the Russian Government would be ready to co-operate with the British Government in the event of a Commission being sent to Constantinople.

I have also sent a note to his Excellency an expression of the Russian Government's views on the 18th ultimo to Lord Cowley, and he has since received a reply from him. The part of the Russian Government's reply which is of interest to your Lordship is that the Russian Government is not prepared to send troops into the Lebanon, but that it is prepared to send troops to the coast of Syria, and that it is prepared to co-operate with the British Government in the event of a Commission being sent to Constantinople.

I have also sent a copy of the Russian Government's reply to your Lordship, and I have also sent a copy of the Russian Government's reply to your Lordship, and I have also sent a copy of the Russian Government's reply to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

M. Thouvenel to Count Pernin.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Pernin, July 20.)

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 17 Juillet, 1860.

L'AMBAassadeur de l'Empereur à Constantinople m'a adressé au sujet des événements de Damas, la dépêche télégraphique ci-jointe qui confirme celle dont M. le Ministre de la Marine m'avait fait connaître la substance. Ainsi se sont réalisées pour cette ville les craintes dont je vous entretenais il y a déjà quelques jours. Cette guerre impitoyable faite aux chrétiens prend des proportions dont il devient difficile de prévoir l'étendu, et elle répondrait point aux justes exigences de l'opinion publique si elle n'aboutissait, autant qu'il dépend d'eux, toutes les mesures propres à arrêter les progrès de ces scènes de carnage. La Porte semble avoir elle-même un juste sentiment de cette situation. J'en trouve la preuve dans une lettre que le Sultan adresse à Sa Majesté Impériale, et que ce Souverain a fait communiquer à M. le Ministre de Lavalette pour être transmise par le télégraphe. Je joins également ici la copie de ce message, et vous verrez que le Sultan a dû écrire dans des termes analogues à Sa Majesté Britannique.

Toutefois il n'est pas moins nécessaire d'agir avec autant de promptitude qu'il se peut, et comme il y a malheureusement lieu de craindre que les intentions de la Porte ne répondent pas à ses intentions, je doute qu'elle soit auxiliaire aux nécessités d'une situation si grave.

L'ordre donné aux Commandants des escadres de mettre à la disposition des Consuls ne peut pas permettre d'attendre dans son foyer, au sein du Liban, ni surtout dans les villes, à des envahisseurs ou qu'elle ne soit en mesure de les repousser.

Il pourrait exercer une influence du concours éventuel qu'il pourrait offrir.

L'autorité morale.

Cette combinaison, d'ailleurs, ne pourrait recevoir son exécution que de concert avec la Porte, et il serait en outre essentiel qu'elle fût le résultat d'un accord évalant des Cinq Cours. L'intervention serait ainsi collective dans son principe, et les troupes Européennes, envoyées dans des vues communes, ne seraient, en quelque sorte, que remplir une délégation des Puissances.

Si le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique entrant dans cette ordre d'idées, il serait sans doute possible de conclure, sans retard, une entente avec les autres Cabinets et la Porte, et d'avoir aux moyens les plus prompts d'obtenir les satisfactions dues à l'humanité et de concourir au rétablissement de la paix en Syrie.

Ce résultat, M. le Comte, serait important, non pas seulement pour la conscience publique et pour les chrétiens, mais aussi pour la Porte, qui dans l'état de crise où se trouvent son administration et ses finances ne supporterait pas longtemps sans péril l'épreuve d'une insurrection aussi étendue à commencer. C'est une considération qui n'échappera pas à la prévoyance du Cabinet Anglais. Quant à nous, nous ne pouvons que nous féliciter de la nature de celle sur laquelle je viens de vous exprimer notre manière de voir, peut être adoptée avec avantage. Il ne s'en faut pas les mouvements, mais l'abandon en aurait assurément de beaucoup plus grands en présence des complications que menacent de surgir.

Je vous prie de faire part à Lord John Russell de l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté et d'en conférer avec lui. En raison de l'urgence, qui n'est que trop attestée par les événements, je vous serai obligé de me faire savoir le plus tôt possible ce que le Cabinet Anglais pense à ce sujet et quelles sont ses intentions.

Agreez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

The Marquis de Lavalette to M. Thouvenel.

(Télégraphique.)

Péra, le 15 Juillet, 1860.

Il résulte d'une dépêche télégraphique transmise à Beyrouth à la date du 10 courant, que le massacre des chrétiens a commencé à Damas le 9 de ce mois; qu'un grand nombre d'hommes ont été tués et que les femmes sont emmenées en esclavage. Les Consuls sont brisés sauf celui d'Angleterre, les Consuls de France, de Russie, et de Grèce, sont réfugiés chez Abd-el-Kader.

L'attitude des autorités Turques a été nulle.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

The Marquis de Lavalette to M. Thouvenel.

(Télégraphique.)

Péra, le 17 Juillet, 1860.

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence la traduction d'une lettre autographe que le Sultan écrit à l'Empereur et qu'il me prie de transmettre à Sa Majesté par le télégraphe, j'envoie l'original par le courrier:

" Palais de Dolma-Bahçe, le 16 Juillet

" Je tiens à ce que votre Majesté sache bien avec quelle douleur j'ai appris les nouvelles de la situation de la Syrie, et la nécessité de rétablir l'ordre et la sécurité, pour sévèrement les coupables, et pour protéger les innocents."

Etrangères, dont les principes sont connus de votre Majesté, que j'ai voulu confier cette importante mission."

Le Sultan écrit également à la Reine d'Angleterre, Sir H. Bulwer, et lui propose de l'envoyer d'une corvette. Envoyez-vous celle que j'avais demandée."

No. 12.

Barl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 924)

My Lord,

Paris, July 19, 1860

I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, a letter which the Sultan has addressed by telegraph to the Emperor of the French, on the subject of the late events in Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 12.

The Sultan to the Emperor of the French, July 16, 1860.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 11.]

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—Received July 20.)

(No. 925.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 19, 1860.

A DESPATCH, dated the 2nd instant, from the French Consul at Damascus, if it is to be relied upon, shows that the attack upon that town, which took place some days later, was connived at by Ahmet Pasha, the Turkish Governor, and that it was then known that the intention of that functionary was to profit by the opportunity to destroy every Christian in the place, by a general bombardment of the town from the citadel, he having sworn revenge against all Christians, for the death of his father at their hands, some thirty years ago.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 14.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 926.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 19, 1860.

YOUR Lordship will, no doubt, have received from Her Majesty's Consular Officers in Syria detailed accounts of the horrible events which have just reached him, and which recount a series of events, the atrocity of which is only to be equalled by the perfidy and treachery which marked the proceedings of the perpetrators.

The connivance of the Turkish Authorities and soldiers in the massacre of the Christians can hardly be doubted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 20.)

(No. 927.)

My Lord,

I found that M. Thouvenel was already, through M. de Persigny, in possession of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government, but that they had been given more strongly than in your Lordship's telegram to me. M. de Persigny represents your Lordship to have approved the notion of sending French troops to Syria, and to have said that they might be sent while the Convention was negotiating.

On the receipt last evening of M. de Persigny's telegram, announcing this, M. Thouvenel addressed a telegram simultaneously to the Governments of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the Porte, mentioning the communications which had passed between Paris and London, and asking the assent of those Governments to the conclusion of a Convention by their respective Representatives at Constantinople.

If the answer returned shall prove favourable, that is, if the different Governments accept the principle contained in the French proposals, a corps of French troops will be immediately embarked and directed on Syria.

M. Thouvenel has prepared a draft of Convention, which will be

transmitted to-night to M. de Persigny for your Lordship's information. The preamble declares the intention of the Sultan to put an end to the disorders which reign in Syria, and the readiness of the Great Powers to co-operate with him for that purpose, and the Articles provide for the sending of a European force, which M. Thouvenel conceives should consist of 10,000 men, the whole of which France will furnish, if necessary; for an understanding between the commander of that force and the commander of the Turkish forces in Syria, further understanding between the Porte and the Powers to establish the exact objects of the expedition, and the period when it shall be withdrawn. A final Article saddles the Porte with the expenses of the expedition, but in the present state of the Turkish finances M. Thouvenel was uncertain whether or no he would have it inserted.

It is, however, to be apprehended that the Porte may object to foreign troops being landed in Syria, in which case M. Thouvenel says that the Powers will have to take counsel as to the course they shall pursue. At all events, it will be the intention of the French Government to order the departure of troops, if the Great Powers consent in the principle of the proposed expedition, even should the Porte object, leaving the resistance of the Porte to be overcome by their Representatives at Constantinople, it being clear that if the

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 16.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 714.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 21, 1860.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt by a telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, that peace was concluded on the 10th instant, between the Maronites and Druses.

If this information be correct, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the expedition of troops to Syria, as contemplated by the French Government, should be deferred.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 17.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 21.)

(No. 931.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, an article stating that the Imperial Government has placed itself in communication with the other Cabinets of Europe, with regard to the measures to be undertaken in concert with them, in reference to Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 17.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of July 20, 1860.

EN présence des déplorable événements dont la Syrie est le théâtre et

ment de l'Empereur a eu devoir faire connaître sans retard ses impressions aux autres Cabinets et à la Porte, et provoquer l'adoption en commun des mesures exigées par les circonstances.

No. 18

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

No. 408.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 19, 1860.

ON waiting on Count Rechberg on Monday last, his Excellency informed me that he had just received the sad intelligence of serious disturbances having occurred at Damascus, and that a dreadful massacre of the Christians in that city had taken place. His Excellency was not then informed whether these excesses had been committed by the Druses or by the Mahomedan population, or by both.

The report he had received, however, stated that the American Consul had been wounded, and that the Dutch Consul had been killed.

His Excellency expressed his indignant horror at this barbarous outrage, and his anxious desire to co-operate in any measures to arrest cruelty so to the feelings of humanity.

His Excellency informed me that the Emperor had decided to send a frigate to the coast of Syria for the protection of Austrian subjects and of the Christian population; and that orders had been given to the Commander to proceed thither without delay.

His Excellency further stated, that the Austrian Commander was instructed to concert with the Commander of Her Majesty's naval forces, and to act in complete union with him.

I have the honour to acknowledge the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government to the Admiral in command of Her Majesty's squadron, in order that similar instructions may be addressed to the Commander of the Austrian frigate.

I beg to enclose to your Lordship herewith a translation by Mr. Dillon of the announcement in the "Donau Zeitung" (the organ of the Imperial Government), relating the intended departure of the Austrian frigate for the coast of Syria, and the object for which it was sent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS

Inclosure in No. 18.

Extract from the "Donau Zeitung."

HIS Majesty's screw-frigate "Radetzky," Captain Tölgthof, Commander, in conjunction with the ships of the Maritime Powers, for the protection of the Christian population, and in the interest of Austrian subjects. As an understanding exists among the Powers as to the object of the measures, there is reason to hope that in spite of the latest most lamentable intelligence from the Levant, the peace of Europe will not be threatened from this side.

No. 19

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 939.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 22, 1860.

I COULD only see M. Thouvenel for a few minutes this afternoon on the subject of your Lordship's telegram dated 6-45 yesterday.

I informed his Excellency that intelligence had been received on the 20th

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instant at Constantinople, of the conclusion of peace between the Druses and the Maronites on the 10th instant, and that your Lordship was of opinion, that if this news should prove true, the French expedition to Syria should be deferred or abandoned.

M. Thouvenel said that he was not in possession of any intelligence which would confirm the news received by your Lordship. On the contrary, the French Government were in the receipt of advices from Beyrout up to the 12th instant, which made no mention of any suspension of hostilities between the Druses and Maronites, and yet if this had occurred on the 10th, it ought to have been known at Beyrout on the 12th.

It was possible, however, that peace might have been concluded, but even should that be the case, he could not agree with your Lordship, if it was your opinion that peace would render all further intervention unnecessary.

For in fact," asked his Excellency, "what was this peace? It would turn out to be nothing more than the submission of the Maronites to the Druses, to save themselves from further massacre. But what reparation would they have for all the losses inflicted upon them? According to the accounts

by the Imperial Government, above 10,000 Christians had perished. Was nothing to be done to prevent a repetition of such horrors?"

I said that Her Majesty's Government had consented to the Commission of Enquiry, and that it was their intention to co-operate in making its labours useful, and as the Porte had now a large force in Syria, that would probably be sufficient to preserve tranquillity during the proceedings of the Commission.

M. Thouvenel said that the presence of a Turkish force might impose a suspension of hostilities on the Christians, but that it was his conviction that no justice would be done the latter except under the presence of a foreign force.

At all events he could say nothing on the subject of your Lordship's telegram, until he should be better acquainted with the terms on which peace had been concluded, if, indeed, it had been concluded at all.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 20

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 940.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 22, 1860.

WHILE I was with M. Thouvenel this afternoon, he read me a telegram dated yesterday, which he had received this morning from the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

The substance is as follows:—

That M. de Lavalette had not received M. Thouvenel's despatch on a Convention between the Porte and the Great Powers for the evacuation of Syria until 4 P.M. yesterday; that he had been with Ali Pasha in the morning to speak to him on the critical position of affairs at Constantinople, that that Minister had fully admitted the desperate situation in which they found themselves, bursting into tears and declaring, that unless the Porte could immediately find an advance of fifty millions of francs, they were lost; that on the receipt of M. Thouvenel's above-mentioned despatch, he (M. Lavalette) had returned to Ali Pasha; that that Minister had evinced considerable interest on hearing the contents of it; that he had said he could give no answer without consulting his colleagues, and taking the Sultan's orders; but that it was his conviction that the landing of a foreign force in Syria would be the signal for other catastrophes.

This had been said in the presence of Sir Henry Bulwer, who had received instructions to support the sending of a Mixed Commission into Syria, but none with regard to foreign intervention.

M. Lavalette concludes his despatch by asking, "Comment entend-on sauvegarder Constantinople?" adding, that the greatest agitation prevailed there.

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M. Thouvenel considers that the words apply to Constantinople, and I am disposed to give them the same meaning.

M. Thouvenel observed that he could not admit the reasoning, that because a Turkish Minister was apprehensive that if a foreign force should be landed in Syria there would be disturbances at Constantinople, the Great Powers were on that account to desist from a measure that had appeared to them necessary for the future tranquillity of that country. If such reasoning were once to be admitted, it would be put forward on every occasion when an abuse was to be corrected in Turkey. I remarked that when the French Ambassador concluded his despatch by the question which I have quoted above, it seemed to me that he partook the apprehensions entertained by Ali Pasha of there being danger of a rising at Constantinople. Now, shocking as I admitted the late proceedings in Syria had been, I could not put them in the same scale with those that might follow a fanatic insurrection at Constantinople.

Would it not be better, I asked, to delay, or even to abandon, an armed intervention in Syria, if by pursuing that course still greater calamities at Constantinople might be the consequence. First let the peace of the capital be ensured, and it would then be seen how far it would be necessary to interfere in the provinces. M. Thouvenel, however, did not seem inclined to listen to this reasoning. He argued that it was the penny of the Porte which had placed the capital in danger, as was clear from the observations of Ali Pasha made before the Convention had been proposed to him.

With regard to an advance of fifty millions of francs, M. Thouvenel said that it would be impossible for the French Government to give the Porte any

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

No. 241)

My Lord,

Paris, July 22, 1860

M. THOUVENEL informs me that although the Austrian Government does not object to the plan of an armed European intervention in Syria, yet that they are not inclined to furnish troops themselves.

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 22

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 244)

My Lord,

Paris, July 22, 1860

I HAVE the honor to inclose herewith to your Lordship, extracted from the "Moniteur" of this day, an article stating that the propositions from the Imperial Government with a view of preventing further Syria have been favorably received by the Great Powers.

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 22.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of July 22, 1860

LES propositions que le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a faites dans le but d'arrêter l'effusion du sang en Syrie et de protéger les populations chrétiennes ont été accueillies par les Grandes Puissances. L'Angleterre, prête à

coopérer avec ses vaisseaux, reconnaît l'opportunité de l'envoi d'un corps de troupes dont la France fournirait la totalité ou la plus grande part. L'Autriche et la Russie émettent la même opinion. Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Prusse s'est rendu auprès de Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent pour prendre ses ordres. Une Convention doit être signée pour déterminer le caractère et l'objet de l'intervention Européenne. On n'attend plus que l'acquiescement de la Porte.

No. 23

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 720)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1860.

THE accounts which have been received from Syria during the last ten days have been of the most frightful character. Besides the numbers killed in actual conflict, 8,500 persons have been the victims of massacre, and 20,000, including the widows and children of the murdered, are wandering in a state of famine through the country.

While these dreadful scenes were going on, the Turks appear to have been inactive spectators, where they were not accomplices in the work of massacre.

At Der-el-Kamar, Osman Pasha disarmed the Christian inhabitants, after eight days of privation, exposed them to be shot and cut to pieces by their ferocious enemies.

The conduct of the Turks, in other places, exposes them to the suspicion of favouring the wholesale murders of the Christians.

Indignant at this want of humanity and of energy, Her Majesty's Government have received, and accepted, a proposal of the Emperor of the French to send European troops to Syria to prevent further excesses.

I inclose a copy of the despatch from M. Thouvenel to the Count de Persigny upon this subject.

To this despatch, I replied verbally to M. de Persigny, that Her Majesty's Government would not object to an expedition of European troops to Syria, to be regulated by a Convention between the Porte and the Five Powers.

M. Persigny yesterday put into my hands a project of the proposed Convention, of which I likewise inclose a copy.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government, that although the exceptional circumstances justify this expedition, yet, if the news of the next ten days or a month should justify the hope that the massacres are stopped, and will not be renewed, the very hazardous attempt of endeavouring to tranquillize the country by foreign troops should not be resorted to. In that case the French troops should not embark, or should at once return.

It appears also to Her Majesty's Government that a final term should be inserted in the Convention for the evacuation of Syria by foreign troops. Six months might be the period fixed for the occupation.

If Syria is not tranquillized in that time, it will be clear that no period, however long, will suffice to reduce it to peace and order.

Another Article of the Convention requires some remark. In the present state of the finances of Turkey, there is no prospect of the repayment of the cost of this expedition by the Porte, but an engagement to this effect.

Further the financial condition of Turkey. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that this Article should be omitted.

I have spoken throughout this despatch of French troops only. Her Majesty has determined to send a squadron to the coast of Syria, with a power to be vested in the Admiral to land Marines, if necessary; but it is not the intention of Her Majesty to employ her land forces in the effort to prevent these massacres and restore order.

It is not probable that any other of the Great Powers will send troops to Syria.

It must be added, that the employment of foreign forces in the interior of Syria is a measure which is sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government with

great reluctance. It may provoke a fierce fanaticism among the Mussulmans and may possibly retard, instead of hastening, the pacification of Syria. It is a measure which may lead to international difficulties of a grave character.

It is on these accounts desirable that the intervention should only be undertaken when the necessity is clearly proved, and that it should cease as soon as that necessity shall no longer exist.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 24

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 725. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 25, 1860

I HAVE to call your attention to a Protocol of the 17th of September, 1840, contained in the volume of "State Papers" of 1839-40, p. 348, and of which I enclose a copy.

I wish your Excellency to consider whether a Protocol in the same sense, declaring that the Powers seek no separate advantage by their intervention in the affairs of Turkey might not at the present time tend to reassure Europe as to the intentions of the Allied Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 25

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 24.)

(No. 940.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 23, 1860

I HAD a further conversation with M. Thouvenel this afternoon on the subject of affairs in Syria. His Excellency had received despatches from M. de Persigny, stating the disinclination of Her Majesty's Government to agree any longer to the expedition of a French force to Syria, and their general disapprobation of the project of Convention to be signed between the Porte and the Great Powers in furtherance of this expedition, the outline of which I had the honour to give your Lordship in my despatch No. 927 of the 19th instant, and which M. de Persigny afterwards communicated to your Lordship *in extenso*. M. Thouvenel had been with the Emperor to impart to His Majesty the contents of the despatches which he had received from London, and he said that he could not conceal from me that they had given His Majesty great pain, as they proved too plainly the suspicions which Her Majesty's Government entertained of the dealings of France.

It is M. Thouvenel's intention to address an instruction in answer to M. de Persigny. It will I believe, be very much in the language which his Excellency held to me yesterday, and which I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 939, but his Excellency in the remarks which he made to me to-day, said that Her Majesty's Government should recollect that it was not until the attack had been made on Damascus, that he had proposed an armed expedition to Syria, and that even if peace had been made between the French and the Maronites, of which he was still ignorant, there was no certainty

the massacre of the Christians had not been consummated at Damascus, Aleppo, and other places. France, his Excellency continued, would be perfectly justified in asking and enforcing reparation for the plunder of the French Consul's house at Damascus, and for the sack of the Latin Convents in the Lebanon, which had been since the time of St. Louis under the protection of France, but she had no wish to act single-handed in any question arising in the East, and had given a proof of it in the course which she had now taken.

M. Thouvenel said further that he should desire M. de Persigny to inquire what steps her Majesty's Government proposed should be adopted.

He could not conceive it possible that they should advocate a policy of abstention ("une politique d'abstention") in face of such grave events.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 26.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 24.)

(No. 947.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 23, 1860

THE Sardinian Minister has addressed a note to M. Thouvenel, claiming on the part of his Government the right to be consulted on the affairs of Syria, in virtue of the Treaty of Paris, to which Sardinia was a party.

M. Thouvenel has replied that he has addressed the Great Powers on this question in virtue of the arrangement respecting it made in 1845, and not in virtue of the Treaty of 1856, but that he has no objection whatever to the participation of Sardinia in any discussion that may now arise, provided that the other Powers have none, though he considers that her immission in this matter will only produce delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 27

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 24.)

(No. 951.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 23, 1860.

A REPORT having reached me that several thousand Minié rifles had been distributed by French Agents among the Maronites, I mentioned this to M. Thouvenel this afternoon, remarking that when I made use of the words "French Agents," I by no means meant to imply Agents of the Government, but persons well known to the Maronites, who were connected with the Latin Church in the Lebanon, and might have furnished the arms of which I spoke.

M. Thouvenel, while denying at once and absolutely that any arms had been furnished by the Imperial Government to the Maronites, said, that it was known that arms had been introduced in large quantities lately into Syria, that they were both of French and of British manufacture, and that they were sold openly in Beyrout, both to Druses and Maronites.

His Excellency added that he had more than once, while at Constantinople, spoken to Sir Henry Bulwer on this sign of a renewal of the old warfare between these mutual tribes.

Talking of the commencement of the late strife, M. Thouvenel said, that it was very likely that the Maronites had been incited by certain of their priests to commence the fray, by asserting a sovereignty over the Mixed districts. It might be so, and he had no wish that the truth should be concealed, and that the authors of these terrible scenes should not be punished. But be this as it might, the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, went beyond the pale of legitimate defence, while the attack on Zahlé and Damascus, the Christian inhabitants of which were Greeks, and not Maronites, showed that it was not defence but slaughter which was intended. He had received, as far back as the month of March, intelligence that Achmet Pacha, the Governor of Damascus, had planned the entire destruction of the Christians at Zahlé and Deir-el Kamar, but the plot seemed to him too hideous to be true, and no notice had been taken of the information. His Excellency then sent for and read me a despatch from the French Consul-General at Beyrout, dated the 28th March last, in which Count Bentivoglio mentions having been made acquainted with Achmet Pacha's plans. A copy of this despatch has been sent to M. de Persigny, for your Lordship's information. The contents of it are certainly curious, and I can have no doubt

of its authenticity, for I have seen the original. If the crime can be brought home to Achmet Pacha, there is no punishment of which he is not deserving.

The object of M. Thouvenel in referring to these matters was evidently to show that the presence of foreign troops in Syria is necessary, if justice is to be obtained at the hands of the Turks, whom he considers quite as bad or worse than the Druses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 28.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 357.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 24, 1860.

I INFORMED you by my telegram of the 10th instant, that a proposal had been made by the French Government that European troops should be sent to Syria; that this measure should be carried into effect in concert with the Great Powers and the Porte; and that Her Majesty's Government had assented to it.

I stated at the same time that the object of this expedition was to bring about a cessation of hostilities between the Druses and the Maronites, and to enable European troops to move on that object had been attained.

I have now to acquaint you that the orders which had been given for the movement of the troops have been cancelled, and that the intelligence that hostilities between the Druses and the Maronites had ceased.

The Sultan, however, should lose no time in consulting the Great Powers, and steps must be taken for the complete pacification of Syria, and for effectually guarding against future massacres.

The French Ambassador has communicated to me a project of Convention, an amendment to which Her Majesty's Government have proposed that the period during which European troops should remain in Syria should be limited to six months, and that the expenses of the expedition should not be borne by the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 29.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 25.)

(No. 261.)

My Lord,

Berlin, July 23, 1860.

WHEN I was with Baron Schleinitz this morning, his Excellency inquired if I had any intelligence from your Lordship respecting the French proposal to send a joint military expedition to Syria; and I replied that I was un-informed of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject. His Excellency then told me, that he understood the proposal of the French Government had been generally approved at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and that Count Bernstorff had confirmed the statement made by the French Minister at this Court of the acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government in the project. But that he appeared to be under the impression that Her Majesty's Government would prefer that the negotiation of this act took place at Constantinople rather than at Paris, as had been proposed.

In the meantime I understand that Prince la Tour d'Auvergne has received a draft of the proposed Convention for communication to the Prussian Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 30.

M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Persigny, July 25.)

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 23 Juil et, 1860.

J'AI reçu le message télégraphique, ainsi que la dépêche que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date d'hier.

Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a appris, avec autant d'étonnement que de regret, que l'entente qui s'était établie entre le Cabinet Anglais et nous, sous l'empire des considérations les plus puissantes, semblait remise en question. Nous n'avons pas reçu la nouvelle de la conclusion de la paix entre les Druses et les Maronites qui aurait eu lieu le 10. La dépêche télégraphique du Commandant de notre station navale, datée de Beyrouth le 11, n'en fait mention et signale les massacres qui avaient commencé le 9 à Damas. Nous savons que de nombreux fugitifs avaient cherché un asile dans le Kesrouan, et il ne serait pas surprenant que cette population, démoralisée par les horribles scènes des jours précédents, menacée d'une nouvelle agression qui l'eût anéantie toute entière, eût consenti à traiter avec les Druses. Mais quelle serait la valeur morale d'une telle Convention? La conscience publique peut-elle admettre qu'un nouvel abus de la force armée et légitime en quelque sorte les atrocités antérieurement commises et fasse disparaître les traces du sang versé?

Au reste, les événements du Liban ne sont pas les seuls qui aient agité le massacre de Damas qui nous a déterminé à agir. Les circonstances sur la nécessité d'une action immédiate et énergique. A l'heure qu'il est, avons-nous si le carnage commencé le 9 n'a pas continué le lendemain? Avons-nous la certitude qu'il ne se sera pas étendu plus loin, et que le sang Chrétien ne coule pas à Alep, à Orfa, à Diarbekir, à Jérusalem, partout en un mot où les populations se trouvent en butte au fanatisme excité par ce qui vient de se passer à Damas comme dans le Liban? La paix fut-elle conclue dans la Montagne, la situation est restée la même, et combien n'avons-nous pas de raisons de craindre qu'elle ne se soit aggravée?

Nous ne saurions donc, M. le Comte, partager à cet égard la confiance du Gouvernement Anglais, et à nos yeux l'état des choses n'a point changé depuis la nouvelle non encore confirmée, ou suffisamment expliquée pour nous, dont Lord John Russell vous a entretenu.

Je tiens, au surplus, à bien établir le caractère des communications et des idées que nous avons échangées avec le Cabinet de Londres. En présence des informations reçues du Liban, il nous avait, le premier, conviés à envoyer des bâtiments de guerre sur les côtes de Syrie. Les Commandants des escadres l'ordre de débarquer leurs équipages. La guerre atroce dont les Druses ont pris l'initiative, mais dans laquelle ils ont trouvé pour alliés les populations Musulmanes, nous avons pensé qu'il y avait plus à faire, et nous avons suggéré la pensée d'une action collective, sans spécifier les rôles et sans prévoir que nous pourrions y prendre une part plus grande que celles des autres Puissances. Cette action devait d'ailleurs être subordonnée à un accord préalable avec la Porte. A tous égards, il est impossible de mieux sauvegarder les principes.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique n'a point hésité à accepter notre proposition. Selon les expressions mêmes de Lord John Russell, rapportées dans votre dépêche du 18 de ce mois, l'Angleterre devait augmenter considérablement sa station sur les côtes de Syrie, afin d'être en mesure de protéger efficacement les populations du littoral. Quant à celles de l'intérieur, elles seraient protégées par des troupes Françaises, aidées peut-être de troupes Autrichiennes. En nous proposant cette combinaison, le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat nous invitait à préparer le projet de Convention destiné à régler l'acte.

Cette entente particulière que, grâce à la proximité des deux pays, nous avons pu établir sans aucune perte de temps, nous permettait de compter

également sur le succès de nos démarches auprès des autres Cabinets. Nous avons donc rédigé le projet de Convention; Lord John Russell a bien voulu le trouver conforme à l'objet que l'Angleterre avait en vue comme nous. Du reste, nous avons eu soin de ne le présenter au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique que comme une simple indication des clauses essentielles qui pourraient servir de base aux délibérations ultérieures. L'Article VI pouvait être supprimé. Nous n'attachons, il est aisé d'en saisir les motifs, que peu d'importance à la disposition qu'il renferme; nous avions pensé seulement, comme vous l'avez fait remarquer avec beaucoup de raison à Lord John Russell, que cette disposition aurait pour effet de mieux ménager la dignité du Sultan, en faisant ressortir que les Puissances agiraient en qualité d'auxiliaires de la Porte. C'est ce que je n'ai pas manqué d'établir dans les communications identiques que j'ai faites aux autres Cours, comme vous pouvez le voir par la copie ci-jointe de la dépêche que j'ai adressée aux Représentants de Sa Majesté à Vienne, à Berlin, et à St. Pétersbourg.

D'après Lord Palmerston, M. le Comte, une telle Convention serait funeste au prestige et à l'indépendance du Sultan. Quelle est donc la situation à Constantinople? La dépêche ci-jointe de l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté vous permettra d'en apprécier toute la gravité et l'urgence. La déclaration si alarmante d'Ali Pacha est antérieure à la communication dont j'avais chargé M. le Marquis de Lavalette. Elle révèle un état de choses arrivées à la veille d'une crise, et d'une crise indépendante de ce qui se passe en Syrie. Elle est née de causes dont le développement nous préoccupait vivement déjà avant que les affaires du Liban vinssent fixer notre attention; elle peut éclater au premier jour par suite d'incidents tout-à-fait étrangers à l'état de la Syrie, et si quelque chose, au contraire, est de nature à conjurer de plus grandes difficultés, et à faciliter le secours sans lequel Ali Pacha juge que tout est perdu, n'est-ce pas un accord des Puissances pour exercer une action énergique dans le Liban, et mettre fin aux épouvantables désordres dont ces contrées sont le théâtre?

Et d'ailleurs, M. le Comte, la conscience de l'Europe peut-elle admettre les entrainements du fanatisme? Aux maux qu'elle déplore, à ceux qu'elle prévoit, la politique des Cabinets n'a-t-elle d'autres remèdes à proposer que l'abstention? Nous ne saurions le croire, et ce n'est pas l'indifférence que conseillerait en présence d'une situation semblable un Gouvernement aussi éclairé que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans toutes les questions d'humanité.

Nous n'avons, quant à nous, nul désir d'intervenir en Orient en dehors d'une action commune. Bien que le pillage de notre Consulat à Damas et la mort de missionnaires Français que notre drapeau n'a pas convertis,

ne nous ont pas empêchés de nous concerter avec les autres Puissances. Nous avons par là dégagé notre responsabilité. Néanmoins nous demandons encore au Cabinet Anglais de revenir à ses premières dispositions, et de coopérer avec nous dans une mesure égale en Syrie. S'il ne veut pas pouvoir le faire, quelles sont ses intentions, et quelle initiative se propose-t-il de prendre? Nous sommes prêts à examiner ses idées, et à les adopter si elles sont plus pratiques que les nôtres et répondent mieux aux exigences de la situation; mais il comprendra, j'en ai la confiance, que nous obtenons à un devoir en lui demandant de nous communiquer ses vues.

Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture et à remettre copie de cette dépêche à Lord John Russell.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

No. 31.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

No. 254. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, July 24, 1860.

I HAVE just seen Baron Schlegel, and heard from his Excellency that the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne has communicated to him the draft of a

Convention, drawn up by the French Government for the consideration of the Five Powers and Turkey, to regulate the projected military intervention in the affairs of Syria, and of which the Prince has given Baron Schlegel to understand Her Majesty's Government had already expressed their approval.

His Excellency said, with reference to this project, that Prussia was ready to recognize in principle the propriety of such intervention, and was therefore disposed to recognize in principle the propriety of such intervention, and especially as to any active co-operation on the part of Prussia. He added, moreover, that the Porte did not seem, as far as he was informed, to have been sufficiently consulted on a question of such grave importance to her.

Baron Schlegel then mentioned that, according to information which had reached him, Russia was not satisfied with the French project of Convention, but would, nevertheless, consent to it upon the understanding that France agreed to enter into an engagement with her that the principle of intervention admitted in the Syrian Convention should be applied to the Provinces of Turkey in Europe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 32.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

(No. 958.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 24, 1860.

ON the receipt this morning of your Lordship's despatch No. 720 of yesterday's date, stating what had passed between yourself and M. de Persigny, relative to the proposal made by the French Government, that European troops should be sent to Syria, and informing me, that while Her Majesty's Government gave their assent to this proposal with reluctance, they were of opinion that the expedition should not be carried into effect if the news received by your Lordship, that tranquillity had been restored should prove correct, I waited upon M. Thouvenel, and communicated to him the general views of Her Majesty's Government.

M. Thouvenel was much relieved by this clear statement, for his Excellency had been led by M. de Persigny to believe that Her Majesty's Government had withdrawn, or were about to withdraw, their consent to the expedition. I showed M. Thouvenel that this was not the case, but that Her Majesty's Government advised great deliberation and caution in proceeding to so exceptional a measure.

I mentioned to him Excellency, that he must admit that the landing a foreign force in Syria would add to the complications already existing in that unfortunate country, and that, moreover, it might establish a precedent that could raise disturbances in

I did not obtain any positive answer from M. Thouvenel.

His Excellency had not then received the official answer of the Russian and Prussian Governments to the proposal of intervention, neither had any reply come from the Porte to the proposal for the signature of a Convention.

His Excellency seemed to wish that there should be a meeting between the Representatives of the Five Powers, and the Representative of the Porte, to discuss the terms of the Convention.

I observed that, although your Lordship had expressed certain opinions with regard to those terms, I had imagined that it was intended by the French Government that the Convention should be concluded at Constantinople.

His Excellency, however, said that he had proposed to the Powers, and to

the Porte, that it should be concluded at Paris. I should be glad to be furnished with your Lordship's instructions on this point.

With regard to the Convention, M. Thouvenel is quite ready to abandon the Article imposing the expense of the expedition on the Porte, which his Excellency states was only inserted with the intention of making it appear that the French Government were not conferring an obligation on the Porte, and I do not imagine, if negotiations go further, that M. Thouvenel will refuse to insert a clause in the Convention limiting the number of troops to be employed, and fixing the period of occupation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 33

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

(No. 962.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 25, 1860.

I RECEIVED late yesterday evening a note from M. Thouvenel, saying that he was in possession of disastrous news, dated the 23rd instant, from Constantinople, of the state of affairs at Damascus as late as the 12th

At that moment 10,000 persons who had taken refuge in the quarter inhabited by Ahd-el-Kader expected to be hourly attacked and massacred by the Mussulman population, excited by the Turkish Authorities themselves. M. Thouvenel added that he had sent a copy of M. de Lavalette's despatch to London, and that in presence of the facts which it related, he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would not ask for any further delay in the departure of troops to Syria.

His Excellency went on to say that he intended to convoke a meeting of Representatives of the Five Powers and of the Porte for this day in order to examine the project of Convention; that the Representatives of Austria, Russia, and Prussia were fully authorized to assist at it; that he hoped that I was in the same position; and that M. de Lavalette's despatch gave him the right to suppose that the Turkish Ambassador would receive them in the course of the night.

I replied to M. Thouvenel that I had no authority from your Lordship to attend any meeting for the purpose of considering the terms of the Convention; but that I had asked for instructions by telegraph. If I should receive no answer from your Lordship before the hour for which the meeting was convened should arrive, I would take upon myself to attend, but simply for the purpose of listening to what his Excellency had to propose. In a subsequent communication, I qualified my first letter so far as to say that it was to be understood that, pending instructions from your Lordship, I could not attend a conference on Turkish affairs unless the Representative of the Porte should be present. I hope that your Lordship will approve the course I have taken.

I consider that I should compromise nothing by attending, while a refusal, in presence of the consent of my colleagues to attend, might be attributed to material motives.

M. Thouvenel had fixed to see me this afternoon on other matters, and when I went to his office I found that he had suspended the intention of summoning the meeting which he had announced to me, until I could inform him of the decision of Her Majesty's Government. He said that the object of coming would be to sign the Convention respecting the foreign troops, and not intended to touch upon any other question.

His Excellency then proceeded to read to me the telegrams which he had received from M. de Lavalette. The upshot of them is that Achmet Effendi, the Turkish Ambassador, will be authorized to attend a Conference; that he will be instructed to protest in the first instance against the employment of foreign troops in Syria, but to admit of it if he shall find that it is the general wish of the Five Powers that he should do so.

In that case he is to insist on two conditions:—

1. That the foreign troops shall disembark and be encamped at Beyrouth and in the neighbourhood, and nowhere else.

2. That they shall undertake no movement but at the requisition of Fud Pacha.

M. Thouvenel observed that to neither of these conditions could the Imperial Government consent.

With regard to the first, if accepted, it would render the intervention illusory, besides which the neighbourhood of Beyrouth was most unhealthy.

With respect to the second, it was totally impossible for the Commander of the French forces to make his movements, on which the success of all his operations might turn, dependent on the caprice of any Turkish authority the safety of his troops might be thereby compromised.

I fear that under present circumstances, it will be difficult to dissuade the French Government from sending troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 34

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

(No. 963.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 25, 1860.

M. THOUVENEL read me this afternoon the replies which he had received from Vienna and Berlin to his proposal of sending troops to Syria. They are both affirmative of the project, and, I am sorry to say, so laudative of the French Government for having taken the initiative in this matter, that the latter are thereby encouraged in their project of armed intervention.

The Prussian Government wish that Article IV of the Convention, respecting the employment of the naval forces of the Great Powers to assist in the pacification of Syria should be made facultative and not obligatory, but M. Thouvenel will not consent to this modification, as he desires to be assured, for the safety of the French troops, of the co-operation of the other Powers if necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 35

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 26.)

(No. 964. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 25, 1860.

I WAS informed yesterday afternoon confidentially that the Russian Ambassador had been instructed not to agree to the Convention for sending troops to Syria, unless a Secret Article were added to it, obliging the Powers to declare armed intervention in the European Provinces of Turkey, should become necessary, and that the Austrian Government had consented to the addition of this Article, provided it met with the assent of the Porte and the other Powers.

I asked M. Thouvenel this afternoon whether any proposal of the kind had been made to him. His Excellency replied in the affirmative, but said that he had at once rejected it, and pressed the Russian Ambassador not to persist in asking for it. He had urged that the object of the proposed Convention was specific and not general, and that its conclusion would be risked by such an addition as Russia proposed.

Count Kisseleff consented on this remonstrance to withdraw his proposal.

I told M. Thouvenel that I felt convinced that Her Majesty's Government would never have authorized the signature of a Convention containing such a stipulation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received July 26)

(No. 983.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 25, 1860

I INQUIRED this afternoon of M. Thouvenel what was the amount of men. They were to be commanded, his Excellency said, by General Beaufort, an officer who knew every inch of the country, as he had been attached to the Head-Quarters of Ibrahim Pasha, when the latter occupied Syria.

It seems that both the Emperor and his General think this force more than sufficient to strike a blow at Damascus, which seems to be their object. M. Thouvenel told me that the Emperor was of opinion that a heavy chastisement should be inflicted on that town, and that the expedition should then come away. Two months His Majesty thought would suffice for this, and on the departure of the troops the Commission might come into play, the ground having been thus well prepared for them.

I said that I feared that long before French troops could arrive at Damascus the leaders in the late horrible massacres would have taken care of themselves and would be beyond the reach of punishment. M. Thouvenel said that this might be so, but that the town of Damascus, which was very rich, might be heavily fined. There will be time for reflection, but it seems to me that little will be effected, if the authors of these dreadful massacres shall

COWLEY

Count Rechberg to Count Apponyi. — (Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Apponyi, July 27)

M. le Comte,

Vienne, le 22 Juillet, 1860

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint en copie deux dépêches que j'ai adressées au Prince de Metternich en réponse aux ouvertures que M. Thouvenel nous a adressées en même temps qu'aux autres Grandes Puissances sur les mesures à prendre dans l'intérêt de la pacification de la Syrie.

Lord A. Loftus m'ayant informé de l'adhésion de son Gouvernement aux propositions Françaises, j'espère que Lord J. Russell, auquel vous voudrez bien donner lecture des annexes, sera d'accord avec leur contenu.

Recevez, &c

(Signé) RECHBERG

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

M. Thouvenel to the Marquis de Moustier

Paris, le 16 Juillet, 1860.

LES événements qui viennent de se passer dans le Liban ont, comme nous devons nous y attendre, profondément ému l'opinion, et tous les Cabinets ont compris qu'ils leur créaient des devoirs. Tous se sont empressés de fournir à leurs Agents sur les lieux les moyens en leur pouvoir pour protéger les populations Chrétiennes, et il est à espérer que ces moyens combinés, avec l'envoi des troupes Ottomanes mises à la disposition de Fuad Pacha, suffiront pour arrêter au moins l'effusion du sang. Mais, après de pareils écarts et une semblable perturbation dans tous les rapports, il ne suffit pas, pour satisfaire aux vœux de la justice et pour rétablir la paix, de comprimer l'insurrection et d'obliger les Druses à déposer les armes. La

situation exige des mesures propres à la fois à réparer d'effroyables calamités et à en prévenir le retour.

Dans cette seconde partie de leur tâche, les Puissances, M. le Marquis, me paraissent avoir un rôle tracé d'avance par les antécédents de la question. Les contestations entre les Maronites et les Druses, bien qu'elles n'aient point encore peut-être présenté un tel caractère d'acharnement et pris des proportions aussi graves, ont déjà à diverses époques occupé les Cabinets; et l'arrangement de 1845, entre autres, réglant le régime administratif dans le Liban, est le résultat d'un accord qui a été conclu à Paris. Cet arrangement se trouve au surplus consacré par les Puissances qui en avaient arrêté les bases, et par le Sultan lui-même. Les causes auxquelles il a donné lieu ont été violées, et la violation ainsi que les dispositions qu'il peut y avoir lieu d'y substituer. La Porte n'a jamais fait difficulté d'admettre les bons offices de la diplomatie dans les conflits qui ont successivement éclaté entre les populations du Liban, et l'accord que nous jugeons indispensable ne constituerait nullement une innovation ou un acte d'intervention dont on aurait à redouter l'effet pour la considération ou l'indépendance de la Turquie. Il serait conforme aux précédents et l'on n'y pourrait voir qu'une conséquence logique d'une entente antérieure. Elle a pour les mains, et qu'elle doit désirer de maintenir, parcequ'elle y trouvera un moyen de donner à de nouveaux arrangements toute l'autorité nécessaire.

Par conséquent, la voie à suivre me semble indiquée par la nature des choses. Les Puissances ne seraient pas suffisamment éclairées sur les difficultés et les besoins dont il faut tenir compte, si l'on ne procédait par voie d'examen sur les lieux et d'enquête collective. Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur jugerait donc utile l'institution d'une Commission formée de Délégués des Puissances et de la Porte. Cette Commission serait envoyée dans le Liban pour rechercher les circonstances qui ont provoqué les derniers conflits, déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation de leurs Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées en vue de conjurer de nouveaux malheurs.

Si, comme l'accord qui s'est établi spontanément dans les appréciations de toutes les Cours à la nouvelle des massacres du Liban me donne lieu de l'espérer, elles approuvaient cette idée, elles auraient entre les mains tous les éléments nécessaires pour concorder avec la Porte un arrangement qui, résultant d'un examen approfondi et réunissant une adhésion unanime, offrirait toutes les chances possibles de durée.

C'est donc avec confiance, M. le Marquis, que je vous invite à faire part de cette proposition à M. le Comte de Rechberg. J'adresse la même communication aux Cours de Londres, Berlin, et de St Pétersbourg. De tous temps la tutelle de la France s'est exercée dans le Liban. C'est une tradition que la France a le droit d'accomplir cette démarche auprès des Puissances. Toutefois, en prenant l'initiative dans les circonstances présentes nous ne sommes dirigés par aucune vue particulière, ni par le désir préconçu de poursuivre en faveur de l'une des deux populations entre lesquelles le conflit s'est élevé aucun avantage exclusif. Nous ne nous proposons d'autre objet que de concourir avec les Puissances, et au même titre, dans l'intérêt de la paix de l'Orient, à rétablir le calme et l'ordre sur un point où ils ne peuvent être troublés sans la mettre sérieusement en danger.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture de cette dépêche à M. le Comte de Rechberg, et lui en remettre copie.

Agréé, &c.

THOUVENEL

Inclosure 2 in No. 37

M. Thouvenel to the Marquis de Moustier.

Paris, le 18 Juillet, 1860.

PAR la dépêche que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser en date du 18 de ce mois, je vous ai invité à faire part à M. le Comte de Rechberg de la proposition d'une entente collective des Puissances concernant les affaires

syriennes de la Syrie. Comme nous le redoutions, Damas a été à son tour le théâtre d'effroyables scènes de carnage, et il devient difficile de prévoir l'étendue que prendra cette guerre acharnée faite aux Chrétiens si les Cabinets ne se hâtent d'adopter, autant qu'il dépend d'eux, toutes les mesures propres à en arrêter les progrès. Le Porte semble avoir elle-même un juste sentiment de cette situation. J'en trouve la preuve dans une lettre ci-jointe en copie que le Sultan adresse à l'Empereur et que ce Souverain a fait communiquer à M. le Marquis de Lavalotte pour être transmise à Sa Majesté par télégraphie.

Toutefois il n'est pas moins nécessaire d'agir avec autant de promptitude que d'énergie, et comme il y a malheureusement lieu de craindre que les moyens d'action de la Porte ne répondent pas à ses intentions, je doute qu'elle pût satisfaire aux nécessités d'une situation si grave si les Puissances ne s'entendaient pour lui venir en aide.

L'ordre donné aux Commandants des escadres de mettre leurs équipages à la disposition des Consuls ne peut pas permettre d'atteindre l'intervention dans son foyer au sein de Liban ni surtout dans les villes de l'intérieur qu'elle a déjà envahies ou qu'elle menace. Un corps de troupes mis à portée d'agir selon les circonstances serait seul en mesure de suffire à cet tâche. A tous ces points de vue il pourrait exercer une heureuse influence, non seulement à raison du concours éventuel qu'il porterait aux troupes Turques, mais par l'influence morale que sa seule présence, en rassurant les populations, ne manquerait pas d'avoir sur l'attitude et la conduite des fonctionnaires Ottomans.

Cette combinaison d'ailleurs ne pourrait recevoir son exécution que de la Porte, et il serait en outre essentiel qu'elle fût le résultat d'un accord des Cinq Cours.

L'intervention serait ainsi collective dans son principe, et les troupes Européennes envoyées dans des vues communes ne feraient en quelque sorte que remplir une délégation des Puissances. Si le Gouvernement Autrichien entrait dans cet ordre d'idées, il serait sans doute possible d'établir sans retard une entente avec les autres Cabinets de la Porte, et d'avoir aux moyens les plus prompts d'obtenir les satisfactions dues à l'humanité, et de concourir au rétablissement de la paix en Syrie.

Ce résultat, M. le Marquis, serait important non pas seulement pour la conscience publique et pour les Chrétiens, mais aussi pour la Porte qui, dans l'état de crise où se trouvent son administration et ses finances, ne supporterait pas longtemps une telle épreuve d'une insurrection aussi étendue à comprimer. C'est une combinaison qui n'échappera pas à la prévoyance du Cabinet de Vienne. Quant à nous, nous pensons qu'une combinaison de la nature de celle sur laquelle je viens de vous exprimer notre manière de voir, peut être adoptée avec avantage. Je ne m'en dissimule pas les inconvénients, mais l'abstention en aurait assurément de beaucoup plus grands en présence des complications qui menacent de surgir. Je vous prie de faire part à M. le Comte de Rechberg de l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté et d'en conférer avec lui. En raison de l'urgence qui n'est que trop attestée par les événements, je vous serai obligé de me faire savoir, le plus tôt possible, ce que le Cabinet de Vienne pense à ce sujet, et quelles sont ses intentions.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) THOUVENEL.

P.S.—Vous savez que j'avais transmis au Gouvernement Anglais ma communication en date du 18 de ce mois. Je reçois à l'instant une dépêche de M. le Comte de Persigny, par laquelle il m'annonce que le Cabinet Anglais a adhéré à notre proposition, et qu'il est prêt à se faire représenter dans une Commission, qui se rendrait la Syrie pour y remplir la tâche dont j'avais

indiqué l'objet. Lord J. Russell dans son entretien avec notre Ambassadeur s'est montré fort ému du caractère des tristes événements dont la Syrie est le théâtre, et de l'attitude qu'on est fondé à reprocher aux Agents de la Porte.

Inclosure 3 in No. 57

The Sultan to the Emperor of the French.

Palais de Dolma-Badji, 18 Juillet.

JE tiens à ce que votre Majesté sache bien avec quelle douleur j'ai appris les événements de Syrie. Qu'elle soit convaincue que j'emploierai toutes mes forces pour rétablir l'ordre et la sécurité, punir sévèrement les coupables, quels qu'ils soient, et rendre justice à tous. Pour qu'il ne puisse y avoir aucun doute sur les intentions de mon Gouvernement, c'est à mon Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, dont les principes sont connus de votre Majesté, que j'ai voulu confier cette importante mission.

Inclosure 4 in No. 37.

Count Rechberg to Prince Metternich

Vienne, le 22 Juillet, 1860.

LE Marquis de Moustier m'a successivement communiqué les deux dépêches de M. Thouvenel dont j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-près copie.

Ces pièces ont pour objet les maux qui pèsent sur les malheureuses populations Chrétiennes de la Syrie.

Dans le but d'y mettre promptement un terme, M. Thouvenel propose :

1. D'envoyer sur les lieux une Commission composée des Délégués des Cinq Grandes Puissances et de ceux de la Porte.

Cette Commission aurait à procéder à une enquête sur les derniers événements, et à suggérer des réformes à introduire dans les arrangements de 1845.

2. De confier à un corps de troupes Européennes par suite d'une Convention entre les Puissances et la Porte le soin de protéger les Chrétiens et de participer au rétablissement de l'ordre en Syrie.

J'ai eu l'honneur de prévenir votre Altesse par mon télégramme du 21 du courant, que nous adhérons pour notre part à ces propositions, pourvu toutefois que la Porte y donne également son plein assentiment, et que la nécessité de la participation de troupes Européennes au rétablissement de l'ordre fut dûment constatée.

Si déplorables et si affligeantes pour l'humanité que soient les scènes horribles dont le Mont Liban et la Syrie ont été le théâtre, ce n'est que justice de reconnaître que le Gouvernement Ottoman à Constantinople, à peine informé de ces calamités, a montré la meilleure volonté et déployé à la fois beaucoup d'énergie pour réprimer le désordre.

Il nous semble donc avant tout indispensable d'attendre les premiers effets de la mission confiée à Fudat Pacha. Si contre toute attente le fanatisme et l'explosion subite a déjà fait tant de victimes, prenant de plus en plus les forces du Gouvernement Ottoman faibles et épuisées, en ce cas nous reconnaitrions que l'intervention Européenne serait complètement justifiée, et nous ne doutons point que le Sultan ne fût alors le premier à se ranger de cet avis.

Cela posé, votre Altesse peut dès aujourd'hui se considérer comme autorisée à prendre part sur la base des principes énoncés ci-dessus à une réunion éventuelle des Représentants des Cinq Puissances et de la Porte à Paris, ayant pour mission de régler par une acte diplomatique le but et les limites de l'intervention Européenne.

La France s'est déjà déclarée prête à se charger, à titre de délégation de l'Europe, de l'expédition d'un corps de troupes en Syrie pour co-opérer à la pacification du pays. Nous avons pour notre compte envoyé dans ces parages

une frégate de la marine Impériale et nous sommes disposés à y augmenter nos forces navales.

J'invite votre Altesse à s'expliquer dans ce sens envers M. Thouvenel et lui faire connaître nos intentions à cet égard.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) RECHBERG.

Inclosure 5 in No. 37.

Count Rechberg to Prince Metternich.

Vienne, le 22 Juillet, 1860.

M. L'AMBASSADEUR de France nous a itérativement exprimé le prix que son Gouvernement attacherait à voir l'Autriche fournir son contingent au corps de troupes Européennes qu'il s'agit d'expédier en Syrie. Tout en appréciant les motifs qui ont inspiré ce désir au Cabinet des Tuileries nous verrions plus d'un inconvénient à l'accepter.

La France possède dans ses troupes Algériennes aguerries au ciel et à la mer. Il en serait de même pour les moyens de transport. D'ailleurs nous ne dissimulons point que la France agissant directement hostile à l'Autriche qui proclament avec une rare impudence les filibustiers qui se sont emparés de la Sicile, et qui ont pour arrière-garde l'armée Piémontaise, nous imposent le devoir de nous tenir sur nos gardes et de ne pas épargner sans nécessité urgente nos forces de terre disponibles.

M. Thouvenel, j'en suis persuadé d'avance, appréciera ces motifs, que je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien lui développer.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) RECHBERG.

No. 38.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 27.)

(No. 961 A.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 24, 1860

IT struck me while conversing with M. Thouvenel this afternoon that the Government of France seem to have been very anxious to abandon the idea of sending troops to Syria, if the European Commission, which it was first proposed to send, was made at more urgent need. I mentioned this to M. Thouvenel, who should be dispatched from London and Paris. I hinted this to M. Thouvenel, and he seemed to have the idea.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 39.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 27.)

(No. 970.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 26, 1860

ON the receipt yesterday of your Lordship's telegram dated 2 p.m. I informed M. Thouvenel that I was authorized to attend the meeting of the Representatives of the Five Powers and of the Porte with a view of discussing the conditions of the Convention which the Imperial Government was desirous of concluding between the said Powers and the Sultan, having for its object the occupation of Syria by an European force.

M. Thouvenel in consequence convoked a meeting of the above-mentioned Representatives for 3 o'clock this day.

The Excellency after briefly alluding to late events in Syria said, that he had requested the Representatives of the Great Powers and of the Porte to meet him in Conference, in order that he might communicate to them the project of a Convention which he was desirous should be concluded between the said Powers and the Porte, and which would permit of the employment of European troops to aid in restoring tranquillity in Syria. He believed that all

the Powers would be authorized to take part in this Conference. He begged to state further, that the document which he submitted for our consideration was only to be considered in the light of a project, that he had himself introduced modifications into it since it was first drawn up, and that he was quite ready to listen to any amendments or alterations which might be proposed by others.

The Turkish Ambassador said, that although he should make no objection to the project being read, yet that it was impossible for him to enter upon any discussion of the question of foreign intervention in Syria—

1st. Because he had no instructions from his Government upon the subject; and,

2ndly. Because, even if he had been in possession of those instructions, he could not discuss a Convention of such importance without previous examination and a full consideration of all its stipulations.

The Excellency further observed, that he did not understand on what ground it was proposed to send foreign troops to Syria, there being already a sufficient force from the Sultan's army to restore and maintain tranquillity in that country.

A desultory conversation ensued which, as might be expected, led to no result, and I then proposed that the French Representative should furnish each of us with a copy of the amended project of Convention, and as we must ourselves have time to consider the amendments, that we should adjourn until the Turkish Ambassador should be in possession of his instructions. This course was assented to, it appearing that my colleagues of Austria, Prussia, and Russia were also without instructions, although they were hourly expecting them.

M. Thouvenel stated that the French Ambassador at Constantinople had informed him that instructions to the Turkish Ambassador were to have been sent by telegraph last night. Under those circumstances the Conference, it is expected, will meet again on Saturday.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the project of Convention as now amended, by the aide of the original text, so that your Lordship will at once see where alterations have been introduced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Project of Convention respecting the Employment of European Troops in Syria.

Original Draft of Convention.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter par des mesures promptes et efficaces l'effusion du sang en Syrie, et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous son autorité, et leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, et l'Empereur de toutes les Russes, désirant lui prêter leur concours, ont décidé de se concerter pour aviser aux moyens propres à réaliser leurs intentions.

Original Draft of Convention.

A cet effet, leurs Majestés ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, savoir
Lesquels, &c.

ARTICLE I.

Un corps de troupes Européennes composé de hommes environ sera immédiatement dirigé en Syrie pour contribuer au rétablissement de la

ARTICLE II

Sa Majesté Impériale l'Empereur des Français consent à fournir les troupes dont la participation est stipulée par l'Article précédent.

ARTICLE III

Le Commandant-en-chef de ces troupes prendra, avec toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances, les positions qu'il jugera convenable d'occuper pour remplir l'objet de sa mission. Il sera autorisé à s'entendre avec l'autorité militaire Ottomane pour déterminer la distribution et l'emploi des troupes que la Porte aura réunies en Syrie.

ARTICLE IV.

Leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, et l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, promettent de concourir au succès des efforts combinés en entretenant, sur les côtes de Syrie, les forces navales que les événements requerront nécessaires, et d'y participer au besoin, par l'envoi de troupes de débarquement.

ARTICLE V

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes se réservent de combiner d'un commun

Amended Draft of Convention.

ARTICLE I

The same, with the word "immédiatement" suppressed.

ARTICLE II

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français consent à fournir immédiatement moitié de ce corps de troupes, et s'il devenait nécessaire de porter son effectif au chiffre stipulé dans l'Article précédent. Les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'entendront sans retard, par la voie diplomatique, sur la désignation de celles des troupes qui auront à y pourvoir.

ARTICLE III

Le Commandant-en-chef de l'expédition restera à son arrivée en communication avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, afin de prendre, avec toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances, les positions qu'il jugera convenable d'occuper pour remplir l'objet de sa mission. Ils se concerteront également sur la distribution et l'emploi des troupes Ottomanes réunies en Syrie.

ARTICLE IV

Leurs Majestés, &c., promettent d'entretenir sur les côtes de Syrie des forces navales suffisantes pour concourir au succès des efforts combinés pour le maintien ou le rétablissement de la tranquillité sur le littoral de la Syrie.

ARTICLE V

The same

accord les dispositions ultérieures qu'il pourrait y avoir lieu d'adopter. Elles s'entendront également entre elles, des

Original Draft of Convention.

que le but qu'elles ont en vue sera atteint, pour fixer le moment où les troupes européennes devront être rapatriées.

ARTICLE VI

Les frais de transport et d'entretien des troupes débarquées en Syrie seront supportés par la Sublime Porte, qui s'engage en outre à faciliter par tous les moyens en son pouvoir leur subsistance et leur approvisionnement.

Amended Draft of Convention

ARTICLE VI.

La Sublime Porte s'engage à faciliter par tous les moyens en son pouvoir la subsistance et l'approvisionnement du corps expéditionnaire.

No 40

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 27.)

(No. 980. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 26, 1840.

THE Russian Ambassador has again returned to the charge, and has induced M. Thouvenel to put forward a general declaration to be inserted in a Protocol, relative to the protection of Christians in Turkey by the Powers of Europe. M. Thouvenel showed me the project of declaration, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, and asked if I could agree to it, observing that there was nothing in it which the Porte had not already promised to do. After perusing it, I said that I could not take upon myself to agree to any such declaration; that I had been authorized to discuss a special, and not a general question, but that I would refer the matter to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 40

Project of Declaration

LES Puissances s'engagent à veiller à ce que d'accord avec la Porte et conformément à ses promesses, la situation des Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman en tous lieux et de tout rite soit réellement améliorée, et qu'il soit remédié par des mesures administratives sérieuses au retour des abus qui ont amené l'état de choses actuel.

No 41

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 27.)

(No. 981. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 26, 1840.

I SPOKE confidentially yesterday to M. Thouvenel upon the propriety,

signature by the Great Powers of a Protocol analogous in sense to that agreed on the 17th September, 1840, to which your Lordship's confidential despatch No. 725 of the 23rd instant relates. M. Thouvenel at once adopted the idea, and he gave me this afternoon a project of Protocol, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy for your Lordship's consideration. He said, however, that I must consider the communication as confidential, as he had

able to take the Emperor's idea upon it.

Your Lordship will find that M. Thouvenel has likewise conveyed in this project of Protocol the declaration which was made by your Lordship, that the

occupation of Syria by foreign troops should cease after the lapse of six months. At the same time, the Porte is anxious to know if it is known by the Porte, that the occupation will cease within a given period, justice will be procrastinated in the hope of escaping its application altogether. The Turkish authorities, however, will keep out of the way until they can show themselves again with safety.

It appears to me, further, that it will in any case be advisable not to refer to the possibility of a prolonged occupation, as M. Thouvenot has done "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" It will be time enough to consider of prolonging the occupation when the necessity of doing so shall be proved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 41

Project of Protocol

LES Plénipotentiaires de désirant établir, conformément
aux intentions de leurs Cours respectives, le véritable caractère du concours
. Sublime Porte aux termes de la Convention conclue en ce jour (ou le
) les sentimens qui leur ont dicté les clauses de cet acte et leur
se désintéressent, déclarent de la manière la plus formelle que les
Puissances Contractantes n'entendent poursuivre ni ne poursuivront
aucune de leurs engagements aucun avantage territorial, aucune influence
ni aucune concession touchant le commerce de leurs sujets et qui ne
pourrait être accordée aux sujets de toutes les autres nations.

Ils déclarèrent en outre que si, contre toute attente, le but que les Panaméens ont en vue n'était pas atteint dans le délai de six mois, une occupation prolongée ne pourrait avoir lieu qu'en vertu d'un nouvel accord.

No. 42

Sir H. Hubert to Lord J. Russell — (Received July 2nd.)

(No. 411, Confidential)

My Lord,

Therapies, July 17, 1980

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of telegram which His Imperial Majesty the Sultan addressed yesterday to Her Majesty the Queen, expressing his deep sorrow at the deplorable state of affairs in Syria, and announcing the measures His Imperial Majesty had taken to restore order and punish the guilty.

The Agents' autograph signature is affixed to the inclosed transmittal.

I have, &c.
Signed) H. L. BULLOCK

Inclosure in No. 42

The Sultan to Her Majesty the Queen.

Translation.)

1. *telegraphique* (quasi)

L'atlas de Dolma-Badjé, le 16 Juillet, 1900

JE tiens à ce que votre Majesté sache bien avec quelle douleur j'ai appris ces événements de Syrie. Qu'elle soit convaincue que j'emploierai toutes mes forces pour y établir l'ordre et la sécurité, punir sévèrement les coupables que la loi lui enjoint, et rendre justice à tous. Pour qu'il ne puisse y avoir aucun doute

Étrangères, dont les principes sont connus du Gouvernement de votre M. gracie, que j'ai voulu confier cette importante mission.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 28.)

(No. 418)

My Lord,

Therapia, July 17, 1860.

BEFORE this reaches you, your Lordship will be aware of the extent of the calamities which have occurred in Syria, and which I will not undertake to say we yet know clearly.

A despatch from Damascus of the 20th from Mr. Brant records his conviction that no Mussulman movement would take place in that city; a further despatch on the 21st stated his belief that the Druses of the Hauran would retire to their houses quietly; but he then spoke of the city as disturbed and agitated, and of the Christians being exposed to indignities not of late years imposed on them. A despatch which I saw to-day, being with Aah Pasha when it arrived, dated from Damascus on the 4th instaut, written by the Governor, stated that the town was much quieter than it had been, and that nothing serious seemed likely to be apprehended.

In the meantime, however, a telegraphic despatch dated the 7th instant has reached the Russian Legation stating that the Christian quarter was attacked, and that the Russian and French Consuls had retired to the camp of Abd-el-Kader; whilst a communication dated the 9th, and brought by a French steamer from Beyrout, speaks of massacres, of the destruction of the houses of every Consul except the British, and of the total annihilation of the Turkish authority within the city. A telegram from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna repeats the same information.

There can be little doubt that something of the kind reported has taken place, but the details and the extent of the mischief it has caused have, I think, as yet to be ascertained.

The Sultan and the Turkish Government are struck down by this blow which they did not anticipate, and of which they fully foresee the moral

His Imperial Majesty has written a letter to Her Majesty and to the Emperor of the French expressive of his sentiments, and the Seraskier has assured me that more troops shall be immediately dispatched.

In the meantime steam communication has been instituted by the means of steamers stationed at the principal islands between this and Beyrout.

Two considerations are now before us, namely, what has produced the recent events, and what is to be done to remedy them. With regard to the first, many persons have in my opinion been guilty; first, the Turks, who did not pay sufficient attention to the representations made to them as to the position in which Syria was placed; and, secondly, those who have contributed in one way or another to bring things in Syria to their present state.

One view, perhaps, an extreme view to take on this subject, and which I do not wish meant to enforce, though it is my duty to present it to your Lordship, is that which attributes to the intrigues of the Viceroy of Egypt, to similar intrigues on the part of the Maronites and French functionaries, and to like intrigues also on the part of the Russian Government, all the misfortunes that

Persons who take this view insist on the Viceroy's visit last year to Syria; on the emissaries sent by him into the province since that time; on the visit of M. Bentivoglio recently to the Viceroy; on the Viceroy's conduct, somewhat sudden, adopted of late as to the Suez Canal; on the overbearing attitude generally adopted by the French Agents in Syria; on French arms, found, as it is said, amongst the Maronites in large quantities; and on the excitement produced by the recent declarations of the Russian Cabinet; and on the course followed within the last few months by the Maronites themselves. Here, they say, is to be found quite sufficient cause for all that has occurred, and for the feelings of indignation and apprehension which rendered the Druses desperate, paralyzed the Ottoman Authorities, and so indisposed the Mussulmans generally as to lead to their desire to abet rather than oppose the

murderous and plundering hordes which have disgraced the race to which they belonged, at Zahlé, Hasbaya, and Damascus.

The persons thus described are accidental in their coincidence; but others are connected with some preconceived design, which, however, has gone beyond the intentions of its authors. On the other hand, there are others who form notions equally extreme as to the Turks. Thus, they say, has been nothing more or less than a plot, by which the Ottoman Authorities meant first to destroy the Maronites by the Druses, then the Druses as the consequences of their conduct to the Maronites, and thus finally to establish Turkish supremacy. The truth may perhaps be better found between these two stories.

The intrigues and ambitious character of Sidé Pasha, the ostentatious protection given by the French to the Maronite tribe, and the somewhat overbearing manner and tone of different agents, as also the attitude assumed by the Russian Cabinet, have no doubt had a considerable influence in producing a feeling of expectancy on one side and of irritation on the other, which were likely at any moment to come into conflict.

On the other hand, the dislike of the Turks to the independent authority of Maronites and Druses has, I doubt not, considerably contributed to their want of timely interference to prevent the state of things which that independent authority engendered from getting worse.

As to the conduct of higher authorities, such as the Pashas, in not only allowing the Druses, I am myself disposed to think it proceeded solely, or only, from the feeling that a defeat was likely, and that such defeat would be a signal for a general civil insurrection. This is no excuse for it, it is an explanation of it. As to the inferior officers, the conduct of some has been so shamefully the effect of fear or fanaticism, that the severest examples should be made amongst them, as to the mob of soldiers or people, the love of pillage and plunder, with want of discipline and authority and the ancient habits of caste and religion, at once account for the

and necessity is to restore order and punish crime.

The Turkish Commissioner sent is perhaps the best man that could be found for the duty entrusted to him; at all events his reputation justifies this belief. I have been active in urging the sending of more troops, and though I hardly believe what the Bernstorff told me the day before yesterday, that there are already 25,000 men, I should trust there is already a considerable force, which, as I have said, will be increased.

The subsequent settlement of the country is the more difficult affair, and I speak of it with less confidence because I have no local experience. It appears to me that the independent Governments of the Mountain are incompatible with order and society; that one Government should be established in Syria, and that Government anchored. A Commissioner, a Jewish European acquainted with administration and finance should, in part, ought to be appointed, and, as the result of his inquiries, certain reforms, including the courts, police, justice in the distribution of taxes, might or should take place.

In case of anything of this general kind being determined upon, however, I should be glad to have your Lordship's permission to visit the country, and thus mature my notions on the spot.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

No. 44.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 28.)

No. 440)

My Lord,

Paris, July 27. 1860

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegram dated 2.54 p.m. yesterday.

I saw M. Thouvenel this afternoon with a view of inducing his Excellency to agree that the troops to be sent to Syria should not be disembarked except

at the demand of Fuad Pasha. I could not prevail upon his Excellency to make further concessions on this point than that which your Lordship will have found in the amended draft of Convention transmitted to you yesterday, and which establishes the necessity of an understanding between the French Commander-in-chief in Syria and the Porte's Extraordinary Commissioner. M. Thouvenel declared that he could not consent to leave French troops cooped up in ships in that hot climate, until it might please Fuad Pasha to remove them. The question, however, could not be decided on by a Turkish authority.

I said that I did not understand your Lordship's proposal to have the extension which M. Thouvenel attributed to it, but Her Majesty's Government, I added, desired that the Sultan's authority should be respected within his own empire. The operations should appear at least to arrive at the

M. Thouvenel replied that this was made sufficiently clear by the preamble of the Convention. He wished to do no violence to the Sultan's rights of sovereignty, but he could not put French troops under the direction of a Turkish Pasha. If the condition I had mentioned was insisted upon, the Emperor would abandon the project of sending troops.

While the conversation was going on, M. Thouvenel received a telegram from M. de Lavalette, stating that instructions had been transmitted by telegraph yesterday at 2 p.m. to the Turkish Ambassador in Paris, authorising him to insist on the two conditions which were

It would appear from this that the Porte no longer asks that Fuad Pasha's request should be attended to.

With regard to the other matters mentioned in your Lordship's telegram, I hope that the second may be facilitated now that Achmet Effendi will have received his instructions. The principle of the third is, as your Lordship now knows, agreed to, as also the signature of a Protocol similar to that of the 17th September, 1840.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 45.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 747.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1860

I AM now enabled to give you the opinion of Her Majesty's Government respecting the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria.

The main points appear to be the necessity of obtaining the assent of the Porte explicitly given to the intervention of foreign troops in one of the provinces of the Sultan, and the equal necessity of fixing a term at the end of which such foreign intervention is to cease.

I understand from your despatch No. 440 of the 27th instant, that the assent is to the admission of foreign troops in Syria. The term of six months should be specified either in the Treaty, or in a separate Protocol which should not be kept secret.

The publicity of this provision is necessary for the justification of Her Majesty's Government in the eyes of the English nation.

The Protocol renouncing all views of separate advantage, territorial or commercial influence, should be signed on the same day as

The ratifications should be exchanged as soon as possible, and those of the Powers nearest at hand might be exchanged before the ratifications of the more distant Powers are received.

With respect to the terms of the Convention, I send you a memorandum containing amendments which it is very desirable to introduce. They preserve the Sultan, and keep future stipulations for future consideration.

It is to be hoped that the measures now taken may vindicate the rights of

humanity, so cruelly outraged in Syria, and at the same time tend to maintain order and obedience in the dominions of the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 46.

Amendments suggested in Proposed Treaty respecting the Employment of European Troops in Syria.

Preamble: To add, "and the Sultan having asked the assistance of his Allies for this purpose." Such a recital would bring the Convention within international law, and as the Convention is to be construed as applying to the "the before-mentioned Powers," it would be "the before-mentioned Powers."

Article I.—No observation. "Immédiatement" is properly left out.

Article II.—"Immédiatement" should be equally left out here.

Article III.—The last paragraph ought to leave more explicitly the command and distribution of the Ottoman troops to the Ottoman Authorities, perhaps the omission of the word "égalemont" would improve the sentence. Still it leaves the employment of the Turkish troops to be determined by the French Commander, which the Turks might well object to. Would it be better to omit this paragraph altogether, or to make it reciprocal, by saying the Turk shall communicate with the Frenchman as well as the Frenchman with the Turk?

Article IV.—Amended version would do, omitting the word "main" which indicates an occupation of any indefinite duration.

Article V.—This Article seems to open a misty prospect; why contemplate ulterior measures, and what are they, and where to be applied? "En attendant le jour." If fresh necessities should arise, fresh negotiations would be as practicable as the present one.

It would be better to confine this Article to the latter engagement, that the Powers "s'entendent pour fixer le moment," &c., and without saying "dès que le but en sera atteint," which would admit of preliminary differences of opinion; but there should certainly be an Article fixing the day at six months.

Article VI.—"Par tous les moyens en son pouvoir" should be left out, as redundant and unnecessary, unless they were intended as a foundation for demands not now put forward.

No. 46.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 46.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1860.

WITH respect to the proposal of Russia, referred to in your despatch No. 150 of the 26th instant, to insert a declaration in favour of Christians generally in the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria, I have to instruct your Excellency to object to it, as altogether going beyond the present occasion; and if the Russian Ambassador presses it, you will refuse to sign a Convention or Protocol in which any Article to that effect is contained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 47.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 47.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 26, 1860.

I HAD the honour to receive on the 19th instant your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, informing me that Her Majesty's Government would not object to the landing of French or Austrian troops in Syria, if necessary, according to the terms of a Convention to be agreed upon between the Porte and the Allied Powers, and that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government not to land troops, but to have a strong force of Marines on the coast.

I lost no time in bringing the substance of your Lordship's telegram to the knowledge of Count Rechberg.

His Excellency appeared to concur in the general view taken by Her Majesty's Government, and expressed his opinion of the desirableness that a complete understanding should exist between the Great Powers on all matters relating to the East, as he considered that on this good understanding would depend the future of peace.

He expressed his wish to act entirely in concert with Her Majesty's Government on this question, and he repeated to me that the Commander of the Austrian squadron would be strictly enjoined to act in union with the Commander of Her Majesty's naval forces.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 48.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 48.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 26, 1860.

THE Marquis de Montier informed me on Friday last, the 20th instant, that, in accordance with instructions from his Government, submitted to him on the previous day, two propositions on the affairs of Syria.

These propositions, as your Lordship will have been already informed, relate to: 1st, the appointment of a Mixed Commission for Inquiry into the sanguinary excesses which had taken place in Syria, with a view to punish the perpetrators of them, and to devise measures to prevent their recurrence; and, 2nd, a meeting of the Representatives of the Great Powers at Paris, to concert measures for a military intervention to protect their own subjects, as well as the Christian population.

Count Rechberg expressed his desire to be informed of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government on these proposals. His Excellency stated that he was not opposed to a military intervention, if it should be necessary, and if it were to be previously regulated by means of a Convention between the Powers and the Porte; nor did his Excellency entertain any objection to the appointment of a mixed Commission for the purposes specified, provided that such a course should previously receive the sanction of the Porte. His Excellency informed me at the same time that the Austrian Government were not disposed to send any military forces, but that they would readily participate by sending a reinforcement of two ships of war to the coast of Syria.

Previous to making the communication referred to, the Marquis de Montier placed in Count Rechberg's hands copy of a circular despatch from M. Thouvenel, dated the 16th instant, which had been likewise addressed to the Cabinets of London, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and (I believe) Madrid. This despatch was explanatory of the opinions of the French Government on the late sad events which had occurred in Syria, and of the course which the Emperor Napoleon deemed it desirable to pursue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 49.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 424.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 28, 1860.

I COMMUNICATED to Count Rechberg on the 22nd instant the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the previous day, stating that Her Majesty's Government considered a Convention with the Porte as necessary to authorize the expedition of European troops to Syria, and that it had likewise agreed in principle to the French propositions.

His Excellency informed me that he had sent instructions to Prince Metternich, authorizing him to attend any Conference at Paris on the affairs of Syria. He read to me the telegram which he had addressed on this subject to Prince Metternich, which was to the following effect, viz., that the Austrian Government adhered to the French proposals for the appointment of a Mixed Commission to inquire into the circumstances of the late excesses in Syria, provided that the Porte should give thereto its sanction, and for an European intervention, if the necessity for it should be proved ("constaté"), and if the Porte should agree to it.

Count Rechberg then informed me that he had received an important communication from the Russian Minister. M. de Balabine had been instructed by Prince Gortchakoff to submit to the Imperial Government a clause which it was the intention of the Russian Government to propose should be inserted in the projected Convention between the Powers and the Porte in the affairs of Syria. This clause was to the effect that the Powers should concert with "the Porte for the protection of the Christians in the Provinces of European Turkey, and that a term should be fixed for the adoption of such measures as would be deemed necessary to correct the present abuses of the Administrative Government, and further that, if any bloody ("sanglants") disturbances should arise, the Powers in accordance with the Porte should be authorized to intervene in the same manner as they should be authorized to do in Syria by the proposed Convention."

Count Rechberg stated that he was fully alive to the dangerous tendency of this proposal, but that it might also be regarded as affording some security for the future ("qu'il avait aussi son bon côté"). On reflection he was of opinion that it would establish both now and hereafter the necessity for a community of action among all the Powers, and thus restrain any isolated intervention on the part of any one of them.

In this light he considered the Russian proposals as offering a safeguard for the future, and he was therefore disposed to view it favourably. At the same time he thought that caution was required, and that the consequences which might arise from its acceptance should be maturely considered, as it was difficult to see what ulterior designs might be concealed behind this.

He accordingly requested me to inquire of your Lordship the views and opinions of Her Majesty's Government on this subject.

On the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, in reply to this inquiry, I immediately informed Count Rechberg that Her Majesty's Government could not admit the clause proposed by Prince Gortchakoff, that it appeared to them to open the door to fresh intervention, and that it would be better to wait till the case to be dealt with arose. I further communicated to his Excellency the substance of the remainder of your Lordship's telegram.

Count Rechberg, who was on the eve of his departure with the Emperor for Italy, had been re-established in Syria, and that a Treaty had been signed between the Druses and Maronites, should be confirmed, he considered that neither a Convention nor an intervention would be necessary, and that, consequently, the Russian proposal would fall to the ground.

But his Excellency stated that if all the other Powers should adhere to the Russian clause he was disposed to do so likewise. On this point I am inclined to think that Count Rechberg is not anxious to put himself unnecessarily forward

in opposition to Russia, but that will rather follow in the wake of the majority of the Great Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 50.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 425.)

My Lord,

Vienna, July 28, 1860.

THE Marquis de Moustier called on me yesterday and informed me that he had just communicated to Baron Koller the draft of a Convention to be entered into between the Powers and the Porte to regulate the intervention of European troops in Syria.

His Excellency stated, that this project of Convention was based on the two French propositions which had been adhered to by all the Powers, with the exception of Prussia, from whom, owing to the absence of the Prince Regent and of Baron Schleinitz from Berlin, no answer had been yet received.

In reply to my inquiry whether there was any limit stated therein to the number of troops to be employed, His Excellency said that the number was left in blank, to be filled up when the Representatives met at Paris.

This project of Convention was forwarded yesterday to Count Rechberg to transmit it to the Russian Minister, and he will be given in this subject until his Excellency's return to Vienna on Saturday next.

In speaking to Baron Koller on the nature of this Convention, he observed, that there was a clause stipulating that the expenses of the foreign intervention would have to be defrayed by the Porte; and his Excellency appeared to consider this as a heavy charge on a country for foreign intervention, wholly unimposed on its part.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 51.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 426.)

My Lord,

Berlin, July 28, 1860.

BARON SCHLEINITZ mentioned to me to-day, that he had just heard from Paris that the Porte had signed their acquiescence in the project of Convention proposed by the French Government on the subject of the intended military intervention in Syria; and he asked me if I knew what were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government respecting this affair. I replied, that your Lordship had sent for my information the copy of a despatch which you had addressed to Earl Cowley on the 23rd instant, and that I would read it to him.

Baron Schleinitz thanked me for this communication, and said that he was very glad to know the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on some of the Articles of the proposed Convention, and that he entirely agreed with the observations which your Lordship had made to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris. I may add, that his Excellency seemed to think it essential to fix a term for the period of the occupation; and he disapproved equally with Her Majesty's Government of the idea of rendering the Porte liable to the expenses of the French expedition.

Baron Schleinitz asked if your Lordship had written to me on the subject of an Additional Article proposed by Russia, the object of which was to render the circumstances of the late disturbances in Syria equally applicable to the Provinces of European Turkey, as he understood that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris had expressed his disapproval of the insertion of such an Article in the proposed Convention. I answered that I was informed on this point. His Excellency then said that he was inclined to come round to

Count Rechberg's opinion respecting the Russian proposal, for he thought it might tend to prevent rather than to arrange the isolated action of Russia in European Turkey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 52

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 1.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 30, 1860.

HER Majesty has selected your Lordship to represent the United Kingdom at Constantinople, and to inquire into the late lamentable events in Syria.

Your Lordship will proceed at once to Constantinople, and there obtain your instructions from Sir Henry Bulwer. Her Majesty's Ambassador will turn you over the papers and documents which will be of use to you in the course of your functions.

The chief object of the Commission will be to obtain security for the future peace of Syria.

But internal peace cannot be obtained without a speedy, pure, and impartial administration of justice. Those who suffer wrong, and see that wrong committed with impunity, take punishment into their own hands, or rather substitute revenge for due and legal retribution.

You will pay respect to the authorities named by the Sultan, and you will always bear in mind that no separate commercial advantage is sought by Her Majesty's Government, nor should be acquired by any of the Great Powers.

I will transmit to you a copy of the Convention respecting Syria as soon as it is signed at Paris.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 53.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 2.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 31, 1860.

I HAVE informed your Lordship in my despatch of yesterday's date, that you will receive instructions from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople for the purpose of your mission. I have also directed Sir H. Bulwer to address to Sir H. Bulwer, who will forward them to you.

If your Lordship, however, should at any time have an opportunity of sending letters to this country, you may send to me, direct, copies of your reports to Sir H. Bulwer.

Mr. Mende, of this office, will be attached to your Lordship's Mission, and you will employ him in such manner as you may think desirable for the benefit of the public service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 54.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 3.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 31, 1860.

I INFORMED your Excellency by my telegram of the 28th instant that a person of rank would be sent to Constantinople to act as British Consul in Syria.

I have now to acquaint you that Lord Dufferin has been selected for this service, and that he has been directed to proceed in the first instance to Constantinople, in order that he may learn from your Excellency the manner in which the duties assigned to him can best be performed for the benefit of the public service.

I have accordingly to desire that your Excellency will furnish Lord Dufferin, in communication and concert with the Sultan's Ministers, with instructions for his guidance, and I transmit to you copies of the letters which I have addressed to him regarding his temporary appointment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 55.

V. Musurus to Lord J. Russell. — (Received July 31.)

Londres, le 30 Juillet, 1860.

L'AMBASSADEUR de la Sublime Porte à Londres vient de recevoir de son Gouvernement une dépêche télégraphique qu'il est invité à communiquer à son Excellence Lord John Russell.

D'après cette dépêche, qui porte la date du 27 Juillet, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan a, sur la demande de l'Angleterre et de la France, autorisé son Ambassadeur à Paris à négocier et à signer une Convention avec les Puissances, relativement à l'envoi d'un corps de troupes en Syrie, si tel est leur commun vœu.

A cette occasion, la Sublime Porte déclare que, si elle a adopté cette décision, c'est pour donner à ses Alliés une preuve de sa confiance, et de son loyal désir de réprimer les désordres qu'elle déplore plus que personne.

Toutefois, elle n'a pas laissé ignorer aux Représentants de France et d'Angleterre à Constantinople tous les inconvénients et tous les dangers qui pourraient amener une intervention de cette nature. Elle leur a fait observer que l'arrivée de troupes étrangères sur un point du territoire Ottoman pourrait, d'un bout à l'autre de l'Empire, exciter chez les différentes populations des sentiments différents, dont les résultats pourraient devenir ou ne point plus désastreux. En effet, la partie turbulente des populations Chrétiennes, interprétant la résolution des Puissances comme une assistance en leur faveur contre les Musulmans, pourrait se laisser aller à des excès. D'un autre côté, ceux d'entre les Musulmans qui ne sont pas en état d'apprécier les véritables intentions de l'Europe, désespérés et irrités de se voir traités avec tant de méfiance, par cela seul que les Druses et une poignée de malfaiteurs qui n'ont de Musulman que le nom qu'ils portent se sont permis des actes qu'ils reprochent eux-mêmes, pourraient répondre à ces excès par d'autres excès. Il est évident que les malheurs qui seraient capables d'amener un pareil état de choses, rallumeraient des haines que le Gouvernement fait tout son possible pour éteindre.

De plus, une fois l'idée répandue parmi les populations Musulmanes que le Gouvernement appelle des forces étrangères pour punir ses co-religionnaires, l'autorité souveraine perdrait en partie son prestige à leurs yeux.

Après les mesures les plus propres à et ayant envoyé le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, est convaincu que, par l'aide de Dieu, il est en état de réprimer tout le désordre et de châtier les coupables.

En conséquence, la Sublime Porte ne voit aucune mesure qui serait capable de faire naître de si grands périls, et qui, en tout cas, ne pourrait que nuire à la tranquillité de la Syrie.

La Sublime Porte espère que ces observations franches et loyales seront prises en sérieuse considération par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, et c'est dans cet espoir qu'elle les a communiquées à MM. les Représentants, qui lui ont promis de les transmettre à leurs Cours respectives.

Agreez, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 1.)

(No. 1,002.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 30, 1860.

I HAD the honour to receive yesterday morning your Lordship's despatch No. 747 of the preceding day, containing instructions for my guidance with respect to the Convention relating to the expedition to Syria.

Vefik Effendi having also received his instructions, and the remaining Representatives of the Five Powers being in possession of the sentiments of their respective Governments, M. Thouvenel requested us to meet again in Conference. The meeting took place this afternoon, and resulted in the adoption of an amended project, a copy of which I have the honor to inclose. The passages in red denote the modifications introduced into the original project.

My colleagues, at M. Thouvenel's inquiry, expressed their readiness to place their initials to this project. I preferred submitting it for your Lordship's consideration, and I request you to let me know, with as little delay as possible, whether it is the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government that I should give their sanction to it. I find that my colleagues are none of them in possession of the full powers necessary to sign a Convention, and as some little time must elapse before they can receive them, M. Thouvenel asked whether the Convention might not be acted upon as soon as the initials of the Plenipotentiaries, who concluded it, should be affixed to it.

My colleagues expressed their assent. I again requested permission to await your Lordship's directions.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
EARL COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Amended Project of Protocol.

LES Plénipotentiaires de _____, désirant établir, conformément aux intentions de leurs Cours respectives, le véritable caractère du concours prêté à la Sublime Porte aux termes de la Convention conclue en ce jour (ou le _____) les sentiments qui leur ont dicté les clauses de cet acte et leur entier dévouement, déclarent de la manière la plus formelle que les Puissances Contractantes n'entendent poursuivre ni ne poursuivront dans l'exécution de leurs engagements, aucun avantage territorial, aucune influence exclusive, ni aucune concession touchant le commerce de leurs sujets et qui ne pourrait être accordée aux sujets de toutes les autres nations.

Néanmoins, ils ne peuvent se séparer sans rappeler ici les actes émanés du Sultan dont l'Article IX du Traité du 30 Mars, 1856, a constaté la haute valeur, ni sans exprimer la prix que leurs Cours respectives attachent à ce que, conformément aux promesses solennelles de la Sublime Porte, il soit pris des mesures administratives sérieuses pour l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de tout rite de l'Empire Ottoman.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Sublime Porte Ottomane prend acte de cette déclaration des Représentants des Hautes Puissances Contractantes, et se charge de la transmettre à sa Cour.

No. 57.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 1.)

(No. 1,003.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 31, 1860.

AS at the Conference held on the 26th instant the Turkish Ambassador had declared himself to be without the necessary instructions to enable him to assent to the occupation of Syria by foreign troops, I thought it advisable, after

receiving your Lordship's despatch No. 747 of the 26th instant, and before M. Thouvenel of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government, I was disposed to ask for or to admit of the occupation by foreign troops of a part of the Sultan's dominions. Accordingly I saw Vefik Effendi early yesterday morning.

His Excellency said that he was empowered to sign a Convention with the Representatives of the Five Powers, provided that the Convention should be signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the five Powers.

He said that he was not in a position to say that he might understand fully the nature of the obligations which he was called upon to contract in the name of his Government. He desired, therefore, that the number of men to be sent should be specified, and that the period for their return should be fixed. He understood that it was only intended in the first instance to send 8,000 French soldiers, but if this number was to be added to by troops furnished by other Powers, as the project of Protocol rendered possible, he wished to be assured that the Porte should be consulted. He considered that no movement of the troops to be landed in Syria should take place without previous intimation to the Porte's Extraordinary Commissioner, and he desired that it should be distinctly specified in the last Article, that the Porte should not be called upon to defray any of the expenses caused by, or arising out of, the wants of the expedition. But Vefik Effendi gave me distinctly to understand that his Government was so convinced of the friendly dispositions of Her Majesty's Government, that he should be ready to sign any Convention which might meet with their approbation.

Having thus ascertained the sentiments of the Porte's Representative, I waited on M. Thouvenel, and after a long conversation, during which he evinced considerable reluctance to adopt several of the modifications which, either in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions or of the wishes expressed to me by Vefik Effendi, I proposed, we came to an understanding upon a project in an amended form, which he agreed to accept in Conference. I again saw Vefik Effendi before the Conference took place, and he expressed himself satisfied with the project, provided that certain questions which he intended to put should be answered in a satisfactory manner.

The principal objections which had been raised by M. Thouvenel were to any modification of Article III, defining the relative positions of the Turkish Commissioner Extraordinary and the French Commander-in-chief, to the fixation of the period of occupation, and to the introduction of a clause into Article VI, absolving the Porte from all expenses arising from the troops of occupation. M. Thouvenel considered that the last proposal was so objectionable, as implying a doubt of the intentions of the French Government, that the Turkish Ambassador abandoned it.

The Conference met at 3 o'clock, when the Convention was agreed to by the Plenipotentiaries in the amended form shown in the inclosure to my despatch No. 1,002 of yesterday's date. These modifications having been settled beforehand, there was but little discussion of the different clauses.

With respect to Article II, M. Thouvenel observed, that if it should be found necessary to augment the army of occupation he hoped that the other Powers would be found ready to furnish their contingents, for that he was most anxious that this should not be considered in the light of a French expedition, but that the French Government was, as it were, delegated by Europe to undertake it in the first instance.

The Prussian Plenipotentiary remarked with reference to Article IV, that the word "promettent" bound his Government to send a naval force to the coast of Syria, a promise which it might not be possible for them to realise. He asked that this expression should be modified, but as the French Plenipotentiary held to the fulfilment of this engagement by the other Powers, and as it was considered inconvenient to omit the name of Prussia altogether, I recommended Prince Reuss to consign his observation to a Protocol, as it would probably be found necessary to sign an instrument of that nature.

The attention of the Turkish Plenipotentiary had been called to reports of the intention of the Greek Government to send troops to Syria, and he considered it necessary to declare that his Government would protest, and if necessary would oppose by force, any fulfilment of such intention. The other Plenipotentiaries, one and all, declared that, in their opinion, no foreign troops could enter the Sultan's dominions without the express consent of the Sovereign, but M. Thouvenel said that he made an exception in cases where immediate danger threatened. Supposing, said his Excellency, a massacre were to take place at Smyrna, foreign ships of war would be justified in landing troops or seamen for the protection of their Consuls and countrymen. Vefyk Effendi did not dissent from this doctrine. I said that the Turkish Ambassador's observation would also find a proper place in a Protocol.

M. Thouvenel took occasion to say, that although, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, six months would more than suffice for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria, and that the troops of occupation might well be brought away within that time, yet that circumstances might arise over which the French Government could have no control, such as illness among the troops, or continual bad weather, on a very exposed coast, which could physically prevent the fulfilment of Article V. Unforeseen events even might occur to render a prolongation of the occupation necessary. I observed that, with regard to the two first contingencies, nobody could be expected to do that which was impossible, and that with respect to the third, there was always the possibility of summoning a fresh Conference.

No. 58

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received August 1.)

(No. 1,003. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 31, 1860.

DURING the interview which I had with M. Thouvenel yesterday morning, I observed that the Russian Government appeared determined not to permit any Plenipotentiary to sign the Convention relative to the expedition to Syria, without a general declaration respecting the Christians in Turkey, which his Excellency had communicated to me, and which was enclosed in my despatch No. 980 of the 26th instant, should be assented to by the remaining Great Powers. He had done his best at St. Petersburg, he said, to induce the Russian Government to abandon this proposal, but he had unfortunately failed. The Austrian and Prussian Representatives had received instructions to support it, and he himself, while expressing his regret that the Russian Government should have brought it forward at this moment, should be obliged to admit that the situation of the Christian subjects of the Porte called for amelioration. He hoped, therefore, that I was in a position to take a similar line.

I said that my instructions were positive, and that I would take no part in suggesting, much less in assenting to, the introduction of the Russian proposal into the Convention, or even into a Protocol.

M. Thouvenel said that he feared that under these circumstances the Convention would come to an untimely end, and he asked me to ascertain whether Her Majesty's Government would not consent to a more modified declaration, in order to meet the wishes of Russia. I begged M. Thouvenel to address himself to M. de Persigny, observing that my instructions were so positive that it would not be proper to me to seek to change them, but his Excellency replied, that this question not having been treated in any of his despatches to M. de Persigny, a long explanation would be required to make him understand it, and he accordingly appealed to me.

I gave a reluctant consent, and addressed to your Lordship, in consequence, the telegram dated 1.15 p.m. yesterday. I trust that, under the circumstances, your Lordship will not disapprove my having complied with M. Thouvenel's request.

I may remark, that a friend of mine has seen the telegram sent to the

Duc de Montebello, enjoining him to use all his efforts to induce Prince Gortchakoff to desist from his proposal, and I have myself seen that Ambassador's reply; and I have reason to think, from the contents of these two documents, that M. Thouvenel has done what depended on him to prevent the Russian proposal from being brought forward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 59

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received August 1.)

(No. 1,006. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 31, 1860.

AFTER the project of Convention to which I have alluded in my despatch No. 1,003 of this day's date, had been discussed and adopted by the Conference yesterday, M. Thouvenel informed the Representatives assembled, that the Russian Ambassador had a proposal to make to them. General Kiseleff then stated that he had received orders from his Government to ask that an Article should be inserted in the Convention, applying its stipulations to other parts of the Empire, but that if this proposal should meet with insuperable objections, he was charged to invite the Plenipotentiaries to conjoin to a Protocol a declaration which he read, and which is identical with that enclosed in my despatch No. 980 of the 26th instant. General Kiseleff added, that unless one or other of these propositions were adopted, he would be precluded by his instructions from signing the Convention.

The Turkish Ambassador declared that he must protest at once, and in the most formal manner, against the proposal; nay more, if it was persisted in, he must refuse to sign the Convention. He characterised the proposal as an attack upon the independence of his Sovereign, and as fraught with consequences, not only to the Turkish Empire, but, from the consequences which its adoption might entail, to Europe in general.

M. Thouvenel disputed with some warmth the right of the Turkish Plenipotentiary to protest in the name of his Government without a previous reference to Constantinople, and he exclaimed against the declaration of that functionary, that if the Russian proposal was persisted in he would not sign the Convention.

I said that the Turkish Plenipotentiary must be better acquainted than we could be with his duties towards his own Government, and that I could well understand his hesitating to sign a Protocol which would involve the application of a part of his Sovereign's territory to other parts of the Empire. I was further sought to apply to other parts of the Empire. I could agree to neither of the Russian propositions. My instructions did not contemplate them in any way, they had been drawn up with reference to a specific and not to a general question.

After some further conversation, General Kiseleff modified his proposal in the following manner: that a Protocol should be drawn up and signed, *ad hoc*, to which his propositions should be consigned, with a request that the Plenipotentiaries would submit them for the consideration of their respective Governments, that the expedition to Syria should be proceeded with in the meantime, and the general question be left open for discussion.

I regretted that I could not acquiesce in this proposal; I could not sign any Protocol which contained matter foreign to the special case for which we had been convened, nor could I be the channel of conveying to your Lordship the proposals of the Russian Cabinet, which ought to be made from Government to Government. I could not understand why the Russian Plenipotentiary should consent to the departure of the expedition, and yet refuse to sign the Convention which would alone sanction the expedition itself. But the most extraordinary notion I had ever heard of, was that of applying the stipulations of a Convention framed for a special purpose in an extensive sense, and that too while the Convention was still a project only, it not having yet been signed: for, in fact, the Russian Plenipotentiary, if I understood his proposal

rightly, would bind the Powers to apply to Turkey in general the stipulations which he refused to sign when applicable to Syria only.

M. Thouvenel said, that he thought that I could not refuse to sign a Protocol rehearsing what had passed in a Conference; I might of course make what observations I pleased upon any proposal made, they would be equally consigned to the Protocol. I replied, that by consenting to sign such a Protocol I should be aiding in giving publicity to a proposal which Her Majesty's Government considered objectionable; that, in fact, as soon as the discussion of the Convention had been finished, I should have been justified in taking my departure, and that if, from a feeling of courtesy, I had remained, I did not consider myself in the least bound to put my name to a document recounting what had passed after the Conference, as far as I was concerned, was over. In truth, we were all placed in a most awkward position by the proceedings of the Russian Plenipotentiary, for we could not finish a work which the Russian Plenipotentiary had not taken into our consideration questions irrelevant to the case before us.

M. Thouvenel admitted that the Russian Government, no doubt without intending it, was the cause of the stand-still to which we were reduced, and he requested General Kameleff to represent to his Government what had occurred, and to ask them to desist from their proposal.

The Austrian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries took but little part in the discussion. They merely announced their readiness to accede to the Russian

though it may perhaps appear otherwise to your Lordship, when reading this summary account of it.

I have &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 60

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 380)

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 1, 1860

THE paper of which the inclosed is a copy, was brought to me by M. Munroe.

Her Majesty's Government are well aware of the evils attendant upon foreign occupation. Nothing but the extreme misconduct of the Pasha and the Turkish troops in Syria could have induced Her Majesty's Government to consent to the proposal of France, and even the massacre of the Lebanon might have been left to the vigilant justice of Fuad Pasha, had not the disastrous news from Damascus shown that even in one of the principal cities of the Empire the Turkish Authorities were incapable of protecting the lives of Christians. Whether the failure arose from want of power or want of will, the want of security to life and property was equally evident.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 61

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 2)

(No. 1,010)

My Lord,

Paris, August 1, 1860.

I SAW M. Thouvenel for a few moments this afternoon, and found him in possession of news from Beyrout to the 24th, and from Damascus to the 17th ultimo. According to the accounts which he had received 5,000 victims had fallen in the latter town. It appears further that Fuad Pasha had asked for reinforcements and for money. Under these circumstances M. Thouvenel is urgent for the departure of the expedition.

No. 55

It is clear, however, that if that departure is to depend on the signature of the Convention, some time must still elapse before it can move, for, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my despatch No. 1,002 of the 30th, none of the Plenipotentiaries who have taken part in the Conference on the subject are in possession of the full powers which would, according to custom, alone authorize them to sign their names to such an act, although some of them have been empowered by telegraph to do so. The only way of remedying this state of things would be the signature of some sort of Protocol as of that which was urged on Her Majesty's Government by M. Thouvenel. It appears to me that there will be less inconvenience in adopting this course than in establishing the precedent of permitting the signature of a Convention without the previous customary exhibition by the Plenipotentiaries of their respective full powers, or of allowing the stipulations of such an instrument to take effect upon the simple recognition of its Articles by the initials of the Plenipotentiaries.

Your Lordship will find a slight variation in the wording of that part of the inclosed project of Protocol which answers to the preamble of the Convention. It has been thought better to make the Allies offer their assistance to the Sultan, and to represent the Sultan as accepting their offer. It is a faithful record of what has taken place, the independent action of the Sultan is equally guaranteed by it, and it prevents the placing of the Turkish Ambassador in contradiction with his own words, which in the commencement of this business were adverse to any European intervention in Syria. I venture to hope that your Lordship will approve this slight modification.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure to No. 61

Project of Protocol.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, l'effusion du sang en Syrie et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous sa souveraineté, et leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, ayant offert leur co-opération active à cet effet, et cette co-opération ayant été acceptée par leurs Majestés, lesdites Altesse Royale, réunis en Conférence, sont tombés d'accord sur les points suivants:

ARTICLE I.

Un corps de troupes Européennes, qui pourra être porté à 12,000 hommes, sera envoyé en Syrie pour contribuer au rétablissement de la tranquillité.

ARTICLE II

Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français consent à fournir immédiatement la moitié de ce corps de troupes. S'il devenait nécessaire d'élever son effectif au chiffre stipulé dans l'Article précédent, les Hautes Parties s'entendraient sans retard, par la voie diplomatique ordinaire, sur la désignation de celle des Puissances qui auraient à y pourvoir.

ARTICLE III

Le Commandant-en-chef de l'expédition entrera, à son arrivée, en communication avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte afin de coordonner toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances et de prendre les dispositions qu'il y aura lieu d'occuper pour remplir l'objet du présent Acte.

ARTICLE IV.

Leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, promettent d'entretenir des forces navales suffisantes pour concourir au succès des efforts communs par le rétablissement de la tranquillité sur le littoral de Syrie.

ARTICLE V

Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, convaincues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atteindre le but de pacification qu'elles ont en vue, fixent à six mois la durée de l'occupation des troupes Européennes en Syrie.

ARTICLE VI.

La Sublime Porte s'engage à faciliter, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle, la subsistance et l'approvisionnement du corps expéditionnaire.

Il est entendu que les six Articles précédents seront textuellement, en tant que faire se pourra, convertis en une Convention, qui recevra les signatures des Représentants soussignés aussitôt qu'ils seront munis des pleins pouvoirs de leurs Souverains, mais les stipulations de ce Protocole entreront immédiatement en vigueur.

No. 62.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 2)

(No. 1,019.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 1, 1860

IT was natural that the Porte should look with some suspicion on the nomination of General Beaufort, who, in the last Syrian war, served in Ibrahim Pasha's army against the Sultan's troops, to the command of the French expedition going to that country, and Veli Effendi has expressed himself in this sense to M. Thonvenel. General Beaufort was, in consequence, despatched to visit the Turkish Ambassador, with a view of reassuring him, and his Excellency informs me that he had every reason to be satisfied with the tone of that officer's conversation, and that he can only regret that the General's acts will correspond with his words.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 63

Lord J. Russell to Lord Bloomfield.

No. 146.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 3, 1860

HER Majesty's Government have directed Lord Cowley to resist the effect of the proposed Russian Article in the Convention respecting Syria. They have done so.

The first is, that the circumstances of Syria are well known, and have excited horror in all Europe.

But it would be difficult to define the degree of massacre which would justify interference in the European Provinces of Turkey; and if we could do so, there would be an obvious temptation to the discontented subjects of the Sultan to get up just so much of outrage and disturbance as might justify intervention.

In the next place, Her Majesty's Government think it unwise to promise, or exact a promise of a new organization of Turkey, without specifying what

that organization is to be. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the question is one which ought to be maturely considered by the Representatives of the Five Powers at Constantinople. But to provide beforehand, in vague and indefinite terms, for foreign intervention, both military and political, would merely serve the purpose of the agents of revolution, and tend to dissolve the remaining elements of order and authority in European Turkey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 64.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 439.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, July 26, 1860.

M. DE LAVALETTE communicated to me to-day a telegram from his Government stating that M. de Thonvenel had come to an understanding with the Ottoman Government, which were to proceed to Syria to arrange, as I understand, the affairs of the Lebanon, and, secondly, an intervention with European troops in Syria in which the French were to take a principal part.

M. de Lavalette was to obtain the assistance of the Porte to those provisions, and also the transmission of full powers to Veli Effendi to arrange a Convention in which other Governments would take a part for the above objects.

I told the Marquis that as to the Commission, I approved of it and had orders to support it, that as to the agreement concerning an armed intervention, I was at present without instruction.

I saw Aali Pasha subsequently with the French Ambassador. His Highness was much moved, and spoke with the greatest emotion, observing that the alternative offered to him was most serious, and that he must consult his colleagues and the Sultan; but that he could truly and honestly assure us as his own opinion, that such an armed intervention as that spoken of would leave the Ottoman Government in its present difficulties powerless, and that he could not answer for any catastrophe that might occur.

Aali Pasha, however, though an amiable and intelligent man, is not perhaps the precise Minister for a situation of this kind; he sees the difficulty on all sides too clearly to be able to take a decided part one way or the other; and I, therefore, do not say that his views will either be persevered in, or are to be relied upon.

For my own part, I find it difficult to speak as to Syria, concerning which I receive such conflicting and varying information. I should think, however, that in the Province of Syria itself the landing of European troops would, as far as Syria is concerned, be productive of advantage, both in reassuring the Christian population and reinforcing the Turkish authority, if properly regulated.

But whether it might not produce another effect in other parts of Asia, is a different question. As to Constantinople and European Turkey generally, I am inclined to think that the intervention in question in the present excited state of the public mind may, unless some precautions are taken, produce disasters by elating the Christian body, and depressing the central authority. But if the Christians are not led away by this movement into committing excesses, I should say that, as far as my observation extends, the first steps towards a religious and political conflict would not be taken by the Turks.

Another peril, however, is to be apprehended. I have explained the state of the Turkish finances. I have explained the condition of the soldiery, and the general distress also into which the stoppage of credit and the dissolution of claimants has thrown the commerce of the capital. To adopt stringent measures of economy, which always produce temporary discontent, or to impose new taxes as a means of raising a revenue, is at this moment replete with danger. New resources must be found in the Empire itself—can be found, and ought to be both sought for and used;—but as an immediate step to satisfy the troops in arrears of pay, and relieve the poorer classes, some immediate funds in specie

are almost absolutely necessary. A million and a half would, I think, suffice for such urgent wants. It is most essential it should be obtained.

To secure the loss of a good illustration of property which a wealthy man might possess would give to trade (particularly with grain from the Black Sea) a required) is in itself a considerable loss. I trust your Lordship's attention; and any arrangement proposed in a proper manner, a portion of the means required.

Perhaps a tax on the import of foreign goods might be a better way of raising the money. I have no objection to this, and I am sure it will be a very effective measure. Perhaps a tax on the import of foreign goods might be a better way of raising the money. I have no objection to this, and I am sure it will be a very effective measure.

All this I have, I know, said before, still I venture to repeat it, as each day presses the importance of doing something in the matter more upon me.

By the advance to which I allude, immense calamities which no sum can afterwards repair may indeed be prevented; and evils turned aside, which, if they occur, may cause millions and millions to be spent without an effective result. Your Lordship will, I am sure, pardon me if, under the influence of what is passing around me, I dwell too much upon this point, and urge what may be well if it were practicable, but which cannot perhaps practically be effected.

At all events, the impressions on my mind are, judging from what he says, more strongly felt by my French colleagues than by me. I am endeavouring to calm. The words of Aali Pasha to-day, however, were evidently so sincere, and at the same time so strong, that I cannot treat them with disregard. As to the loan at Paris, we still hear it is going on, but as all that reaches us is from the French Agent, M. Court, and that is not very clear, I cannot undertake to say whether the fears I have always as yet entertained as to its improbability were well founded, or whether there are really hopes of its being obtained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 63.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 443.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, July 25, 1860.

I HET to inclose translation of the firman issued to Fuad Pasha, conferring on him full powers for punishing all persons who have had a hand in the effusion of human blood in Syria.

The Turkish Government has also issued a circular instruction to all Provincial Governors, of which a translation will follow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 63.

Firman.

(Translation.)

TO my Vizier, Mehemed Fuad, one of the most illustrious Ministers and Chief Counsellors of my Empire, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, now appointed on an extraordinary and special mission to Syria, with full powers on my part, decorated with the first class of the Order of Medjidie and of distinction, and bearer of the Nishan Iftikhar of military service.

You who are my zealous Vizier as above.

I have learnt with the greatest concern the outbreak of war between the

Maronites and Druses who inhabit Mount Lebanon in Syria, owing to a quarrel which has, as you know, arisen between them.

I need not tell you that the favourite object of my wishes is, that every class of my subjects, who are all equal in my eyes, should enjoy perfect security, ease, and contentment, and it is most especially and particularly my desire, that one people should not in any mode whatever commit an aggressive act on another. Therefore, the cruel and tyrannical acts which have been perpetrated in Mount Lebanon are altogether contrary to my wish, and it has become necessary to charge specially, and with full powers, some able, zealous, and intelligent person, for the purpose of putting an end to those excesses, and remove (or destroy) the persons who have provoked these internal troubles, and caused the effusion of human blood.

You are my intelligent Mustir above-mentioned, and one of my most illustrious Ministers, endowed with the above qualities, and in whom I have the most perfect confidence, I have ordered that you be appointed to this important charge with full powers on my part, and a sufficient number of troops has also been sent. So that acting with that perfect knowledge of state affairs, as well as with that zeal and intelligence which distinguishes you, and in accordance with your duty you will, God helping, immediately start from here for that place, where you will be the referee of all civil and military functionaries. You will, by adopting the necessary measures, cause to cease the confusion and civil war which has ensued between the above Maronites and Druses, and procure the return of peace and security to those parts. You will ascertain who have been instrumental in the odious act of shedding human blood, and immediately punish them according to the prescriptions of my Imperial Code. In a word, you are freely intrusted with the adoption of all the military and civil measures for the extinction of this evil. You will, therefore, act accordingly. Such is my order, &c.

(No date.)

No. 64.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 446.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, July 25, 1860.

ON receiving your Lordship's second telegram stating that a corps of European troops was to be sent to Syria in concert with the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers, I immediately communicated the same to Aali Pasha, and went to him that evening and had a long conversation with him.

His fears and agitation as to the consequences are, I think, excessive. There were evident at our last interview (which is related in a former despatch), and are not yet dissipated. Still he said that the Government had determined to consent to the Commission and Convention and the sending of European troops to Syria.

These would necessarily arrive at some specified point in Syria, say Beyrouth, Alexandretta, or another. What Aali wishes is, that when there, they should only be employed in the interior at the requisition of Fuad Pasha, and he said it was only in this way that he could get the consent of the Cabinet to the measure.

I told him that he had better not make small difficulties, but use large and general terms, consenting to, and indeed inviting the European intervention to question, which should act in concert with the Turkish Commission.

I reminded him that I had told him when Fuad Pasha departed that I thought if any further misfortune happened, European intervention was inevitable; and it was then at my advice that he (Aali Pasha) had taken a step in the advance, by writing to M. Musurus, and instructing him to say it would be asked for if required.

This preparatory step smoothed the way without loss of dignity for a further step, which the horrors committed at Damascus rendered necessary. Leaving him uncertain as to the words of his reply, I wrote to him again in the morning, urging him "d'entrer pleinement dans l'indignation de l'Europe, et de se joindre franchement à elle pour rétablir l'ordre et punir les coupables."

and I have since seen the Sultan, my interview with whom will be related separately.

I should be doing injustice, however, to His Imperial Majesty and to Ash Pasha, and indeed I may say to every Turk I have seen, if I did not say that the horror they have expressed and felt at the accounts that have reached us has been most profound; and if any hesitation is felt by the circumstance as to the extent which should be given to the employment of European troops, I believe it is solely guided by his apprehensions as to the effect which the occupation of certain cities, especially Damascus, might have on the Mussulman mind. He speaks strongly against the conduct of the Turkish Authorities and Commanders, but says they will have to answer for it. I have heard him add, that if but 50 Mussulman soldiers had died defending order, he would have been satisfied that the Turkish name would have been defended from shame.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 67

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 447)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, July 25, 1860.

THE latest news from Syria is in an account of Mr. Brant, who had escaped wholly uninjured up to the 10th. He described the riot to have originated owing to some boys who had been assaulting Christians, having been arrested and ordered to sweep the streets by the Pasha.

He says the Christian quarter had been attacked, and that the town was in flames, but in contradiction to M. Lantano, he observes that many murders had not been committed. The Druses were, however, entering the town, and we hear from Beyrout that letters dated from Damascus to the 13th speak of

place

Many Christians have been sheltered in Mussulman houses, and there are a very large number with the Pasha; but this officer has evidently behaved without either courage or judgment, and it is the general belief that any decision on his part might in the first instance have prevented matters getting

It would seem that he was at the time on bad terms with the Government at home, having offered his resignation when some troops had been withdrawn from him, and this resignation having been accepted.

There appears to be entertained at Beyrout for Aleppo, but nothing decisive is here known as to the fate of this place.

I cannot but think, after turning over the matter considerably and looking at the decision of sending the Commission and

are both right measures, even if some bad consequences should be provoked by them

thing will be to limit as much as possible the chances of such consequences. This can be done in the best way by the choice of suitable Commanders with suitable instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 68

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 1,020. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 2, 1860

M. THOUVENEL has read me a report which he has drawn up of the proceedings which took place at the Conference on the 30th ultimo. As it may

be shown your Lordship, and as it differs in some respects from that which I had the honour to lay before you in my despatch No. 1,006 of the 31st ultimo, I think it necessary to call your attention to the fact that I did not interfere in the discussion which took place on the Russian proposal until the Turkish Ambassador had protested against it in the most solemn manner. M. Thouvenel makes the first opposition to come from me, and states that I was supported by the Turkish Representative, in fact being the contrary, that the Turkish Ambassador opposed the Russian proposal as soon as it was made, and that I supported his objections. I told M. Thouvenel that his report was so far in error.

I must add further, that I confess to not having heard some of the arguments and observations which M. Thouvenel describes himself as having made; but this is not of much consequence, as he no doubt truly represents his sentiments. There are also omissions in his report, which a reference to mine will correct.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 69

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 3.)

(No. 1,026.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 2, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN arrived in Paris the night before last, and M. Thouvenel having been too much occupied to enable him to receive his Lordship yesterday, I took him to the Foreign Department this morning. M. Thouvenel, on learning that Lord Dufferin was to receive his instructions from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, said that he feared that great confusion might arise if Her Majesty's Government followed this course. The proposal which his Excellency had made, and which he had understood Her Majesty's Government to have accepted, was, that a Mixed Commission should be sent to Syria, and that the Commissioners in concert with the Commissioner of the Porte should examine into the causes of the late outbreak, should see that the authors and abettors in the massacres were properly punished, and should inquire what alterations and modifications of the arrangement of 1845 could be introduced, so as to prevent a recurrence of the late horrible drama, and ensure a better administration of government in Syria. But to attain these objects his Excellency considered that the Five Powers must agree on the general nature of the instructions to be furnished to their Commissioners, and there would be no unity in the action of the latter, and without unity of action no good results could be obtained. He had himself intended that the French Commissioner should go direct from hence to Syria, and that his instructions should have emanated from himself, but if Her Majesty's Government preferred that the instructions should proceed from Constantinople, then he thought that it would be desirable that they should be drawn up in a Conference of the Representatives of the Five Powers, so that each Commissioner should receive identic directions, for, he repeated, there would otherwise be nothing but discordant opinions. But in order that the 16 representatives at Constantinople might be able to agree upon general instructions, it would be necessary that each Government should furnish its Representative with instructions previously concerted between them all, and until this had been done, no progress could be made at Constantinople. Identic instructions to the Commissioners was his object, whether they were drawn up at Constantinople or elsewhere.

It seemed to me that it would be as well that this question should be cleared up before Lord Dufferin's departure, and as I felt the same wish, and there being time to obtain your Lordship's decision, I addressed you a telegram to that effect this afternoon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 769.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 3, 1860

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 1,026 of the 2nd instant, I have to state to your Excellency that Lord Dufferin was sent to Paris with a view to learn the basis on which the Commission of Inquiry in Syria is to proceed.

Her Majesty's Government always intended that the instructions given by the Five Powers should be identical.

But it appears to Her Majesty's Government that it will be of no use to have an inquiry, if the results of the inquiry are to be determined beforehand.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government that the Representatives of the Five Powers at Constantinople should be desired to draw up in concert the instructions to be given to the Commissioners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received August 4.)

(No. 1,028.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 3, 1860.

M. THOUVENEL informed me this morning that the Russian Government had authorized General Khovloff to dissent from the proposal which he had been instructed to make relative to the Christian population of Turkey. I to agree to the Convention for the occupation of Syria by foreign troops without further difficulty. Prince Gortchakoff reserving to himself to treat the question diplomatically with the several Governments of the Great Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — Received August 4.)

(No. 1,029)

My Lord,

Paris, August 3, 1860

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram informing me that Lord Dufferin might prolong his stay at Paris, but that the nature of his duties should be fixed as soon as possible, I have the honour to state that I have had a further conversation with M. Thouvenel on this subject. His Excellency continues very unwilling to consent that the instructions for the Commissioners who are to proceed to Syria, should emanate from the Representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople. He maintains that the character of the Commission which is intended to institute an inquiry on the part of Europe into the late massacres in Syria, would be altered, if the instructions to the members of it were not to be furnished directly by their different Governments. He considers that their duty should be, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship yesterday, to inquire into the cause of the late disturbances, to see that the guilty are punished, and to suggest modifications in the arrangement for the Lebanon of 1843, and measures for the future government of Syria. Simple instructions of this nature should, his Excellency contends, proceed from the Governments themselves. The report of the Commissioners should be made to their Governments, and thus, in his Excellency's opinion, will be the proper moment for the interference of the Representatives at Constantinople, to obtain the ameliorations that may be considered necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received August 4.)

(No. 1,032.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 3, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, copies of two Protocols which were signed by the Representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and Turkey, the one sanctioning the French expedition to Syria, the other disclaiming all interested motives on the part of the Allies of the Porte in undertaking the expedition. But the latter recalls to the recollection of the Porte the promise made by the Sultan in 1856 to ameliorate the condition of his Christian subjects.

In consequence of the importance of the matters contained in them, I requested that these Protocols might be signed in sextuple. This will be done, when the originals destined for Her Majesty's Government shall be transmitted to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, August 3, 1860

Présents les Représentants, &c.

SA Majesté Impériale le Sultan voulant arrêter, par des mesures promptes et efficaces, l'effusion du sang en Syrie, et témoigner de sa ferme résolution d'assurer l'ordre et la paix parmi les populations placées sous sa souveraineté, et leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, Son Altesse Royale le Prince Régent de Prusse, et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, les Représentants de leurs dites Majestés et de Son Altesse Royale sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants.

ARTICLE I

Un corps de troupes Européennes qui pourra être porté à 12,000 hommes, sera dirigé en Syrie pour contribuer au rétablissement de la tranquillité.

ARTICLE II

L'Empereur des Français consent à fournir immédiatement le corps de troupes. S'il devenait nécessaire d'élever son effectif au chiffre stipulé dans l'Article précédent, les Hautes Puissances s'entendraient avec la Porte, par la voie diplomatique ordinaire, sur la désignation de celles d'entre elles qui auraient à y pourvoir.

ARTICLE III

Le chef de l'expédition entrera, à son arrivée, en communication avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, afin de combiner toutes les mesures exigées par les circonstances et de prendre les positions qu'il y aura lieu d'occuper pour remplir l'objet du présent Acte.

ARTICLE IV.

Leurs Majestés, &c., &c., promettent d'entretenir sur les côtes de Syrie des forces navales suffisantes pour concourir au succès des efforts communs pour le maintien ou le rétablissement de la tranquillité sur le littoral de la Syrie.

ARTICLE V.

Les Hautes Parties, convenues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atteindre le but de pacifier le pays et en vue, fixent à six mois la durée de l'occupation des troupes Européennes en Syrie.

ARTICLE VI.

La Sublime Porte s'engage à faciliter, autant qu'il dépendra d'elle, la subsistance et l'approvisionnement du corps expéditionnaire.

Il est entendu que les six Articles précédents seront textuellement convertis en une Convention qui recevra les signatures des Représentants soussignés, aussitôt qu'ils seront munis des pleins pouvoirs de leurs Souverains, mais que les stipulations de ce Protocole entreront immédiatement en vigueur.

M. le Comte d'Albany, le Prince de Bismarck, ont observé que la distribution actuelle des bâtiments de guerre Prussiens peut ne pas permettre à son Gouvernement de co-opérer dès à présent à l'exécution de l'Article IV.

(Suivant les signatures.)

No. 73.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, August 3, 1860.

LES Plénipotentiaires de _____, désirant établir, conformément aux intentions de leurs Cours respectives, le véritable caractère du concours prêté à la Sublime Porte aux termes du Protocole signé aujourd'hui, les sentiments qui leur ont dicté les clauses de cet Acte, et leur entier dévouement, déclarent de la manière la plus formelle que les Puissances Contractantes n'entendent poursuivre ni ne poursuivront dans l'exécution de leurs engagements, aucun avantage territorial, aucune influence exclusive, ni aucune concession touchant le commerce de leurs sujets, et qui ne pourrait être accordée aux sujets de toutes les autres nations.

Néanmoins ils ne peuvent s'empêcher, en rappelant les Actes émanés du Sultan dont l'Article IX du Traité du 30 Mai, 1856, a constaté la haute valeur, d'exprimer leur confiance que la Sublime Porte, en se conformant aux promesses solennelles de la Sublime Porte, il soit pris des mesures administratives sérieuses pour l'amélioration du sort des populations Chrétiennes de tout l'Empire Ottoman.

Le Prince de Bismarck, le Comte d'Albany, ont observé que la Sublime Porte a employé et continue d'employer ses efforts dans le sens du vœu exprimé ci-dessus.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 74.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 6.)

No. 10. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 2, 1860.

Count Rechberg, the Austrian Minister, said that he was desirous of communicating to me the reasons which had induced him to approve the proposal of Russia to add a secret clause to the Convention for regulating the armed intervention of the Powers in the affairs of Syria. His Excellency described that clause in its original form as embodying a stipulation that, if disturbances occurred in the European Provinces of Turkey, an armed intervention should only take place on the same conditions as those laid down for the intervention in Syria. He was aware that Her Majesty's Government had objected to the addition of any such clause to the Convention, and as it was his earnest wish to pursue in this

question a common action with Great Britain he was desirous to explain clearly the motives which had led the Imperial Cabinet to give their support to the Russian proposal.

The danger, said his Excellency, which in his opinion had chiefly to be guarded against was an isolated intervention in the European Provinces of Turkey on the part of Russia. He thought that danger imminent, because Prince Gortchakoff, when he called together the Representatives of the Great Powers at St. Petersburg, had plainly intimated that if the other Powers should not consent to join energetic measures for the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte, the Russian Government would be constrained by the force of public opinion in their country to interfere alone on behalf of their co-religionists.

This threat having been once thrown out, it behoved the other Powers to neglect no means to frustrate its execution, and to obviate the disastrous consequences to Turkey, and the embarrasments to Europe, which must ensue from such single action on the part of the Russian Government. Now, it appeared to Count Rechberg, that the clause which it was proposed to add to the Convention furnished a guarantee that no isolated intervention in European Turkey would be made by any individual Power, and it was on this account, and with the view of precluding the possibility of eventual action in Turkish affairs on the part of Russia, without concert with her Allies, that he had

Convened.

I replied, that Her Majesty's Government had considered the proposed clause inadmissible, chiefly on the ground that it would open the door to fresh interventions, and that they deemed it expedient to wait till the case for such intervention should arise before determining how it should be met. It regarded for the public law of Europe and for existing obligations were not sufficient to deter Russia from the course of isolated action which his Excellency contemplated, the restraints upon her would not I thought be greatly increased by the clause proposed to be added to the Convention.

His Excellency said that, while Her Majesty's Government thought it better to wait until the hypothetical cases for further intervention arose, he considered that any precaution, such as the proposed clause furnished, against isolated action on the part of any one Power, should not be neglected. The chief object, however, in giving me these explanations was to demonstrate to Her Majesty's Government that he had not separated himself from them on this part of the question, and what he considered as a weighty consideration.

It may be the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on the policy of supporting the proposal of Russia, I was well assured that the explanations into which his Excellency had entered would be received in the same friendly spirit as that in which they had been offered.

Count Rechberg continued the conversation by saying that the Imperial Cabinet was extremely desirous to pursue a course identical with that of Her Majesty's Government upon the Syrian question, and this object had been carefully kept in view in framing the instructions sent to Prince Metternich. He had been generally instructed to act in concert with his British and Prussian colleagues, and specially instructed to support the proposal proposed by your Lordship.

In entering upon the general bearings of the question, Count Rechberg said that he regretted that a French army was to proceed alone to Syria, and that it had been glad that it should be accompanied by some of the British troops. He believed that the intention of the French Government was to proceed with the intervention in every case, and that they would suffer no reports of a reconciliation between the hostile races and sects, and of the consequent re-establishment of tranquillity, to interfere with their settled purpose to occupy Syria. He thought they would establish a strong military position in that country, and that it would be a work of immense difficulty to induce them to quit it. Their plan, he apprehended, was to invest Abd-el-Kader with vice-regal authority, and to place the Government of the country in his hands, a measure which would tend materially to weaken and discredit the Porte.

Her Majesty's Government, I said, considered the intervention was justified by the ferocity of the Druses, and the apathy of the Turkish Authorities; but, while the gravity of the case appeared to render an armed interference necessary, such a measure had been sanctioned by them with great reluctance. They were, moreover, of opinion that intervention should only be undertaken when the necessity for it was clearly proved, and that it should cease as soon as such necessity no longer existed. The objections to a prolonged occupation, I observed, had not escaped Her Majesty's Government, and with a view of averting it they desired that the Convention should provide for the evacuation of Syria by the foreign troops at the expiration of a term of six months. Although Her Majesty's Government, I said, did not propose to employ the Queen's land forces in the effort to restore order in Syria they had determined to send a squadron to the coast, and to vest in the Admiral the power to land Marines if necessary. They had been of opinion that Austria might, if necessary, send some troops to Aleppo.

"That," replied his Excellency, "we cannot do. We require all our troops for the defence of Venice in case it should be attacked."

His Excellency closed the conversation by observing that he was glad to conclude from what I had said that your Lordship viewed this question in the same grave light in which he himself regarded it, and he trusted and believed that the opinions of the two Governments upon Syrian Affairs would prove to be identical on all essential points.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN PANE.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have again seen Count Rechberg, who informs me that he has learnt by telegraph that the Russian Government had consented to modify the clause which they propose adding to the Convention. The clause to which he had directed my special attention, and which had rendered it valuable in his opinion for the reason which he had stated to me. The clause in its modified form appeared to him to give expression to vague generalities, and to be therefore far less satisfactory than the stipulation originally proposed, which would have proved an effective check upon the single action of any one of the Powers in favour of the Christians subjects of the Porte.

Count Rechberg had also learnt that it had been proposed to the Russian Government that they should withdraw their clause altogether, so as not to mix up questions relating to the European Provinces of Turkey with those which appertained to affairs in the East, but he had not yet been informed of the reply received from St. Petersburg.

J. F.

No. 75

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell—(Received August 6.)

(No. 288.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 4, 1860

BARON SCHLEINITZ has informed me that a Protocol was signed yesterday at Paris in anticipation of the proposed Convention authorizing a military intervention, and the temporary occupation of Syria by forces of the Allied Powers, and he said that a portion of the troops to be sent by the French Government would in consequence be enabled to depart for the East without delay.

With reference to the introduction in the Convention of the proposed Russian Article, I told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had objected to it for two reasons, which I trusted he would duly appreciate, and I

2nd instant.

Baron Schleinitz made no observation until I got to the passage in which it was stated that Her Majesty's Government think it unwise to promise or exact a promise of a new organization of Turkey, without specifying what that organization is to be, and he said that he was quite of the opinion

Majesty's Government that nothing in this respect should be undertaken without being taken into the fullest consideration by the Great Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 76.

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Brakine.

(No. 34.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 8, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 53 of the 27th ultimo, in which you report the language made use of by Prince Gortchakoff respecting foreign intervention in Syria, and the views of Russia with regard to the protection to be afforded generally to Christian subjects of the Porte; and with reference to the desire expressed by his Excellency to speak to you again upon the subject, I have to instruct you to listen to any observations which Prince Gortchakoff may wish to make to you, and to report the same to me.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 77

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 1,040.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 7, 1860.

AS the French troops which are to be sent to Syria are to act in the name of Europe, and as the object which the expedition is to attain is a very important one, I have been induced to do this because rumours had reached me that among the instructions furnished by General Beaufort was one enjoining him to levy a contribution on the town of Damascus, and another to punish the guilty in the late massacres. I have told M. Thouvenel, therefore, that, as General Beaufort will be acting in virtue of a Protocol by the Great Powers with the Porte, those Powers should be furnished with copies of the instructions given to the General. M. Thouvenel informed me this afternoon that he had applied to the Ministry of War for this document, and that as soon as he should be in possession of it, copies should be furnished to the different Governments interested. In the meantime he could tell me that the Emperor's last words to General Beaufort were, that his Majesty would expect him to return within three months.

M. Thouvenel, however, having expressed himself in the course of this conversation to the effect that indemnities had been demanded at Jeddah for the massacres committed there, and that he considered that the same course should be pursued at Damascus, I observed that, according to his own proposal, the whole question was to be inquired into by a Mixed Commission, and to them, therefore, should be left the duty of making proposals of this or any other kind, which side the fray had originally commenced. If, as many suppose, the Maronites had been the original aggressors, it might not excuse the atrocities committed by the Druses, but it would materially alter the question of indemnity, nor could it be intended that the town of Damascus should pay for excesses committed in the Lebanon. The Porte should be left in the first instance as Sovereign to do what was right, and the Commissioners should not interfere unless the Authorities sent by the Porte did not do their duty.

I made a further observation to M. Thouvenel, which I was happy to see that he responded to, and of which, if necessary, advantage may be hereafter taken by Her Majesty's Government, namely, that the institution of the Commission would facilitate the return of the expedition, for that as soon as

tranquillity should be restored, and the moral effect which the French Government hoped from the presence of European troops in Syria should be obtained, there would be a fair and valid reason for withdrawing the troops and leaving further proceedings in the hands of the Commissioners. M. Thouvenel said that he would be a great assistance to the French Government to cover the withdrawal of their troops, for he looked to no other than a moral effect, as a safeguard for the future, from the presence of the expedition which had been sent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 78

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 1,050.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 7, 1860.

M. THOUVENEL, having been out of town, I could not see his Excellency until this afternoon on the subject of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 768 and 772 of the 3rd and 4th instants, relative to the instructions to be given to the Commissioners about to proceed to Syria. I read the substance of those despatches to him. A lengthened conversation ensued, during which M. Thouvenel repeated the observations which he had before made to me on the subject; that if the Commission was to act upon instructions emanating from Constantinople it would not carry with it the same weight as a Commission acting upon identical instructions coming direct from the several Governments furnishing Commissioners; and that he could see no difficulty in framing simple instructions on which the Commissioners could act. He recapitulated the three points to which the instructions should refer: namely, to investigate the origin and cause of the late outbreak and massacre; to see that the guilty were punished; to inquire into and advise on the best means of preventing a renewal of the late bloody scenes, and of ameliorating the Government of Syria. Having done this the Commissioners should address a collective report to their respective Governments. It would be impossible for the Representatives at Constantinople to give other than general instructions of this nature, and by a reference there much time would be lost. However, those Governments who liked to send their Commissioners by way of Constantinople could do so, but a day should be fixed on which all the Commissioners should meet in Syria, and put themselves in communication with the Porte's Commissioner Extraordinary.

As I could make no impression on M. Thouvenel, I requested him to lose no time in proposing this to the French Commissioner. He promised to do so by to-morrow's, and at latest by to-morrow's mail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 79

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 1,053.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, extracted from the "Moniteur," the copy of an allocution addressed by the Emperor at Chalons to such of the troops as are about to depart from thence to form part of the expedition to Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 79.

Extract from the "Moniteur" of August 8, 1860.

Camp de Chalons, le 7 Août, 1 h. 25 m. soir.

CE matin, à dix heures, l'Empereur a passé la revue de départ du 5ème Régiment de Ligne, Colonel Canard, du 15ème Régiment, Colonel Duricaud, et du 1er Escadron du 1er des Hussards, Capitaine Stockiy.

Les troupes étaient en tenue de campagne et présentaient l'aspect le plus martial.

Avant le défilé, Sa Majesté a distribué quelques croix et médailles; les troupes étant formées en carré, les drapeaux au centre, l'Empereur a prononcé l'allocution suivante:—

"Soldats,

"Vous partez pour la Syrie et la France salue avec bonheur une expédition qui a pour but de rétablir la justice et la pitié.

"Vous n'allez pas, en effet, faire la guerre à une puissance quelconque, mais vous allez aider le Sultan à faire rentrer dans l'obéissance des sujets aveuglés par un fanatisme d'un autre siècle.

"Sur cette terre lointaine, riche en grands souvenirs, vous ferez votre devoir et vous vous montrerez les dignes enfants de ces héros qui ont porté glorieusement dans ce pays la bannière du Christ.

"Vous ne partez pas en grand nombre, mais votre courage et votre prestige feront que les nations savent qu'il y a une grande cause qui le précède, un grand peuple qui le suit.

Après ces paroles a eu lieu le défilé aux cris enthousiastes de "Vive l'Empereur."

No. 80

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 789.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 9, 1860.

I HAVE seen M. Jaucourt, and he has read to me the despatch of M. Thouvenel respecting the instructions to the Commissioners on the affairs of Syria.

Her Majesty's Government entirely agree with that of France respecting the objects of the Commission which are thus defined by M. Thouvenel:—

"Elle doit consister à rechercher les circonstances qui ont amené les derniers conflits, à déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin à étudier, pour les soumettre à l'approbation des Gouvernements et de la Porte, les dispositions qui pourraient être adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux malheurs."

As the instructions will contain little more than a direction to attend to these objects, it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be of little importance whether the Commissioners are to be named by the French Government or by the Representatives at Constantinople.

I therefore readily accede to the wish of M. Thouvenel. What a matter of the greatest importance is, that as the Commissioners will be named by the Porte, they should be named, and begin their operations as soon as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 9.)

(No. 2.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 8, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday evening I had a conversation with M. de Thouvenel on the subject of the Syrian Commission, from which I gathered that his Excellency's ideas in regard to its functions correspond pretty accurately with those of your Lordship.

On my returning, however, to inquire of his Excellency what were the relations in which it was intended the Commission should stand to the General commanding the French Army, his Excellency rather drily replied, "That no relations at all would exist between the General and the Commission."

The Commission, I understand, will be a body of men appointed by the Government of France, and will be under the authority of its European chief.

I have, &c.

DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

No. 82

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 9, 1860.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 2 of the 8th instant, inquiring what position the European Commission should hold with respect to the Commander-in-chief of the French forces in Syria, and I have to state to you in reply, that Her Majesty's Government do not apprehend that any special instructions will be required on this point, as the duties of the Commissioners and of the Commander will be quite distinct.

I may observe, however, that if communication should at any time be considered necessary from the Commission to the French General, such communication should be made by the Commissioners collectively, and not by any one Commissioner individually.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 83

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brunt.

(No. 1.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 10, 1860

WITH reference to your despatch No. 8 of the 18th ultimo, detailing the plunder, massacres, and conflagrations which took place in the Christian quarter of Damascus, between the 9th and the 15th of July, and the exertions of the Algerines under Abd-el-Kader, in saving several hundreds from the ruins, I have to instruct you to convey to his Highness the Emir Abd-el-Kader, in suitable terms, the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his noble exertions on that occasion in defence of the lives of the Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 10.)

(No. 23.)

My Lord,

Beirut, July 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of this date to his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer relative to the mission of Fuad Pasha to Syria, and the state of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 1 in No. 84

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, July 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 18th instant to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with its inclosures.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 12th instant, by Fuad Pasha, relative to his Excellency's mission to Syria, and to say, that I will be entirely guided by the instructions it contains.

The Imperial Firman appointing Fuad Pasha the Porte's Commissioner, and conferring on him extraordinary powers, has been publicly read with the usual ceremonies, and his Excellency has issued a proclamation to the people of Syria. The Pasha has just sent me several printed copies of both documents. I beg to inclose one of each in the original Arabic for the present, and will transmit translations as soon as practicable.

I paid a second visit to Fuad Pasha yesterday, who received me with the same cordiality as before. I gave his Excellency such information as I deemed it desirable he should possess. In reference to what I said respecting the conduct of the Turkish officers and troops, who, according to my information, had encouraged the Druses to commit atrocities, and even menaced them should they not act in the manner prescribed, he said that he was open to receive any disclosures that might be made by Druses, in that or any other sense, under any proper conditions they chose, and, if necessary, through my medium. His Excellency informed me that he had taken measures for the subsistence of the Druses, and he had ordered the appointment of certain military officers, a Colonel and two Majors, and at once Anwar Pasha to Constantinople to answer for his conduct there; and that he would himself leave for Damascus in three or four days, make a short stay there, and then take up his quarters at some spot between that city and Beirut.

I have already reported that Fuad Pasha had sent Khorsid Pasha to Latakia. This step has excited surprise and remark, and it is inferred that the Pasha will not return to this place, but go on to Constantinople.

I regret to state, that by Mr. Abela's reports, the neighbourhood of Sidon still continues to be the scene of Druse acts of violence and aggression, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace. I purpose to-day to bring this circumstance to the knowledge of the Porte's Commissioner, as well as the fact that the Druses of Christian villages close to Beirut do not venture to return to their places to attend to their olive plantations, their sole remaining property, as the few who had done so have met with molestation and insult at the hands of the Druses.

I have accounts from Mr. Brunt up to the 20th instant continued to prevail, but no Christian could show himself out of doors without being assailed with opprobrious language and personal insult.

From Aleppo we have no intelligence as yet.

Captain Paynter, at my recommendation, despatched the "Mohawk" to Jaffa on the 18th, in consequence of the urgent request of Mr. Consul Kayal for a ship of war, on account of the demeanour and language of the

Mahometans. The "Mohawk" was to call at the intermediate ports on her way back. Captain Howard's orders were to return forthwith, unless circumstances prevented his doing so. As up to this date he has not returned, I feel some anxiety in regard to the delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 84

Imperial Firman.

(Translation.)

TO the Honourable Magnate and Excellent Counsellor, the regulator of the world and director of public affairs with sagacity, and the accomplisher of the affairs of the people with a correct and right understanding, the establisher of authority, and the greatest agent of our Sublime Government, and the greatest Counsellor of our high Royalty, intrusted with the Foreign Affairs of our august Government; chosen by our Majesty to be independent in the Extraordinary Commission for the Affairs of Syria, the bearer of our mark of the Mandieh, the obsequer worthy of the honour of the decoration of your Imperial distinction, and of the military service of the first class; the wise Vizir, Mohammed Fend Pasha, may God the most high preserve his dignity. As soon as thou receivest this our Imperial order, let it be known by thee.

Thou who art an energetic and distinguished Vizir, art aware fully of the evil which has broken out between the Maronites and the Druses inhabiting Mount Lebanon in Syria. As soon as the news of the hostilities and civil war raging between them reached us, we were very much displeased out of compassion for the people; we, in our august power, look only with compassion upon our subjects notwithstanding their differences of religion, so that they all may enjoy security, comfort, happiness, and tranquillity, and that no party should molest another or trespass upon its rights in any way. This is our greatest aim and earnest desire.

As to the tyrannical and treacherous proceedings which have disturbed Mount Lebanon, we have full confidence in thy sagacity and wisdom, to take charge of this matter, and authorize thee, being fully satisfied of the prudence for which thou hast been distinguished, that thou mayest hasten to extinguish the fire of this excitement, and utterly to destroy those persons who gave birth to this disturbance, not sparing any of them, nor allowing to escape the perpetrators of these wicked acts, who have shed wickedly the blood of mankind. Now, O excellent Vizir, the unique amongst thy co-peers, who art adorned with the above-mentioned honourable qualities, dignified and venerated among the men of our victorious kingdom, thou, even thou art the person in whom our Majesty has put its confidence and trust, that thou mayest be on our part independent in this important matter free to order and to act. And we have sent to those parts a numerous army which will be subject to thy orders, to be despatched wherever thy prudence, judgment, and energy should deem necessary. Thou wilt, please God, immediately leave this place for that country, and as soon as thou reachest that land, all civil and military Vizirs will be subordinate to thee. They will abide by thy advice and submit to thy instructions in whatever thou deemest necessary for exterminating as soon as possible the traces of this civil war between the Maronites and the Druses. Exhaust every effort for restoring security and tranquillity, which are essential to the happiness of all men. Punish those who have transgressed the laws of our Sublime Government, according to the just rules of our criminal code, for rebuke and chastisement. Hasten, O hasten to exterminate the traces of this dreadful disaster, acting with the wisdom and energy in which thou hast been signalled. Owing to thy wisdom and faithfulness in the discharge of the duties of thy office, and to the success of thy doing

thy utmost in carrying out thy mission. We have entrusted thee with the civil and military power in managing this affair. In view of which, these orders have been issued to thee from our Imperial Court, entrusting thee with the execution of this work, and permitting thee to depart, in order that thou mayest be directed and guided by the

Depend on Our Royal Signet.

Dated the last of Zil-zi-Haji 1276 (July 1860).

Inclosure 3 in No. 84.

(Translation.)

Proclamation.

People of Syria!

THE civil war which has just broken out in Mount Lebanon between the Maronites and Druses, and the wicked shedding of blood resulting from it have excited the indignation and the regrets of His Majesty our Sultan, his mercy and justice extending to all his subjects equally and without distinction.

It is quite opposed to His Majesty's pleasure that any person or party should for any reason or in any way molest or oppress a subject of the Porte. Whoever, therefore, ventures to molest a subject of the Porte is to be considered as a rebel against the Government. Hence, after investigating the offences committed by the inhabitants of the Lebanon, every trace of hostility and discussion shall be removed.

I have come with an Imperial, Independent, and extraordinary Commission to investigate the causes of the civil war. The nature of my Commission will be known from the provisions of the High Firman addressed to me, and from which all the world will know the justice of our Sultan, who gives refuge to the oppressed, and inflicts punishment on the oppressors.

I will carry out this my Commission with perfect uprightness. Let all here be at peace.

As to those families who were driven out of their houses and homes, I will charge myself with their relief, and will see that they are provided with the means of living, thus manifesting to them the Imperial justice and compassion in every way.

Let hostilities cease altogether. From this and henceforth, the Imperial troops under our command will attack any transgressing party that begins to molest a subject of the Porte. A Commission, while contemplating a cessation of all dissensions, is intended also to be an extraordinary means for hearing all cases of a criminal character affecting individuals. Let every one, therefore, great or small, boldly bring before us his grievances, and we shall not fail to hear them.

Be it known to all!

No. 86.

The Count de Jaucourt to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 10.)

My Lord,

Albert Gate House, 9 Août, 1860.

SUIVANT le désir que vous avez bien voulu m'en exprimer ce matin, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint copie de la dépêche de M. Thiers, et du projet d'instructions au Général de Beaufort d'Hautpoul.

Agreez, &c.
(Signé) F. DE JAUCOURT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 85.

M. Thouvenel to Count Perrigny

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 8 Août, 1860

M. L'AMBASSADEUR d'Angleterre m'a annoncé la nomination de Lord Dufferin en qualité de Commissaire du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique en Syrie. M. le Comte Cowley m'a également fait savoir, en me le faisant connaître, qu'il doit recevoir ses instructions de Sir H. Bulwer. Je n'ai point appris jusqu'à présent que les autres Puissances aient désigné de leur côté des Commissaires, et j'attends qu'un accord se soit établi entre elles à cet égard pour soumettre le choix que j'aurai à faire à l'approbation de l'Empereur.

Vous vous rappelez, M. le Comte, l'idée que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté se forme de la tâche de la Commission, et comment je la définissais dans ma dépêche du 16 Juillet. Elle doit consister, vous disais-je, à rechercher les circonstances qui ont amené les derniers conflits, à déterminer la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration locale, ainsi que les réparations dues aux victimes, et enfin à proposer, pour les soumettre à l'approbation des Gouvernements et de la Porte, des conditions qui pourraient être adoptées pour conjurer de nouveaux malheurs. Il semble que, pour se trouver investis de toute l'autorité nécessaire à l'accomplissement de cette mission, les Commissaires devraient tenir leurs instructions comme leur mandat des Gouvernements eux-mêmes, et continuer de recevoir leurs instructions des Cabinets tout en correspondant avec les Ambassadeurs à Constantinople dont ils auraient à prendre les avis. Je ne vous puis, d'ailleurs, qu'en traçant ces instructions il y eût lieu d'entrer dans les détails; il suffirait de poser quelques principes sur lesquels les Gouvernements concerteraient et dont l'application serait remise aux Commissaires. Pénétrer l'origine et les causes des derniers événements, se livrer, d'accord avec le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, à une enquête ayant pour objet de punir les coupables, et, autant que possible, d'accorder aux familles qui ont particulièrement souffert les réparations matérielles des pertes qu'elles ont subies, examiner et suggérer dans un rapport collectif les modifications que comporterait l'organisation administrative de la Montagne telle qu'elle résulte des arrangements de 1842 et de 1845, telles sont, à mon avis, les principales communications aux Cabinets, les données du programme que la Commission serait chargée de recueillir.

M. le Comte de savoir si le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat partageait ces vues et s'il n'est placé dans cet ordre d'idées en envoyant Lord Dufferin en Syrie. Il est d'une importance indispensable que les Puissances s'entendent préalablement sur ce point, et Lord John Russell jugera sans doute opportun de faire connaître aux autres Cours l'opinion du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique sur ce sujet, ainsi que sur la date à laquelle les Commissaires devraient être réunis à Beyrouth.

Afin de mettre M. le Ministre de la Guerre en mesure de préciser, dans les instructions qu'il avait à donner à M. le Général de Beaufort, l'objet de la mission, j'ai chargé de l'interim de ce Département, la lettre dont vous trouverez la copie ci-jointe.

Agrées, &c.
(Signé) THOUVENEL.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Paris, August 8, 1860

THE English Ambassador has informed me that Lord Dufferin as Commissioner of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in Syria. Lord Cowley has also acquainted me, in presenting him to me, that Lord Dufferin starts the day after to-morrow for Constantinople, and that he is to receive his instructions from Sir H. Bulwer. I have not learnt as yet that the other Powers have on their part named Commissioners, and I am waiting until an agreement may be established among them on this subject in order to

submit to the approbation of the Emperor the choice which I shall have to make.

You remember, M. le Comte, the idea which His Majesty's Government entertains of the task of the Commission, and how I defined it in my despatch of the 16th July. It should consist, I told you, in investigating the circumstances which have led to the late conflicts, in determining the share of the responsibility of the chiefs of the insurrection, and of the agents of the local administration, and finally to propose, for their submission to the approval of the Governments and of the Porte, conditions which might be adopted to avert fresh evils. It appears to me that, in order that they may find themselves invested with all the authority necessary to the accomplishment of their mission, the Commissioners should hold their instructions like their authority from the Governments themselves, and continue to receive their instructions from the Cabinets, corresponding at the same time with the Ambassadors at Constantinople whose advice they will have to take. Further, I do not see that in laying down their instructions there would be occasion to enter into details; it would suffice to lay down certain principles upon which the Governments will come to an agreement, and the application of which will be entrusted to the Commissioners. To penetrate the origin and the causes of the late events, to devote themselves, in concert with the Extraordinary Commissioner of the Porte, to an inquiry having for its object to punish the guilty, and, as far as possible, to make good the losses which have especially suffered, material compensation for the losses which they have experienced, to examine and suggest in a collective report the modifications which would be admissible in the administrative organisation of the Mountain as it results from the arrangements of 1842 and of 1845—such are, in my opinion, as I said in our first communication to the Cabinets, the essential conditions of the programme which the Commission will be charged to carry out.

I should wish to know, M. le Comte, if the Principal Secretary of State shares these views, and if it was with these intentions that he sent Lord Dufferin to Syria. It is moreover indispensable that the Powers should come to a previous arrangement upon this point, and Lord John Russell will no doubt consider it opportune to make known to the other Courts the opinion of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty upon this subject, as well as upon the date when the Commissioners should be assembled at Beyrouth.

With a view to place the Minister of War in a position to set forth in the instructions he had to give to General de Beaufort the object of the mission of the Commander-in-chief of our troops, I have addressed to Admiral Hamelin, temporarily in charge of that Department, the letter of which you will find a copy annexed.

Recevez, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL

Inclosure 2 in No. 85

M. Thouvenel to Admiral Hamelin, Minister of War ad interim.

M. l'Amiral et cher Collègue,

Paris, le 4 Août, 1860.

CONFORMEMENT aux ordres de l'Empereur j'ai signé hier avec les Représentants des Grandes Puissances et M. l'Ambassadeur de Turquie le Protocole dont j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint la copie. Cet acte détermine le caractère et l'étendue du concerta collectif prêté à la Turquie, en vue de mettre rapidement un terme aux désordres dont la Syrie est le théâtre. En indiquant le but que les Cabinets se proposent d'atteindre, il consacre leur accord et établit qu'ils interviennent à titre collectif et au nom de l'Europe après s'en être entendus avec la Porte, à laquelle appartient en premier lieu le devoir d'apaiser. La nature de cet arrangement doit servir de règle au Commandant-en-chef de nos troupes, et votre Excellence jugera sans doute nécessaire d'en tenir compte dans les instructions qu'elle aura à remettre à M. le Général de Beaufort d'Hautpoul.

L'objet de la mission de cet Officier Général et des Commandants des forces

navales des Puissances réunies sur les côtes de Syrie, est de concourir à arrêter, par des mesures promptes et énergiques, l'effusion du sang, et à secourir la répression des attentats commis sur les Chrétiens, et qui ne sauraient rester impunis. L'Article III du Protocole stipule qu'à cet effet il devra, à son arrivée en Syrie, entrer en communication avec le Commissaire de la Porte. Cette clause était commandée par la situation même des choses; l'accord des Puissances devait se retrouver dans la participation de leurs Agents appelés à contribuer au résultat qu'elles ont résolu de poursuivre. L'Envoyé du Sultan et M. le Général de Beaufort auront donc à réunir leurs efforts communs en combinant l'action de nos troupes avec les pleins pouvoirs dont le Commissaire Ottoman a été muni, et qui lui donnent le droit de rendre et de faire exécuter les décisions exigées par les circonstances. M. le Général de Beaufort toutefois conserve une entière liberté d'appréciation pour tout ce qui concerne l'honneur de notre drapeau et la sûreté de notre corps expéditionnaire. A cet égard il demeure libre, en s'en expliquant cependant avec le Représentant du Gouvernement Turc, d'adopter les mesures et d'occuper les positions qu'il jugera utile de prendre.

J'invite l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople et nos Consuls à Beyrouth et à Damas à secourir de tous les moyens en leur pouvoir l'accomplissement de la mission confiée à cet Officier Général.

Aggréé, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

(Translat. n.)

M. l'Amiral et cher Collègue,

Paris, August 4, 1860

IN conformity with the orders of the Emperor I signed yesterday with the Representatives of the Great Powers and the Ambassador of Turkey the Protocol of which I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy. This act determines the character and extent of the effective measures afforded to Turkey, with a view quickly to put an end to the disturbances in Syria which is the theatre.

Whilst pointing out the object which the Cabinet propose to attain, it sanctions their agreement, and establishes the fact that they interpose collectively, and in the name of Europe, after having come to an understanding to such effect with the Porte, to whom belongs in the first place the duty of originating the measures to be taken.

The nature of this arrangement will serve as a rule to the Commander-in-chief of our troops; and your Excellency will no doubt deem it necessary to consider this in the instructions which you will have to address to General Beaufort d'Hautpoul.

The object of the mission of this General and of the Commanders of the naval forces of the Powers assembled on the coasts of Syria, is to assist in stopping, by prompt and energetic measures, the effusion of blood, and in putting an end to the outrages committed against the Christians, which cannot remain unpunished.

Article III of the Protocol stipulates that, to this end, he shall, upon his arrival in Syria, enter into communication with the Commissioner of the Porte. This clause was rendered necessary by the very situation of things; the harmony between the Powers was to reappear in the participation of their Agents called upon to contribute to the attainment of the object which they have resolved to pursue. The Sultan's Envoy and General de Beaufort will have then to unite their common efforts by combining the action of our forces with the full powers with which the Turkish Commissioner has been vested, and which gave him the right to make, and to cause to be executed, the decisions called for by circumstances.

General de Beaufort retains, however, entire liberty of judgment in every matter which concerns the honour of our flag and the safety of our expeditionary force.

In this respect, he remains free to adopt such measures and to occupy such positions as he may judge to be useful; being answerable for them, however, to the Representative of the Turkish Government.

I invite the Ambassador of His Majesty at Constantinople, and our

Consuls at Beyrouth and Damascus, to further, by every means in their power, the accomplishment of the undertaking entrusted to them.

Receivé, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 86

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 791.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 11, 1860

HER Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to M. Thouvenel as reported in your despatch No. 1,049 of the 7th instant, upon the subject of the Commission about to proceed to Syria.

Since the receipt of your despatch Count Jaucourt has communicated to me a copy of a despatch from M. Thouvenel to Count de Persigny upon the same subject, a copy of which is inclosed herewith for your Excellency's information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 87

The Marquis d'Azeglio to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

23, Park Lane, le 10 Août, 1860

LE Marquis d'Azeglio présente ses compliments à son Excellence Lord John Russell et s'empresse de lui transmettre ci-joint copie de la dépêche de son Excellence le Comte de Cavour relative aux affaires de la Syrie dont il a eu l'honneur de lui donner lecture hier.

Le Marquis d'Azeglio prie son Excellence Lord John Russell d'agréer, &c.

Inclosure 1 in No. 87

Count Cavour to the Marquis d'Azeglio

M. le Marquis,

Turin, le 3 Août, 1860

DÈS les premières complications soulevées par la situation en Orient, le Gouvernement du Roi, invoquant les droits que lui confère le Traité de Paris de 1859, demanda à concourir aux négociations qui s'ouvrirent entre les Puissances qui avaient signé avec lui les stipulations réglant la position de la Turquie dans ses rapports avec l'Europe.

Lorsque, plus tard, les désordres et les massacres de Syrie vinrent jeter une profonde émotion en Europe, et faire sentir l'urgence nécessaire de mesures propres à protéger efficacement la vie et le repos des malheureuses populations Chrétiennes de ces contrées, le Gouvernement du Roi, partageant les sympathies et les sollicitudes de tous les pays civilisés, réclama de nouveau la part qui lui revenait dans le concert qui s'établirait entre les signataires du Traité de Paris pour arriver aux moyens d'aider la Turquie à mettre un terme à ces excès et à ces désastres.

Fondée sur les dispositions d'un acte solennel, non moins que sur la protection que la Sardaigne doit à ses nombreux nationaux résidant en Syrie, et sur les graves intérêts de sa marine et de son commerce, la demande du Cabinet de Turin se recommandait naturellement à la considération des Puissances.

En effet, à Paris, comme à Londres et à St. Pétersbourg, nous avons rencontré dans la justice et dans la loyauté de ces Cours les meilleures dispositions à secourir nos desirs.

Nous avons appris toutefois que, pour faciliter une entente qui n'aurait su souffrir de délais sans laisser les habitants Chrétiens de la Syrie en proie aux

dévices de leurs adversaires, les Puissances auraient adopté la résolution de procéder uniquement en vertu de l'arrangement conclu en 1845, auquel la Sardaigne n'a pas été partie.

Cette manière d'envisager la question en dehors des clauses du Traité signé à Paris le 30 Mars, 1856, dont, on le concevra, nous suggérer de graves objections.

Je sais qu'en 1845 les Cinq Grandes Puissances, voulant empêcher le retour des désordres qui avaient ensanglanté la Syrie, étaient convenues avec la Porte d'assurer, par certaines mesures d'administration intérieure, le repos et la tranquillité de ces malheureuses contrées.

Les terribles perspectives dont l'annonce est venue surprendre si douloureusement l'Europe Chrétienne, proviennent sans contredit de la même source, et il est naturel que les Puissances qui avaient cru les éloigner à jamais par les arrangements de 1845, reconnaissant ou leur inutilité ou leur inexécution, soient amenées à prendre, de concert avec la Porte, des mesures plus énergiques et plus efficaces.

Mais on ne saurait méconnaître, en même temps, que si la question est locale quant à l'étendue du territoire qui est le théâtre des événements, elle a toujours pris des proportions Européennes par l'influence qu'en ressentent nécessairement la situation de la Turquie et les relations entre les divers États de l'Europe. En effet, nous n'avons pas besoin de rappeler combien les arrangements d'aboutir aux règlements de 1845, les affaires de Syrie faisaient exposer l'Europe à des complications sérieuses.

D'autre part, on ne saurait oublier non plus que le but principal que les Puissances se sont proposé en admettant, en 1856, la Turquie aux avantages du concert Européen a été précisément d'éviter que des questions locales ou des Conventions particulières assez importantes pour donner lieu à une intervention armée pussent se soustraire au contrôle et à l'action collective de toutes indistinctement les Puissances signataires du Traité qui créait un nouveau droit public relativement à la Turquie.

Si, par conséquent, la situation actuelle se rattache, quant aux faits, aux arrangements de 1845, quant au mode de procéder, il nous semble de toute évidence qu'il doit être cherché dans les stipulations de 1856, auxquelles la Sardaigne a été partie.

Mais si les considérations qui précèdent confirment la certitude où nous avons toujours été de ne réclamer qu'un droit consacré par un Traité solennel, il ne nous félicite trop de l'accord qui s'est heureusement établi pour que nous ne voulions courir le moindre risque de soulever des dissentiments propres à le troubler ou d'entraver l'action bienfaisante que l'Europe s'est décidée à exercer en faveur des populations opprimées par de si cruels désastres.

Nous n'ignorons pas, en effet, les obstacles qu'auraient opposé à l'accomplissement de notre demande les efforts constants de l'Autriche pour nous exclure d'accords qui devraient être à l'abri de toute jalousie politique, et auxquels effectivement l'esprit conciliant des autres Puissances a voulu imprimer le caractère d'une généreuse manifestation de la Chrétienté.

Ainsi tout en réservant formellement les droits que lui confère le Traité de Paris, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté s'abstiendra-t-il en ce moment d'insister davantage dans ses réclamations.

Mais en donnant ce gage de l'esprit de conciliation dont il est animé en présence d'une cause où la bien-tenté toute entière doit témoigner de la solidarité de ses sentiments, la Cour de Turin est persuadée que si la question qui actuellement est considérée comme locale, et limitée en quelque sorte par les règlements de 1845, venait à se généraliser et à toucher aux rapports établis par le nouveau droit public entre la Turquie et les autres Puissances de l'Europe, la Sardaigne sera appelée à prendre part aux délibérations communes.

Je vous ai, ainsi, M. le Marquis, à donner copie de la présente dépêche à Lord John Russell.

Agreez, &c.
(Signé) C. CAVOT B

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 1,060. Most Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 10, 1860.

WITH reference to Mr. Fane's despatch No. 10 of the 2nd instant, inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the instant stating Count Rechberg's reasons for supporting the Russian proposal of adding a Secret Article to the Convention relating to Syria, by which the stipulations of that Convention should be made applicable to other parts of the Turkish dominions, I have the honour to observe that I know, from undoubted authority, that Prince Metternich has stated his belief that Count Rechberg was worked upon by Prince Gortchakoff, who told the Austrian Prime Minister that a plot was ripe for instantiating a Kingdom or Republic of Roumania, and gave it to be understood that the policy of Russia would very much depend on the line which Austria might take with regard to the Secret Article, remarking, at the same time, that Austria had a greater interest than any other Power in obtaining the insertion of such an Article, having so many subjects of Roumanian origin, who would, without doubt, desire to form part of the new State.

As this information has been communicated to me under the seal of secrecy, I beg that your Lordship will consider this despatch to be confidential.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 89.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 1,065.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 10, 1860.

ON my pressing M. Thouvenel again this afternoon to make Her Majesty's Government acquainted with the instructions furnished to General Boniforti, his Excellency said that they had been already communicated to your Lordship, and that you had expressed yourself to be perfectly satisfied with them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 90.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(No. 1,069.)

My Lord,

Paris, August 10, 1860.

I HAVE informed M. Thouvenel in the words of your Lordship's despatch No. 780 of yesterday's date, that Her Majesty's Government agree with that of France respecting the instructions to be issued to the Commissioners who are to proceed to Syria, that, to meet the wishes of the French Government, they are satisfied that those instructions should issue from the Five Powers, but that they consider it of the utmost importance that the Commissioners should be named, and begin their operations as soon as possible.

M. Thouvenel said that he was much embarrassed as to the choice of a Commissioner on the part of France. It was essential to find a person who had some knowledge of the country and people with whom he would have to deal, but unfortunately those from whom he could choose would, he feared, not be favourably viewed by Her Majesty's Government. He could have wished to send M. Bourré, but he felt sure the choice would not be approved in London. The nomination of M. Sabatier would probably be equally disliked. Almost the only individual who remained to them was M. Poyade, and as he had generally agreed well with his British colleagues, M. Thouvenel

thought that he should name him, though he was not blind to the defect of a certain impetuosity of character which required control.

At the same time, M. Borel de Vaux, that in all probability the nomination would be followed by that of M. Basil, on the part of Russia, which it was desirable to avoid.

He had gone as far as he could, M. Thouvenot said, in hinting this to the Russian Government.

In the meantime, no answer had been received from any of the Governments to whom the proposal of sending a Commission had been made. M. Thouvenot suggested that it might be well that Her Majesty's Government should also press those Governments to come to some decision.

I am, &c.
(Signed) (OWLE)

No. 91.

Proposed Instructions to the French Commissioner in Syria.—(Communicated by the Count de Jancourt, August 11.)

VOUS connaissez l'objet de la mission dont vous êtes chargé, comme Commissaire de l'Empereur en Syrie, et vous comprendrez que je ne saurais ni prévoir toutes les difficultés que vous aurez à surmonter, ni vous indiquer en détail les divers points que vous aurez à résoudre. Je me bornerai donc à vous donner ici les directions générales que les Ministres de l'Empereur vous ont données.

Votre premier soin, après vous être mis en rapport avec les Commissaires Autrichien de l'Empire, Prussien, et Russe, sera de rechercher, de concert avec eux, l'origine et les causes des événements, de déterminer la part de responsabilité de l'administration et des agents de l'administration, et de provoquer la punition des coupables. Les assurances qui nous ont été données à Constantinople et les pouvoirs que le Commissaire Ottoman a reçu du Sultan ne permettent pas de douter que vous ne trouviez, de sa part, tout le concours que vous avez droit d'en attendre pour que l'enquête à laquelle vous vous livrerez avec lui réponde aux conditions d'une sévère et impartiale justice.

Il conviendra, d'autre part, d'apprécier l'étendue des dommages qui ont été faits aux populations Chrétiennes et de combler par les moyens propres à soulager et même à indemniser, autant que possible, les pertes constatées. C'est là une œuvre de réparation à laquelle tous les Commissaires voudront consacrer leurs efforts. Mais il est un autre point qui mérite également de fixer votre attention, je veux parler des arrangements qu'il pourrait être utile de prendre pour assurer, à l'avenir, l'ordre et la sécurité de Syrie et conjurer le retour des mêmes calamités. Vous passerez dans une première partie de votre mission à recueillir les circonstances qui les ont motivées, les lumières nécessaires à la formation de modifications qu'il y aurait lieu d'apporter dans l'organisation de la Syrie, conformément aux décisions de 1849 et 1845. L'exposé de ces circonstances et de ces modifications sera le rapport commun qui sera arrêté par les Commissaires.

Telles sont, Monsieur le Comte, les directions que les Ministres de l'Empereur vous ont données. Elles vous serviront de base à votre action, et vous guideront dans toutes les circonstances qui se présenteront. Je vous prie de transmettre toutes les communications que vous recevrez de la part des Commissaires Autrichien, Prussien, et Russe, conformément aux directions que je vous ai données.

I am, &c.
M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de France, à Beyrouth, transmettra toutes les communications que vous recevrez de la part des Commissaires Autrichien, Prussien, et Russe, conformément aux directions que je vous ai données.

No. 92.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 26.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, July 25, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of this date, with its inclosure, to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting the departure of Fuad Pasha for Damascus, and latest intelligence received from that city.

Subsequent to the outbreak at Damascus, the Turkish Irregular Cavalry (chiefly Kurds) in garrison at Baalbeck, under the command of Hassan Agha Yazji, fell upon the Christian population both of the town and adjacent country, and committed dreadful excesses against them. Aided by Mutawalis and Musulmans of the district, they plundered the houses of the Christians, violated the women, sacked and burnt about twenty churches and two convents, and generally laid waste that part of the district inhabited by Christians, of whom several were killed.

The Greek Catholic Bishop of Baalbeck has to-day sent me, in common with the other Consuls of the Great Powers, a statement of these frightful

occurrences. He estimates the losses of the Christians at 20,000 purses (20,000 £); he himself had sought refuge in flight. Of the Christians some fled, and others embraced Mahometanism to save their lives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 92.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrouth, July 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to state that Fuad Pasha left for Damascus yesterday morning. His Excellency took with him two battalions of troops and six pieces of artillery. He expressed to me his determination to act with the utmost rigour at Damascus. Late in the evening a Turkish gun-boat arrived direct from Constantinople, whence she had been dispatched with letters for Fuad Pasha in consequence of the receipt at the Porte of the news of his departure.

and came up with Fuad Pasha a few hours from Beyrouth. This gun-boat returns to Constantinople this evening, and I avail myself of the opportunity to transmit to the Hon. Secretary of Admiralty, to transmit this despatch.

I have the honour to inclose the copy of a letter I have received from Mr. G. Graham (who had gone to Damascus with M. Outrey, the French Consul there) from which your Excellency will learn the renewed critical state of things in that city. Other private letters speak much in the same sense. Mr. Graham, however, is more hopeful, though he says that all will depend upon the manner in which Fuad Pasha acts.

Previously to his departure, Fuad Pasha deputed Frango Effendi, one of his Attachés, and Bishop Tobas, to proceed to the Kesrouan, in order to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the peasantry and the Hazin Sheiks who, as your Excellency is aware, were expelled by the peasantry from that district about two years ago. The Commissioners left yesterday for Djouin Bay in a small Turkish man-of-war. The Pasha's first intention was to have also sent the Christian Kaimakam, but on the Bishop's pointing out to him the extreme danger of such a step, the Kesrouan being strongly disaffected towards the Kaimakam, his Excellency renounced the idea. This functionary

is universally detested in the Lebanon, and much of what has occurred is laid at his door.

Her Majesty's ship "Neptune" is in sight.

I have, &c
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 3 in No. 92

Mr. Graham to Consul-General Moore.

My dear Sir,

Damascus, July 26, 1860

I ARRIVED here safely yesterday at noon. In the Bika, to our surprise, we found the Mushir, new Commander-in-chief of the troops in Syria encamped with his troops. He said that he was not to proceed to Fuad Pasha. Why? This seems again to be a foolish arrangement which shakes one's confidence in his Excellency.

We had for our escort sixty Algerines and fifteen Druses of Asid Amer of the Nizam; M. Outrey having refused at the last moment to have any. At Hama we were met by an additional escort of twenty-five of Abd-el-Kader's men, and with all this troop we entered the city, much to the astonishment of all the Moslems. In addition to our escort a Turkish officer and some troops met us at the gate to induce us. They proposed taking us as little as possible through the town, and would in and out of the suburbs until we came to the gate nearest the house of Abd-el-Kader. As we approached his street we found the way lined with armed Magharbeh, and we descended at his house.

Mr. Brant came to meet me there, and after a short conversation with the Emir I went off with Mr. Brant to the British Consulate.

Mr. Brant I found in better health than I had expected, and in as good hope as ever.

Yesterday, I saw, besides, M. Lannoe, the Belgian Vice-Consul, and M. Bambino, French Consular Agent at Hama, as also Amin Pasha (Baron Schwarzenberg), and Mr. Robson.

Of these, M. Lannoe, M. Bambino, and Mr. Robson told me that things were not looking as well again, that the people who for three or four days had gone about without arms had now resumed their arms again, and that the slight confidence which had begun to dawn on the Christians at the arrival of Mahamer Pasha was now fast going. And the general impression was that unless the new Mushir arrived very soon, and on his arrival employed very prompt measures, there would be a repetition of the slaughter. Mr. Brant, on the other hand, seems slow to believe any report, and unless it can be clearly proved to him that such and such is the case he will not give credit to any statement. However, you will see from his despatch how he views the present state of things.

To-day, I have again seen Mr. Robson, have received visits from the chief men of Asid Amer of Hlt, and from Sheikh Migwel.* Mr. Robson had been mounted both yesterday in returning home, and to-day in coming here. At my recommendation he sent yesterday to Yebroud to prepare Mr. Crawford for leaving. Mr. Robson told us the town was full of armed men, and in short his opinion is that a second massacre will take place.

I asked Migwel what he heard about these things. He told me the Moslems did not think of any more bloodshed unless the news should arrive of a proposed occupation of the country by foreign troops, but in that case they were determined to spare no one. "and," said he, "people from the Hauran and the Arabs, and people from all around, would join and fall upon the town." He is a man who is, I suspect, well acquainted with the opinions of the people, and probably says what is really the case. This afternoon I went all through the Christian quarter, I went into all the finest houses—houses which I had been in a few weeks ago when they were the show-houses of Damascus—now nothing but the walls remain, in many cases not above five or six feet high from the ground. In many the bodies lay unburied, and the stench generally was

* Husband of Lady Ellenborough

horrid, for all the wells were full of bodies. I saw a head alone here and there and limbs lying alone, and in one house the dogs were still at work; two houses were on fire; only the night before last, I think, the Moslems set fire to some houses. In short, the whole Christian quarter is burned, not one house remains untouched, the only Christian houses which have been saved are those in the Muslim quarters, and all these have been gutted and plundered. The monasteries are also black ruins; the new convent of Terra Santa, being strongly built of stone, remains more entire than the others. The well was full of dead bodies.

In short, I may say, that from all I gather from the behaviour of the Moslems as I went through the streets, and from the general report of the people, a second massacre is most certainly looked forward to, and the plan will be carried out, unless Fuad acts very differently from the Pasha who has been here the last week. The Moslems' cry is, "Let us finish the Christians; let us exterminate them;" and, indeed, they were only prevented from doing so by the momentary fear caused by the arrival of Mohammed Pasha. I think it most probable that the Serai would have been the scene of atrocities like those at the Deir and Haseya. About 12,000 Christians are now there, and the new Pasha is such a coward that he is afraid to show himself in the town; in short, he seems to inherit at least the imbecility of Alimet. If Fuad has not yet left Beyrout I think you should insist on his ordering the new Seraskier to come on here instead of waiting for him, as a little delay may cause the greatest calamity. We shall long for the arrival of your letters to-morrow; but I trust there will be no "reports" of an occupation; if so, I feel convinced the excitement, which has not subsided, will break out again, and then nothing will calm the people; and Fuad and his force may arrive just after all is over.

I have nothing more, I think, to say to-day.

I have, &c
(Signed) CYRIL C. GRAHAM.

No. 93

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 476.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, August 1, 1860.

ALL that I can say with respect to Syria by this post is, that order has been restored at Damascus, and that Fuad Pasha was, according to the last accounts, proceeding there.

The Commander, Achmet Pasha, had been sent here for trial, but Achmet finding he accused others, and that his conduct could only be adequately inquired into or dealt with at Damascus, has sent him back thither.

There is a strong feeling against him at the Porte, and there seems every reason to believe that the man was always known to be a coward, which is not the usual defect of a Turk.

The Druses and Maronites have quietly returned to their respective homes, having signed a peace, and no accounts of further disturbances have reached us; though M. de Lannoe, the French Agent at Damascus, seems to expect some. This gentleman gives the killed at Damascus at 8,000, Colonel O'Reilly writes 500; Mr. Brant, I believe, 5,000. But the fact is, no one yet can pretend to give a correct figure of this kind.

That there are many exaggerations is certain, since, putting together the number of persons said by some parties to be killed, to be saved by Abd-el-Kader, and to be in the citadel, the amount would be more, perhaps, than the number of Christians that ever were in Damascus.

But sufficient is known to bear witness to a horrible catastrophe comprising murder, robbery, and pillage.

The priests and higher orders of Mussulmans seem to have behaved well, and to have done their utmost to save the lives of the Christians and to tranquillize the disorder, in which but a small mob seem at first to have been concerned.

The conflagration in the city attracted the Arabs on its outskirts. Their

entry into the town gave a new character to affairs, and from that moment a great portion of the city seems to have been delivered up mercilessly to plunder and the sword.

It will be very important as to the future to ascertain, as accurately as possible, the primary causes of these disturbances, and as to how far the Seraskier's conduct was the effect of fear or of treachery.

To imagine that the Government here was a party to such treachery, is, in my opinion, out of the question; but as the Pasha himself was dissatisfied with the Porte, and wished to prove he had been left with an inefficient force, it is possible that may have influenced his conduct; this feeling, if any other motive than fear, is necessary to account for it.

The officers concerned at Hama and Zabda will be tried by court-martial. Mr Moore seems to say that the idea of the arrival of French troops in Syria appears rather to cause excitement and alarm as to future troubles, but at present, at all events, things are settling down; and it will be desirable if a French force is sent, that it should be rather kept in the sea-towns than employed in the interior, where the Turkish forces might be used, and European Commissioners sent, if any question in which the European Governments are interested has to be investigated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 94.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 477.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, August 1, 1860.

The accompanying letter from Colonel O'Reilly, who is attached to Fuad Pasha's mission in Syria, reached me yesterday, and I think it of sufficient interest to transmit it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Colonel O'Reilly to Sir H. Bulwer.

My dear Sir,

Heyrout, July 18, 1860.

FUAD PASHA has requested me to write to you and to give you an account of what he has found to be the state of the country, and of the subjects contained in his official despatches, which he thinks you would desire to have. He desires me at the same time to present his compliments, and would write

and Pasha to visit in a corvette the towns on the coast as far as Latakia, and the Vice-Admiral Mustapha Pasha to proceed for the same purpose as far as Acre, sending along with him one of the Catholic members of the Commission to distribute money to be used for the relief of the wounded Maronites along the coast; he has already given money to the Sisters of Charity (French) here, for the additional expenses of their hospital incurred by the reception of the wounded.

At Damascus there has been a succession of outrages for several days, all population of Damascus, the members of the Ulema, and other chiefs of that religion, endeavoured to stop the proceedings of the rioters, who were men from a suburb of the city called the Medan, inhabited by an unsettled population

of Hauranese and Arabs and by the Kurdish population in the neighbourhood of the city. The actors of the scenes were all Mussulmans or Druses, but all respectable Mussulmans endeavoured to arrest the movement. Their efforts do not seem to have been supported by the action of the military authorities. Fuad Pasha has in consequence ordered Ahmet Pasha, late Commander-in-Chief, to come to Heyrout to surrender himself. Osman Bey and Abd-el-Salam Bey, the officers who remained passive at Hasbeya and Deir-el-Kamar during massacres, are also to be tried by court-martial this week. The number of killed at Damascus is about 500, the remainder of the inhabitants of the Christian quarters having found a refuge in the Castle.

Fuad Pasha has received reports since his arrival which assure him of the perfect restoration of tranquillity.

He has dispatched a letter to Aleppo directing the Commandant to resort to force at once if anything occurs, and to devote himself and his troops to the last man for the protection of order.

In a few days more we will advance into the interior, when his Excellency will inflict a most severe punishment on the guilty parties at Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. O'REILLY.

No. 95.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 12.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, August 1, 1860.

I ENCLOSE your Lordship the copy of a telegram written to the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, in consequence of the French Ambassador's communication here, relative to the sending of foreign troops to Syria.

Aali Pasha read me another communication which he also addressed to his Ambassador at Paris, but of which I have not a copy, stating the many objections the Porte had to this expedition, on account of the excitement it might produce, and the evils that excitement might bring about.

His Highness believed also that such assistance is not necessary.

At the same time, understanding the feelings that may exist in Europe on this subject, he does not counsel the Sultan to oppose the wishes of the Great Powers, but rather urges those Powers to take into consideration the arguments he lays before them. As everything I could here say on this subject has either been said by me already, or will be urged by the Turkish Ambassador in London and Paris, I do not on this occasion trouble your Lordship with any additional remarks; but to sum up my opinions in a few words, I should say that Aali Pasha takes probably an exaggerated view of the consequences which an European intervention may produce, but that, at the same time, such an intervention is not without considerable danger, and may, from a variety of causes, including the excitement between rival populations, to which Aali Pasha alludes, cause further complications.

It is, therefore, better avoided, unless there is some strong necessity for it, or some clear object to be arrived at by it; but that if either such strong necessity exists, or such a definite object is to be arrived at, the considerations which relate to the taking of every possible precaution against the causes for apprehension which he suggests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Aali Pasha to Ahmed Vefyk Efendi.

(Translation.)

July 27, 1860.

HIS MAJESTY has been more deeply impressed than any one else by the afflictions of Syria. The severe punishment of the misdoers who

have been the cause of, or instrumental in them, as well as of those functionaries who have not performed their duty in preventing them, has been determined upon. Full authority and ample forces have been given to Fınd Paşa for that purpose. If it please God, the matter will be soon settled in accordance with the wishes of the sympathising heart of His Majesty, those of all right thinking Mussulmans, and of Europe itself.

The telegram sent to the French Government respecting the sending of a European Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances attending the above events and for acting in conjunction with the Imperial (Turkish) functionaries in the reform of the Regulations of 1845, as well as respecting the sending of a military force to assist His Majesty's Government in virtue of a Convention to be concluded between His Majesty's and the European Governments, and finally respecting the granting by telegram to His Majesty's Representative in Paris of full powers for discussing such a Convention with the Plenipotentiaries of those Governments, has been communicated by M. de Lavalette to the said

The necessities of the case on these points have been considered as one in the natural order of

Respecting the sending of troops at this juncture to Syria, the considerations of the most important nature have been communicated to the French and British Ambassadors at Constantinople. Moreover according to the recent advice of the Porte, it is demonstrated and proved that the military forces of His Majesty at present in Syria are sufficient for satisfying the present necessities for obtaining the conclusion desired by His Majesty and His Allies. Unless should it appear to the illustrious Governments, who are the friends and Allies of the Sultan's Government, during the discussion of the matter by their respective Plenipotentiaries assembled at Paris, that in order to ensure the speedy and complete return as well as the consolidation of order, peace, and the authority of His Majesty's Government in Syria, it is necessary to authorise a European military force to act in concert with the Porte's forces. His Majesty has been pleased to order that you be appointed and invested with full powers for discussing and signing a Convention with the Representatives of the above Governments on the following bases:—

1. The movements and action of the troops to be sent are to take place in concert with the authorities of the Porte.

2. Their number is to be apportioned according to the present situation.

3. The time of their return and withdrawal is to be specified.

You will immediately communicate with M. Thouvenel in this sense, and give him a copy of this telegram.

No. 96.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell. (Received August 13.)

(No. 299. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 11, 1860.

THE vexation of the Russian Government at the failure of Count Kischelf in obtaining the insertion in the Syrian Convention of the additional Article proposed by them, has been loudly expressed here by Baron Budberg. He says that the Emperor and Prince Gortchakoff are both extremely annoyed at what has occurred, and he goes so far as to say that Count Kischelf's conduct was on the point of being disavowed, and he adds that, if he knew it had been charged with the negotiations, he should have retired from the Conference rather than put his name to the protocol.

Baron Budberg has now been seeking an explanation from Baron Seidwitz as to the passive conduct of Prince Rouss on the 3rd of August, for he appears to have understood that the Prussian Charge d'Affaires was instructed to give his best support to the Russian Article at the Conference, and the Baron therefore reproaches this Government with the silence observed by their Representative, and with his not having said one word in support of Count Kischelf.

Baron Budberg has also been seeking to persuade the French Minister at

this Court that Baron Schleinitz had spoken in a different sense to each of them, but Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne assures me that it was not so, and says that Baron Budberg called on him some time ago, just after he had left the Foreign Department, and repeated to him what Baron Schleinitz had said on the subject of the proposed Russian Article, and that his account of his Excellency's observations completely tallied with what Baron Schleinitz had said to himself on the subject a short time before.

Thus it would seem that it was the Russian Government which had been deceived by their own Agents, who had led them to believe that they could count on the cordial support of Austria and Prussia at the Conference, whilst the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin appear never to have intended giving more than a simple adhesion to the Russian Article, provided it were favourably considered by the majority of the Plenipotentiaries.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HLOOMFIELD.

No. 97.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 794.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 12, 1860.

As I have already said, in the opinion of the French Government, a necessity exists for sending to Syria the remaining 6,000 men stipulated for in the Protocol of Constantinople. Instantly, your Excellency is instructed to such case to report such to the French Government.

The Government will then consider whether there is a cause for such a step, and whether the half or even the whole of the additional force shall be furnished by Her Majesty's Government.

At present, it is necessary to be on the watch for any report to Damascus, as the reports from thence show that they might cause a fresh outbreak of Mahometan fanaticism.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 795.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 12, 1860.

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch No. 1,069 of the 18th instant, I have to say that the French Government have no objection to the appointment of M. Poujade as French Commissioner in Syria, nor would they have objected to the employment of M. Bourré in that capacity had the French Government thought fit to appoint him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 796.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 14, 1860.

YOU are already informed of the object of the mission with which you are charged, as a member of the Commission about to proceed to Syria, and you will easily understand that it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to foresee all the difficulties you will have to encounter, or to point out to you in detail the different matters on which you may have to treat. I will therefore confine myself at present to those general directions which may serve to guide your conduct, without giving any specific instructions.

Veuillez me dire si vous avez des heures où je puis être sûr de vous trouver, soit au Foreign Office soit à Bryanston Square, ou si je dois vous écrire chaque fois lorsque j'aurai besoin de vous entretenir.

Agréer, &c.
S. J. ALLONBY

No. 105.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 424)

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 16, 1860.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 379 of the 31st ultimo, I transmit for your Excellency's information copies of the instructions which I have given to Lord Dufferin for his guidance as Her Majesty's Commissioner to Syria.*

They have been drawn up in accordance with the instructions furnished by the French Government to their Commissioner, and will, I trust, be found identical with those furnished to the Commissioners of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

You will have learnt from my telegram of the 13th instant that Her Majesty's Commissioner to Syria considers it desirable that the Commission should enter upon their duties as soon as possible, and Lord Dufferin may, therefore, have probably proceeded to Syria before your Excellency receives this despatch. In which case I have to instruct you to forward to his Lordship the instructions which are herewith inclosed, together with any further information which your Excellency may consider will assist him in the object of his mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 106.

Comul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell — (Received August 17.)

(No. 24)

My Lord,

Beirut, July 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honor to report that Her Majesty's ship "Marlborough," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Martin, arrived here on the 24th instant, at sunset. On the following day Her Majesty's ship "Victor Emmanuel" joined the flag-ship.

I lost no time in waiting on the Admiral. Next day Admiral Martin, attended by his Staff and myself, called upon Fuad Pasha, who received the Admiral with the honors due to his rank.

After the interchange of the usual civilities, Admiral Martin, seconded by myself, made a strong representation to the Imperial Commissioner against the contemplated continuance of Khorsheed Pasha in his post of Governor-General on his return from Latakia. The Admiral very ably and impressively argued the point, and left with the Pasha a memorandum on the subject, a copy of which I beg leave to inclose for your Lordship's perusal.

Admiral Martin had previously been pleased to show me the memorandum, in which I had expressed my entire concurrence.

In reply, Fuad Pasha said that he would consider the matter before giving an answer. On the 27th instant, however, he did so in person. His Excellency accordingly came on board the flag-ship this morning, where I had preceded him, at the request of the Admiral, who wished me to be present at the interview. Fuad Pasha told us that he had decided upon adopting Admiral Martin's recommendation, as a proof, he said, of his desire to do what was right, of deference to the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief, and of his readiness to do what was agreeable to the English, allies of his Government.

Subsequently Fuad Pasha wrote me and the other Foreign Authorities the usual circular announcing the suspension from his functions of Khorsheed Pasha, and the appointment of Admiral Mustapha Pasha to be Governor in his stead, ad interim. Inclosed is a copy of Fuad Pasha's letter to me.

It would be superfluous for me to dwell upon the propriety and wisdom of Admiral Martin's demand. No measure could have been more called for, whether viewed in its retributive aspect or in its reassuring effects upon the Christian population of Beyrout and elsewhere.

I beg here to rectify an inexactitude occurring in my despatch No. 40, relating to the conduct of Khorsheed Pasha. I had there said that this functionary arrived at Deir-el-Kamar too late to prevent the massacre. It has subsequently transpired that on the evening of his arrival there, and on the following day, the slaughter, burning of houses, and pillage went on. It is an ascertained fact that on the day after his arrival, twenty-two Christians who had taken refuge in the house of the Druse Kamakam's Secretary were butchered in a body; and it is stated that many more who had concealed themselves in the town, and whose situation was brought in time to the knowledge of the Pasha, were left to their fate.

Khorsheed Pasha returned this morning from Latakia, but has not been permitted to land; he is to proceed to Constantinople.

Fuad Pasha to-day arrested Khorsheed Pasha's Kahia, Warfi Effendi, and the Mutasellim of Deir-el-Kamar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 106.

Memorandum.

A MOST grievous wrong has been inflicted upon the civilized world by the Turkish Government in the massacre of the Christians in Syria.

The Turkish local authorities have been direct parties to the barbarism by permitting the soldiers and Moslem population to aid the Druses, and after the death of the Christians to join in murdering the males, and in committing the foulest crimes upon the women and female children.

The Christian world cannot and ought not to leave these enormities unredressed, and it must be evident that it will not do so unless it is aware of the measure short of that which shall make a recurrence of the enormities impossible.

The Turkish Government will have no claim to consideration if it should refuse to do justice. The matter would probably be taken out of their hands if they exhibited any indication of shortcoming.

They would be deemed by enemies as participants, and by friends as too feeble to govern.

If they would avoid foreign interference, the limit or consequences of which it may not be difficult to imagine, they must be prompt in declaring that they have, with every other civilized Government, an abhorrence of the infamous deeds which have been perpetrated in Syria. Their declarations must be accompanied by acts of full justice to sufferers and conspicuous retribution to infamous perpetrators.

The mere punishment of humble officials would be deemed an offensive trifling that would have no beneficial influence to restrain for the future.

The highest who have abused their power by participation or connivance in the grievous misery that has been heaped upon the Christian population of Syria should themselves suffer.

Anything less than this will only swell the account which the Turkish Government have to answer for their subordinates, and increase the evidence of complicity so strongly insinuated upon by many, probably misinformed on the subject.

I have been told that his Excellency Khorsheed Pasha is to continue in authority in this Pashalic. I must express a hope that there is no intention of allowing him to hold the power he has so abused. But looking to the horrible cruelties to which, it is believed, he has been a willing party, and to the responsibilities in which I share with regard to the safety of the Christian population here, I must protest against his being allowed to retain a command, upon which

the safety of multitudes depend, for whom he has manifested such indifference and contempt.

(Signed) W. F. MARTIN.
"Marlborough," at Beyrout, July 25, 1860.

Inclosure 2 in No. 106

Fuad Pasha to Consul-General Moore

Beyrout, le 26 Juillet, 1860.

FUAD PASHA a l'honneur d'informer MM les Consuls des Puissances amies résidants à Beyrout que, ayant jugé nécessaire de suspendre ses fonctions le Gouverneur-Général de Syrie, Khourshid Pasha, il vient de confier l'administration intérieure de cette province à l'Amiral Moustapha Pasha, Commandant-en-chef des forces navales de Sa Majesté le Sultan dans la Méditerranée.

En portant cette décision à la connaissance de M. le Consul-Général de Sa Majesté Britannique, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en mission extraordinaire en Syrie a le ferme espoir que le Gouverneur ad interim, par les qualités qui le distinguent, imprimera aux relations des autorités locales avec le Consulat d'Angleterre la meilleure harmonie, et saura répondre à la confiance dont il vient d'être l'objet.

Fuad Pasha au dit, &c.

(Signed) FUAD PASHA

No. 107

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 17
(No. 491. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, August 6, 1860.

I FORWARD to your Lordship the different despatches and instructions I have sent to Her Majesty's Agents in Syria.

It seems to me that, to restore peace with as little loss of life as possible, it is essential not to look at things merely from one point of view, but to place ourselves in the position of the different classes of the population amongst which excitement now prevails. The Christians are at this time alarmed at the Mussulmans, and not without reason, but there can be no doubt that it is the alarm which has lately been spread among the Mahometans as to the intentions of the Christians, I do not say of the native Christians especially, but of the Christians generally, which has been the principal cause of the fanatical zeal lately displayed, and the atrocious horrors lately committed by Mussulmans. It is no use disguising the fact that the Mussulmans throughout Syria, and I speak with some apprehension as to the consequences) throughout Turkey generally, have lately considered that there is a plan on the part of the Christians to

...this subject are in some degree ... in some degree as he does, that the ... spread. At all events, the ... be to allay as far as possible ... Majesty's Agents is intended to ... circumstances in which they are ... correct one.

...subject which may already have occupied the ... Government; but in relation to the rumours to ... I cannot help feeling some doubts as to

whether the presence of an English land force, since a French one is to be sent, might not be the means of calming exaggerated apprehensions as to Russian or French designs, and even of exercising a certain control over the conduct of the French Agents in Syria, who have generally been remarkable for carrying out the views of their Government in a very extreme manner. It is moreover to be observed that the Maronite population is, in point of feeling, French, and that whilst it is to be considered part of the French military force in Syria, it is also to be considered as likely to influence in no slight manner the tone and conduct and policy which the French civil Agents may pursue there. It is likewise to be noted, that a naval force might not be able to remain during the winter at Beyrout, and consequently whatever foreign force is then left there will, according to the present arrangement, be a French one.

This opens the way to various reflections. If the position in such manner occupied by France, should provoke a general Mahometan rising, the 6,000 troops she now sends will have of necessity to be increased to a very considerable extent; nor will it be easy either to limit the duration or the nature of the employment.

On the other hand, if France, standing alone with an army on the Syrian coast, is able by means of that army, small as it may be, to establish European views and give full authority to European opinions, it may not perhaps be saying too much to observe, that she is likely to be held throughout Asia, as the power of this kind once established, more especially if it consolidate itself by a permanent influence exercised over Egypt, may shake the moral authority of Great Britain in quarters where it is necessary for the safety of her Asiatic possessions it should be strictly maintained.

I am not myself one of those persons peculiarly sensitive on the subject of French aggrandisement, and I am one of those persons who for the deep interest in the maintenance of the best relations with France. It is moreover, for a Christian to be otherwise than strictly

...in ourselves to be carried too far away

...natural desire to protect our co-religionists in one quarter we ... position in others; and whilst anxious to maintain the most cordial intimacy with the French Government, we must remember the traditional policy of a long succession of French rulers, and the ambitious and aspiring, though in many respects noble and chivalrous, spirit of the French people. It is likewise to be borne in mind that the power of England in the East is one of opinion; and that whatever weakens this power, diminishes of our Empire by attacking the principle of their strength.

I fear, then, perhaps with an excessive susceptibility, anything which may show either a want of confidence in the course we are taking, or an inadequacy of means to support that course. There is another suggestion which I venture to make. The interference of a French army alone in one portion of the Ottoman Empire may be brought forward as an example to justify the interference of a Russian force alone in another; and I think it right to say that though the accounts I have hitherto received of plots and insurrections in European Turkey have been exaggerated, and that I have endeavoured as much as possible to calm those mutual apprehensions, which I look upon as the greatest incentive to mutual hostility—I am by no means prepared to say that something may not at last occur which by leading to conflict would, according to the barbarous habits of a barbarous society, lead to plunder and massacre, and to all those crimes which a French fleet is now sailing to Syria to suppress or to avenge.

With respect to the policy of France, I am bound to say that the conduct of de Lavalette has appeared on all occasions both frank and friendly; and in incidental circumstances coming within the limited scope of my own observations, as would justify me in pronouncing decidedly on any premeditated plan on the part of France favorable to Russian designs. My opinion, I confess, at times varies on this subject—but perhaps the soundest one to entertain is that events are working to bring about a state of things in which France and Russia may,

unless a new turn is given to present tendencies, be led by the force of circumstances into the same line of conduct.

As to the views of Russia, looking at her acts during the present year, I find it difficult to doubt. Her formal and public declaration that a Christian insurrection was likely to take place and might possibly overturn the Ottoman Empire—was in itself (and public attention has not perhaps been sufficiently directed to this point) sufficient as it became known to arouse the Mussulman feeling and excite a Mussulman outbreak.

As the agitation thus awakened was more likely to produce a sudden effect—but here also the same elements must be elaborating events more slowly towards the same results; and then what are the consequences? One Great Power, it is true, has an example afforded to her under cover of which she may claim the right to pursue a similar course in that portion of Europe which is the most serious consequences. When affairs are thus placed in one particular direction the smallest circumstance which may affect them becomes a matter of importance; and thus—as I see by your Lordship's telegraphic communication that the question of sending a further reinforcement of European troops is not yet decided—I venture to submit to your Lordship the ideas which the question as to whether England should or should not furnish a portion of those troops suggests to me. I am the more inclined to the joint intervention thus alluded to because I wish as much as possible to bring forward France and England together in Eastern affairs. Their union in war was a great event: their continued union in peace has a great and beneficial effect upon opinion as to maintaining the results of that war. And when I say "union," I do not mean more or less "lukewarm agreement," but "cordial and evident co-operation," as represented by the two countries acting as nearly as possible in the same manner. Any apparent cessation of this assimilation may be taken as a new phase in Eastern affairs, and a perfectly different order of ideas be produced by the sight of a French army on Turkish soil without an English one, that which would be produced by an English and French army combined.

I am sure that your Lordship will believe that I am aware that a thousand facts which have not come within the range of my reflections, and which are indeed beyond the limits of my knowledge, may wholly overpower the few

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Inclosure 1 in No. 107.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul-General Moore.

Sir,

Thessalonica, August 6, 1860

I ENCLOSE to you the instructions which I have given generally to Her Majesty's Consuls in the European portion of the Ottoman Empire.

It is to be expected that Syria will be more agitated than other parts of the Turkish dominions, and peculiar circumstances may render some execution of the inclosed instructions expedient in the particular localities of extraordinary emergency, no ordinary instructions can be sufficient. Nevertheless, you will perceive the general spirit which is indicated by my instructions to Her Majesty's Consuls in European Turkey, and let that spirit be as far as possible your guide.

The Ottoman Government has sent a large body of troops and an able man to Syria, and it is to be hoped that his exertions, aided by your endeavours, will replace things in at least a tranquil condition. The Great Powers, in conjunction with their ally the Sultan, will adopt any other measures that may

be deemed necessary to attain this end: but you will be careful to observe that the immediate object of Her Majesty's Government, and of all the other Governments acting with it, is to restore order and maintain the Sultan's Government.

It will hereafter be necessary to consider what further measures are necessary to place the Government on a more satisfactory and solid basis, and to guard against a recurrence of those scenes which have struck so fearful a blow at it.

With respect to measures of this description, your counsels and suggestions may be important, and, at all events, I should be glad that you specified to me, at your earliest convenience, what you would recommend as practically calculated to advance the development of the country's resources, to provide for the better security of its inhabitants, and regularize, and render more efficient, its financial administration, as well as to give generally greater force and tone to the executive authority.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Inclosure 2 in No. 107.

Circular addressed by Sir H. Bulwer to Her Majesty's Consuls in the Ottoman Empire.

Sir,

Thessalonica, August 6, 1860

IT is natural that when any occurrences take place in the Turkish Empire calculated to produce an increasing animosity between the Mussulman and Christian populations, mutual alarm should be engendered. It may often happen that a conflict, arising from local circumstances alone, may have taken place in a particular spot, and that, nevertheless, a feeling, which that conflict has excited, may produce general consequences. Without being able to say that there are not be particular places to which my general observations may not perfectly apply, I am on the whole of opinion that, as a general rule, there is at present no deliberate intention or desire on the part of the Mussulman population in any part of the Empire to assault the lives or property of the Christian population, and that the Sultan, nothing could be so contrary to the policy of his Government and the Sultan, nothing could be so contrary to the policy of his Government as to encourage such a feeling. The danger, however, will much depend upon the accidental circumstances which may be connected with it will take the most extensive proportions, and be productive of the most serious results.

The first duty, consequently, as it seems to me, of a foreign agent, who ought not to be exposed to the passions or prejudices natural to his countrymen, will be to calm as much as possible mutual and exaggerated suspicions, and to combat as much as possible exaggerated reports.

The ordinary disposition of the idle and the fearful on these occasions is to recount to each other every little tale that may be abroad, and thus by private confidences of individual apprehensions to engender a sort of public and collective sensation of insecurity, which soon pervades all parties.

Thus one set of men arm to protect themselves from the fancied danger from another, and every one dreading that an attack is being meditated by his adversary, some trifling occurrence becomes the commencement of a general outbreak, making the village, town, or district where it occurs the scene of conflict, plunder, and conflagration.

The first and most important duty you can perform, I repeat, then, is to keep your mind unbiassed by vague rumours, and be thus able to tranquillize the excited disposition of those who listen to them.

Endeavour quietly to get at the bottom of any story that is circulated, ascertain, if you can, its truth and its author, but do this in a manner as little likely as possible to attract attention, or to make it believed that you give more than due importance to the report, the accuracy of which you are inquiring into.

Encourage your countrymen and those committed to your charge

Conclude my letter and say in the part of your replies to excite

Try to obtain the confidence of the authorities by placing yourself on the
and your Government will hold them responsible for whatever may happen,
strengthened by your countenance, as far as possible, their hands for the preserva-
tion of order and peace.

Finally, communicate to the Embassy, in the shortest possible space of
time, the constitution of the district you inhabit, and the conduct and character
of the functionaries who are placed there; and the opinions expressed, and
the line of conduct pursued by the Consuls of other Powers, and do not
fail to point out any cases where you think there is, through foreign agency
or otherwise, an evident attempt to promote apprehension, and thereby
favour disorder. In doing this I need hardly add, that you should be
careful in not allowing any personal predilection to influence your repre-
sentations.

In conclusion, I may assure you that your conduct at this crisis will be
duly watched by me, and my opinion respecting it, whether favourable or the
reverse, communicated to Her Majesty's Govt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Inclosure 3 in No. 107.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul-General Moore.

Thessalonica, August 8, 1860.

ALTHOUGH I have nothing very particular to say that circumstances
will not suggest to yourself, I deem it right to address you a few observations
by this opportunity.

The course we wish seen taken in Syria is one of energy and
vigour which lie at the origin of the recent conflicts between the rival tribes and
of the Musulman riots which have succeeded or accompanied them, should be
as possible cleared up; the principal leaders in, or promoters of them,
punished, and there should be no appearance of any one being screened. As to
the different Turkish functionaries, there are various degrees of criminality.
Those who plundered, murdered, or delivered up persons confided to their
charge to plunder, murder, or pillage, are evidently in the most guilty category.
Any who connived at, or participated directly or indirectly in the late disturb-
ances have been guilty of a most serious offence, and have equally exposed
themselves to the most serious chastisement.

Those who failed in energy or activity, and did not do the duty that might
be expected from them from a third class, and should lose their rank
and employment, and under certain circumstances be subject even to severer
treatment; but care should be taken in following up justice with due severity
not to run hastily into the opposite extreme of persecution which would excite
and rate one party, if it soothed or satisfied the other.
Tale bearers and private slanderers are amongst the worst charac-
teristics of the East.

I am also of opinion that whatever is done should be done quickly; both
because it will produce a greater effect on the one hand, and be less liable to be
too far extended on the other.

As to the question of the Druses and Maronites, it will have to be examined
into by the Commissioners of the Five Powers.

It has always, I confess, appeared to me that the commencement of the
recent struggle arose from the Maronites. They seemed excited and filled with
ideas of conquest and French protection, these provoking a contest destined to
be so fatal to them. I am also rather of opinion that the attitude taken by
some foreign agents, and the overbearing spirit too much manifested by them,
had no small share in producing the state of feeling that recently manifested
itself in so horrible a manner in one portion of Syria, and exists throughout it.

It would also appear from intelligence given to me here, and from letters

and pamphlets that have been intercepted, that there has been a system for
some time at work at exciting (or fanning) against Mus. Syrians and Maronites
against Christians, by arousing their mutual apprehensions, and though it would
be probably unjust to say that foreign Governments have encouraged such a
system, there is reason to believe that foreigners have participated in it.

Whatever you can say upon this point, I should wish you to communicate to
me unreservedly.

You are perhaps aware that a proposal was made at the outset of the
insurrection to employ Egyptian troops in Syria. Has anything you have
observed led to the supposition that an Egyptian intervention was looked to, or
do you trace the hand of the Viceroy amongst any of the causes of the Syrian
troubles. I observe in some of your despatches that there is a suspicion expressed of the Porte having encouraged the late pro-
ceedings. Some of its agents may possibly have done this, though the fact
seems at first sight improbable; but you may rest assured that neither Aali nor
Fuad Pasha are either so wicked or so stupid as to have dabbled in such designs,
and a contrary belief should, if it exists, be discouraged.

I quite understand that in the neighbourhood of scenes such as those which
have recently caused so much distress, the mind must be prone to strong
impressions. I would wish you also not to give too easy credence to exaggerated
stories of plots and massacres; fear on one side engenders it on another; and
when two opposite parties exist, each fearing the designs of the other—even
without cause—the smallest incident produces strife. Prophets not unfre-
quently have been the cause of civil wars. But I speak here evidently on imperfect information. You will be
aware that a foreign intervention in which the land force will consist of French
troops has been for some time on the tapis, and is now indeed certain to take
place. I should wish to know what feeling you think such an intervention
will immediately produce, and what you also imagine will be its permanent
effects. It will probably be limited both as to time and troops and circle of
action.

It would interest me to learn whether you think that an English land-force
should be employed as well as a French one, and the causes which you have for
any opinion you may entertain on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 107.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul Brunt.

Sir,

Thessalonica, August 8, 1860.

I HAVE read your various despatches up to that of the 23rd ultimo,
and beg to express my deep sympathy, both on account of the position in which
you are placed, and the nature of the duties which you are called upon to perform,
and it would be a gratification to me if my cordial approval of your conduct
should afford you any satisfaction.

During the trying scenes in which you were placed, it seems to me indeed
that you acted both with calm and courage, and though it is true that you did
not apprehend the likelihood of those calamities which occurred as strangely as
some of your colleagues, I am by no means convinced that if all those colleagues
had shown an equally tranquil demeanour with yourself, that that general
excitement which made a trifling disturbance swell into a riot of so fearful a
description, would have been produced.

Such excitement at all events usually ends by arousing the passions of the
most violent party, and producing a wholesale massacre, or a more or more moderate one. Hence one of the causes which, in crises like
the recent one, makes Governments hesitate and mobs triumph.

The conduct of Achmet Pasha, nevertheless, seems to have been wholly
undefensible; for he does not appear to have made any personal effort of any
kind to quell the disorder which an idle bravado of his own—the setting some
Musulman boys to sweep the streets of the Christian quarter—actually called

forth. He will, however, be sent to Damascus for trial; and it is to be hoped that we shall then be able to ascertain fully the extent of his criminality.

It is to be remembered that he was dissatisfied with the Porte, and may, in a certain degree, have been actuated by a desire to show the truth of the apprehensions he expressed, when the force at his command was seriously diminished.

Such feelings may have consequently led him into a more culpable indifference to the insurrection that took place, or even into a more culpable understanding with its promoters, than would otherwise be likely. At all events, justice should be exercised with stern severity; but, at the same time, justice should not run hastily into persecution, nor a whole class, on something like positive proof, be made accountable for the acts of a particular set of ruffians.

mans and Christians were once excited in Syria, it might extend far beyond the precincts of that province, and give rise to calamities which it would be impossible to control, and even difficult to avenge.

For my own part, it seems to me that the war between the Maronites and Druses is to be looked upon as an affair apart. Examples might be found even of the horrors which characterized it whenever similar conflicts have taken place between hostile and warlike tribes placed in the same position of hereditary antagonism.

The Mahometan feeling which manifested itself against the Christians is, however, another question. Its depth, extent, and the causes which produced it, or at least produced the manifestation of it in the town of Damascus, form a subject on which I should be glad to have your well-considered opinion. The conduct of foreign agents, your colleagues, is, likewise, a matter on which I shall desire to have the result of your important judgment. The great point in all these cases is to determine what was the result of unpremeditated accident—what of premeditated design.

It is to be hoped that the measures pursued by Fuad Pacha, who is a man of tact, courage, and even genius, will produce the effect which I desire to see brought about by them.

This Pacha is a man, however, rather fond of temporary expedients than of uncompromising action; and this portion of his character may, perhaps, interfere with his taking any clear and decided course in cases where clearness and decision may peremptorily be required. Should this defect become apparent in his proceedings, it will be your duty to endeavour to counteract it.

On the other hand, his general wish to conciliate may at a proper moment have a most beneficial tendency; but order must be restored, and authority established, before a system of conciliation can, I fear, be effectually adopted. Thus everything will depend upon doing the right thing at the right time.

You are aware that foreign intervention is decided upon. The manner in which it will be exercised must depend upon circumstances; but as it cannot be permanent, and as, moreover, it aims at the restoration of the Sultan's authority, it is to be desired that that end should be borne in view; and that, as the great evil which has lately attended the Ottoman rule in Syria, and, indeed, the Ottoman rule throughout Turkey, is its weakness; whatever is done now, whether by foreign intervention, or otherwise, should be done with the object of permanently and ultimately removing that weakness, and placing the future Government of the country on a more solid and satisfactory basis than that on which it has lately, or perhaps I should rather say, than that on which it has ever as yet rested.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore.*

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 17, 1860.

IN consequence of the late deplorable events in Syria, Her Majesty's Government have, in conjunction with those of the other Great Powers, decided on sending Commissioners to that country to investigate its origin and causes, to determine the share of responsibility incurred by the chiefs of the insurrection and the agents of the administration, and to call for the punishment of the guilty.

Lord Dufferin has been appointed to act as Her Majesty's Commissioner on the present occasion, and I have accordingly to instruct you to furnish his Lordship with every information and assistance which may contribute to the success of his Mission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 118*

Resumé of Despatches from Fuad Pacha.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Murrua, August 18.)

A SON arrivée à Beyrouth, son Excellence Fuad Pacha, informe qu'en conséquence des événements de Syrie il y avait quelques signes d'inquiétude dans les villes situées sur le littoral depuis St. Jean d'Acre jusqu'à Alexandrie, & envoyé à St. Jean d'Acre le Vice-Amiral Mustapha Pacha, tandis qu'il a Khourchid Pacha, Gouverneur de Saïda, de se rendre à l'autre côté du littoral. Mustapha Pacha, après avoir fait une enquête dans les villes de Saïda, de Sour, et de St. Jean d'Acre, a rejoint Fuad Pacha, lui a donné des renseignements rassurants sur la tranquillité de ces localités, et lui a rendu compte de toutes les mesures qui, à la suite de son enquête, ont été prises pour rassurer l'ordre et la sécurité publique.

Fuad Pacha rapporte que, quoiqu'il n'y eût en aucune plainte contre Khourchid Pacha, soit de la part des indigènes, soit de la part des étrangers, il a vu le changement de ce Gouverneur-Général produisant un bon effet.

Quant à Ahmed Pacha, ex-Muchir de l'armée d'Arabistan, comme interrogatoire auquel il avait été soumis, il n'a pu présenter des explications suffisantes pour justifier la conduite qu'il avait tenue pendant les

Mont Liban et de Damas, il a été envoyé à Constantinople sous garde, et après que le sultan lui a fait un conseil, l'Impérial l'a renvoyé en Syrie pour être jugé par le tribunal institué, et subir sa punition dès qu'il aura été reconnu coupable.

Fuad Pacha informe la Sublime Porte que, parmi les officiers des troupes de Hachaya, de Rasheya, et de Deir-el-Kamrat, il a déjà fait emprisonner dans la caserne de Beyrouth les Capitaines Osman Bey et Abdoullah Bey et quatre Majors pour être mis en jugement.

Le Gouvernement Impérial est sur le point de transmettre à Fuad Pacha l'ordre d'exécuter immédiatement et avec fermeté les peines qui auront été prononcées contre ces officiers suivant le degré de culpabilité de chacun. Il a aussi l'ordre de juger ceux parmi les troupes sur lesquels paraissent des soupçons, de destituer Khourchid Pacha, enfin d'arrêter son Kichaya, ainsi qu'Ahmed Effendi, compagnon de ce dernier, et de leur faire subir un interrogatoire et un jugement sévères.

Fuad Pacha ajoute qu'il a institué trois Commissions, l'une à Beyrouth, l'autre à Saïda, et la troisième à Sour, dans le but de subvenir à la subsistance et aux besoins les plus urgents des pauvres, des orphelins, et des veuves dont les maisons ont été incendiées et les parents massacrés; qu'il a fixé 100 pias par jour pour chacun de ces individus pour leur nourriture; que les susdites Commissions sont composées de Musulmans et de Chrétiens de ces trois villes; qu'un

* Similar despatches were also addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls at Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

hôpital est destiné à ceux qui ont reçu des blessures à l'occasion des tristes événements du Liban, et que les médecins ont déjà commencé à soigner les blessés.

Fuad Pacha a publié une déclaration promettant que les jeunes gens qui sont restés sans parents et sans subsistance seront envoyés à Constantinople pour être admis dans les Ecoles Impériales.

Khourelid Effendi, un des employés de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, a été envoyé à Jérusalem pour donner au Gouverneur des instructions de vive voix et par écrit, et lui remettre une copie des ordres du jour adressés aux troupes Impériales.

Songeant à l'effet que les événements de Syrie ont pu produire à Alep, Fuad Pacha a écrit au Gouverneur pour l'inviter à prendre les mesures de précaution nécessaires, en même temps qu'il a transmis au Général de Division Hafiz Pacha l'ordre de se rendre à Alep avec les troupes qu'il emmènera du corps d'armée d'Anatolie.

Les honnêtes gens et les hommes de considération parmi les Musulmans de Syrie ont prêté une grande assistance aux Chrétiens, et leur ont témoigné par des faits des sentiments d'humanité et de sympathie.

No. 109

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 45.)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 16, 1860.

COUNT RECHBERG informed me yesterday that he had just received from the Marquis de Moutier a draft of identic instructions which the French Government proposes should be simultaneously addressed by the several Powers to their Commissioners appointed to investigate the condition of affairs in Syria.

These instructions, as far as I could judge from a very hasty perusal, are of a broad and general character. The last paragraph, if my verbal memory be correct, is to the effect that you will communicate with the Representative of your Government at Constantinople on all matters that may be of interest to him, and you will receive from him such communications as he may judge fit to address to you.

Count Rechberg said that from information which he had received from Paris he was led to believe that Her Majesty's Government had desired that the instructions to be furnished to the Commissioners should be addressed to them not directly by their respective Governments, but by their Representatives at Constantinople. He was, however, most anxious to act in unison with your Lordship upon all questions relating to Eastern Affairs, and he should therefore be most glad, before giving any reply to the French proposal, to be informed of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government relative to the draft of instructions which had been submitted to him, and which had, of course, been transmitted also to London.

He would therefore beg me to apply to your Lordship for such information by telegraph.

I promised Count Rechberg that I would at once give effect to his wishes, and I did so by addressing to your Lordship a telegram upon this subject yesterday afternoon.

Count Rechberg said briefly that his reasons for inclining to the belief that the Commissioners' instructions had better be drawn up and addressed to them by the respective Governments and not by their Representatives at Constantinople, were based on the reflection that the conflicting jealousies and intrigues which were always rife in that capital would render the adoption of an identical draft of instructions by all the Ambassadors a matter of difficult achievement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 110.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 308.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 18, 1860.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires has communicated to this Government the draft of an identic instruction which it is proposed to address to the Commissioners of the Great Powers in Syria. A copy of this paper has been taken to Ostend by Baron Schleinitz; and I understand from M. de Gruner, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that he was not aware that his Government intended suggesting any alteration in it; he considered it was very elastic and adapted to the circumstances under which the Commissioners would commence their labours.

I did not learn from M. de Gruner that any person had yet been selected to act as Prussian Commissioner in Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 111

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 313. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 18, 1860.

BEFORE leaving Berlin Baron Schleinitz stated to me, in the strictest confidence, that there was a question of Prussia sending a small military expedition of 3,000 men to co-operate with the allied forces in Syria, and that with a like number of men to be supplied from Her Majesty's Army. He said that he had spoken to the Ministers of War and of Finance, and that he thought the project feasible and deserving of the best consideration of his Government, and that, moreover, in a political sense he highly approved of it, but that he was in favour of its execution; and that Prussia had not, in consequence of their expedition to Japan, any war material available at this moment to serve as an escort to the transports that would be required to carry troops to the coast of Syria.

On the departure I have seen Mr. Scott Russell, who has been applied to by the Prussian Government for information as to the facilities that he could obtain for them in England in the way of transports, and after having spent some days in communication with the Prussian Admiralty, he leaves Ostend this evening to concert further with the Kaiser Regent and Baron Schleinitz.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 112.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord,

Damasus, July 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honor to report to your Lordship that I have learned to-day that a report at Beyrout, as to French troops coming to Syria, has become known here, and that, in consequence, persons of the higher classes have declared that if the Europeans land troops they will unite with all the Muslims to massacre every Christian throughout Syria. I cannot help thinking that even were foreign troops to land, the threat would not be executed; still it would not be safe to trust to that opinion. If it were resolved to land troops, I think that, in order to prevent excitement, British had better precede French, and that a Firman were published previously throughout Syria, to the effect that the Sultan had solicited the assistance of his Allies to restore order in

Syria, in co-operation with his own troops, that he ordered the allied forces to be received as His Majesty's friends and guests, to be supplied with everything necessary, and directing the Governors to collect wheat, and barley, and straw for the use of His Majesty's army and that of his Allies. This would prevent, I should hope, any slaughter of the Christians on the first news reaching, and the troops once in Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem, danger would have ceased, and everything desired could be effected quietly. I do not imagine that the Sultan would refuse to co-operate in this way to allay excitement, but it would be well that the Embassy should dictate the language to be used, or at any rate ascertain that it clearly expressed the Ambassador's intentions. The people of Syria believe in the good wishes of England towards their Sultan, but they do not trust implicitly the French; it were therefore more prudent that France were not in the first instance put prominently forward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. RUSSELL

No. 113

Consul General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22
(No. 26.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, August 1, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the 30th ult mo, I called a meeting of the Consuls, at the request of Count Bentivoglio, who wished to make to us a communication of importance. For the purport of M. Bentivoglio's statement, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the inclosed copy of a circular I addressed in consequence to Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria.

I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's perusal, the copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Cyril Graham, containing the last news from Damascus. Your Lordship will perceive that Mr. Graham estimates the number of Christians massacred at 4,000 to 5,000. The French and Prussian Consuls, however, raise the figure to 8,000. Although Fuad Pasha's arrival at Damascus is not mentioned in this letter, it is known from other sources that his Excellency entered the city. He further stated that the Pasha did not proceed to the infliction of punishment on the Mahometan populace before taking measures to ensure the protection and safety of the remaining Christians against a second attempt at insurrection, and that Fuad Pasha had visited the Castle, and showed the strongest emotion at the sight of the 12,000 Christian refugees congregated in it. In reply to those who expressed themselves desirous of leaving Damascus for the sea coast he offered a Government escort, of which about 1,000 individuals were about to avail themselves.

The news of the approaching arrival of French troops has naturally caused great agitation amongst the Mahometan populace of this place. A deputation of them waited upon the Acting Governor yesterday, and desired to be informed whether these troops were coming with the permission of the Porte or not. Mustapha Pasha received the deputation civilly, and refused to give them an answer. This did not tend to allay their excited feelings.

In the Lebanon, notwithstanding the consular presence, there is still a great deal of murder and pillage. I am informed, on credible authority, that they have sent all their powder, valuables, and effects to the Hauran and Ledia, and are ready to flee on the first indication of approaching danger to their nation, whether from foreign or Turkish attack. The Christians are still massed in the Keserwan.

Admiral Martin has despatched men-of-war north and south, along the coast, for the protection of British interests and Christians. The Commander-in-chief has placed forty sacks of biscuit (of 112 lbs. each) at the disposal of the Committee for the relief of distressed Christian fugitives, as a contribution on the part of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

I enclose copy of my despatch of this date to Sir Henry Bulwer

Inclosure 1 in No. 113.

Circular addressed by Consul-General Moore to Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria

Sir,

Beyrout, July 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that Count Bentivoglio, the French Consul-General here, requested me this morning to convoke a meeting of the Consuls to whom he desired to make a communication of importance.

Having assembled my colleagues, M. Bentivoglio informed us that the French Colonel d'Etat-Major D'Osmond, had arrived last night at Beyrout from Marseilles, bringing the intelligence that a French division of 12,000 men were about to embark for Syria,—3,000 to come at once, and the remaining 9,000 to follow,—and that he himself had been ordered to precede the division to prepare for their reception. The Porte had been apprised of this measure by the French Government, but M. Bentivoglio was not aware whether the sanction of the Turkish Government had been obtained, which, however, was to be supposed. M. D'Osmond also states that he heard that the French division was to be accompanied by 4,000 English troops. Of this, however, neither Admiral Martin nor myself have received intelligence, which may arrive by the mail due to-morrow.

The meeting proceeded to consider the position of our respective Consuls and countrymen in the interior, and it was resolved that the news should be communicated to the Consuls with the least possible delay; leaving them to their own judgment and better local knowledge might dictate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 2 in No. 113.

Mr. Graham to Consul-General Moore.

My dear Sir,

Damascus, July 30, 1860

I TOLD you in my last letter of Thursday that the city was not so quiet as we could wish. On Friday the excitement was even greater, and on Saturday a plot had been made to attack the Consulates. Early on that morning, I went to the Consulate, and found that the French Consul had better pack up and hide his valuables, as it was likely a general outbreak would take place in the course of the day.

I went about; all the shops were closed, and at 11 at night there were several shots fired. The military Pasha, however, ordered the guards to be doubled, and himself rode all night about the town. He sent us that night thirty of the new Turkish troops, instead of the rascals who had before been keeping guard, and who had been among the herds of Haaboya. The heat is very great now, and I fear unless the Christians soon be removed, they will have to leave their bones here, for some frightful pestilence cannot but break out soon. There are 12,000 in the Castle, exposed to heat, and scarcely fed. I went to see them, and passed through them, but with tremendous difficulty I was nearly torn to pieces. The Moslems all say that should any European force attempt to land every Christian here shall be slain. Their great cry is against the Consuls.

We shall see what Fuad does; for the moment there is a lull, but should he, from fear or other causes, show the little energy he did at Beyrout, all is over.

It was unpardonable of him keeping the Seraskier on the road; we were in great danger on Saturday, and I honestly began to think that another affair of Qair-el-Kamar had been planned, and the Seraskier was to arrive after the slaughter was over. The Moslems began to think that it was intended as an encouragement to them.

I shall go about every day, and give you as much information as I can.

I have, &c.
(Signed) **CYRIL E. GRAHAM.**

Compt-Général Moore to Sir H. Bailew.

With reference to No. 14, authorizing me on the part of Her Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be necessary to carry out the instructions of the Government of India, I have the honour to state that I have complied with your Excellency's instruction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. Monroff

Next

My Lord,

Beyrouth, August 4, 1980

I HAVE the honour to report that instructions from the Porte have been received to the effect that the French troops in Syria. A proclamation to that effect, qualifying this of the French Government as one undertaken with the knowledge and of the Porte, and calling upon the people to receive the French as Allies, has been translated of the document. This announcement relieves to a great extent the anxieties which had been felt in the hitherto prevailing uncertainty with regard to the character of the expedition, as to the possible consequences of the expedition. It is to be desired that the Porte should be looked upon with disfavour and suspicion by the Mahometane Authorities as well as the Christians. The Porte has also received instructions from the French Government to the effect that the French troops in Syria should be treated as Allies of the Porte.

French officers and men connected with the expedition and stores have arrived at Beirut, and about thirty private soldiers have reached Beirut. The establishment of the French Society of Constantinople has been postponed.

I have accounts from Damascus to the 2nd instant. Found Past. I have
of a letter written by a Mahometan at Damascus to a friend of his here; I beg
I also transmit a translation of the statement
took place. I also transmit a translation of the statement
I have been enabled to rescue over 100 Christians, mostly women and children, and
considerable property belonging to plundered Christians. On learning on two
separate occasions that there was such a number of unfortunate creatures still
hiding or detained by the Druses in the neighbourhood of the spot where Deir-
el-Kahur once stood, I sent my caravans, whom I induced the Turkish

97

Authorities to accompany with some horsemen on their part to the spot, with letters to the Druse Chiefs. The cavasses both times succeeded in bringing the poor creatures safely down to Beyrout, to the number above stated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 1 in No. 114

Production.

(Translation.)

REPORTS have been prevalent of the coming to Beyrout of French troops. This matter had been submitted to us by the French Consul and the Colonel d'Osmond, who is charged to look for accommodations for the troops in Damascus, through the medium of the Local Government. The said Colonel has verbally reported his mission. We, not knowing whether the Sublime Porte had assented to the coming of the said troops or not, hastened to submit a detailed report on the subject to his Excellency the Foreign Minister, Pasha, who is an independent and supreme authority in all matters relating to the affairs of this country, begging to be furnished with instructions on the subject. It has been plainly understood, from the contents of the high reply of his Excellency, that the said matter has been made known to him by letters which his Excellency has received from the Porte by Kaim Hax A de de camp to the Admiralty, as the sending of French troops has been offered by the French Government to the Sublime Porte, an offer occasioned by the illegal and inhuman proceedings which have occurred, namely, the treacherous assassination and plundering, by certain low people of Damascus, of the Christian subjects of the Porte. It is hoped, that before the arrival of these troops, the disorders will have been entirely suppressed, and dealt with according to the requirements of law and justice, under the auspices of His Majesty our Sultan, supported by the aid of God and of his Prophet, and through the unanimous co-operation of the faithful and respectable subjects of the Porte, and that no occasion will remain for employing the said troops; it is not ignored that the coming of the said troops, at the part of the French Government results from true and close friendship existing between the two Governments, and these troops will not make any light movement without the Turkish Empire without the concurrence of the functionaries of the Sublime Porte. There is, therefore, no occasion to fear, on account of the arrival of these troops, but, as ordained in the reply of his Excellency the Foreign Minister, the functionaries of the Imperial Government are to exert themselves to facilitate their requirements, and give them the necessary assistance agreeably to the laws of hospitality.

In order that all classes should know the above, and be free from all anxieties, we hasten to make it public, that every one may be occupied in his own affairs and concerns.

Módorren 10. 1977

Inclosure 2 in No. 114.

Letter from a Turkish Moslem in Damascus.

(Translated from the Turkish.)

May the most merciful God take vengeance!

THE sole cause which stirred up the people of Damascus and of the villages to rebel against the resurrection described below is this — That before the breaking out of this wickedness, by Turkey, by Syria, by Egypt, by the fellows and baser people had been appointed, by the order of Government and the decision of the Chief Consul of Damascus, to be Police Captains and Officers and Policemen, and, thereupon, these persons, being themselves the chiefs of the sedition, collected a number of the lowest and most ignorant of the

commenced supplying them with arms, and as they were appointed to guard the Clifton Barracks for instance, incidentally thought of the Damascus-
cenes to preparation for this work (the rising), whereas, otherwise, no one would have thought of the occurrence of such a sad event as this.

On Monday, the 27th of June, o.s., 1860 (July 9th, n.s., at 2 o'clock a.m., some boys made crosses in every section of the city, and began to cause the passers-by to tread upon them, and otherwise to insult the Christians, and the making of these crosses and these insults were not of such a nature as would naturally occur to these boys, but they must have been instructed by some of the leaders of the sedition. After half-an-hour the report of the affair of the crosses, and of the audacity manifested in insulting and humiliating the Christians had, by some means or other, reached the Government, and immediately the Chief of the Police, with some of his men, went forth and seized a part of the boys and other persons and sent them to the Government, when they were put in chains, and sent forth to the market to sweep the streets, and they actually began sweeping. Then there gathered around them the Musulmans of the neighbourhood, and rescued these boys from the police, and broke off the chains from their feet and cast them away; and as soon as the boys were let free, all the shops of the whole market (bazaars) were closed within the space of five or ten minutes, and in a quarter of an hour two cannons were fired, and from that time arms began to be fired. The traitor Selim Agha, of the Medan, an officer (Houk Bashas), of the irregular troops, took with him an immense number of the worst people of the Medan, armed, and led them at once to the Christian quarter, and, as soon as he entered that quarter, immediately fell upon the houses of such Christians as he

set about plundering, and burning, and killing; and, inasmuch as the writer
alluded to had under his command a larger number of armed villains, no one
was able to get the start of them in carrying off the most choice and
valuable of the plunder.

True, the people of the villages surrounding Damascus, and the Druzes, came in crowds to the city after some hours, and filled it, and they also plundered much, and were fierce in shedding blood and burning. But the assembling and agreement, and union and concert, and purposes of all the people of Damascus, with the villagers and Arabs, in the space of an hour, for the accomplishment of this action in Damascus, could not have occurred without some previous determination on the part of their leading men. And that this was the case is made clear as day by the circumstance, that, within the space of five or ten minutes, white and green banners were displayed, from prominent positions, on all the Moslem houses, no one forbidding; and is it possible that, at such an evil time, such a procedure should occur to any one without his having been previously prepared for it? The city guards and irregular troops that had been enrolled and officered by the order of the Great Council of the city, professing for the protection of the Christian quarter, they were the ones who first began plunder and killing. Had these city police, and people of the Moslem who were enrolled as guards, kept the heads of the streets leading to the Christian quarter, and barred the gates of the quarter, and fired upon the invaders, and endeavoured to turn them back and prevent them from entering the Christian quarter, like the regular troops, the affair would not have arrived at this pass, but would probably have been soon stopped. Had the members of the Great Council, and the leading men and principal persons of the town, proceeded at that time to the Christian quarter, nothing whatever would have occurred: whereas, in these circumstances, no one of the aforementioned members and leading men said to any one, "dissent;" and from this it is evident that this calamity which has fallen upon the heads of the poor Christians, upon their property, their houses, their children, and their wives, was by previous intent of the leading men, as was, moreover, apparent from all the indications manifest in their conduct. Many of the Christians concealed themselves in their houses, and were consumed in the flames; and many of them, after having been subjected to severe tortures, in order that they might disclose the places where their property was concealed, were butchered within their houses after making such disclosures, lest they should afterwards enter complaint. And many of the women from whom they could not draw their

their bracelets quickly had their hands cut off, as were likewise the fingers of many who had rings which could not easily be removed; and they were not satisfied with this, but killed and destroyed many of them. And there were many women also not able to remove their ear-rings from their ears, who had their ears torn open or cut off in consequence. Some of the Christians were taken out by the followers of Abd-el-Kader, the Algerine, from the wells and other places where they had concealed themselves, and while they were being conveyed to the Castle, they were fired upon and wounded by bullets. His Excellency Abd-el-Kader, abovementioned, took a large number of the Christians to his own house, and saved them, and his men also saved a great number, and took them to the Castle; and in that distress there was no one to be and his followers who made any effort to save the Christians. It is true

... took from the Christian quarter a few of them to their houses; and they also persons to their houses from the castle, asking the privilege of taking them as though they had merciful intentions towards them: but, alas! these poor people! what harm and torture they inflicted upon them in their order to make them disclose the places where they had concealed their property, and how many acts of wicked violence were inflicted upon them! and, on the morrow, they would return a part of them to the Castle, and kill a part, while others were compelled to become Moslems. A number of persons took from the Castle a number of women and children for them.

are you doing? I arrived all this morning. I then burned the churches. They plundered the Consulate, and burned it. The Consul is at present in the Government Palace, but the Consulates of England and France were not saved, as they were in the Modern quarter. There were in the Custom-house about 200 Christians at that time, and I immediately went in haste to the Palace, and brought some of the regular soldiers and took them away, and thus I secured the salvation of these poor people. Those Christian houses which were in Modern quarters were also burned, after they had been plundered of everything in them. The number of such houses was about 300.

On the 9th of July, o.s. (21st, n.s.), Khed Pasha the Viceroy, in accordance with the decision of the Great Council, commencing to the Christian quarter, and taking out the property concerned the holding any to enter excepting those thus employed, and some of the Christians who were in the Castle also obtained permits to go to the Christian quarter and to their burned houses. Three days

an inverted position on the middle of the cross,
ent lines, lying under foot in the street of the

no one in Damascus refrained from plundering the property of the Christians, but even the old women

This record, having been written in haste, some circumstances have been omitted, and the names of some well known persons, whose deeds might have been recorded. If you wish, I can inform you of these hereafter.

Inclosure 3 in No. 114.

The Bishop of Baslebeck to Consul-General Moore.

(Translation.)

Geddet-Bahane, July 19, 1860.

I MUST acquaint you, Sir, with the disasters that have befallen me personally and the Christian population of my diocese, including the churches and convents in the district of Baslebeck. After the barbarous hordes had vanquished, pillaged, and burnt the town of Zablé, the Metualis and Moslems of the district of Baslebeck arose in arms, and in their ferocious hatred against the Christians killed them, pillaging their property and burning their houses and churches, and carrying away the cattle and crops. After prosecuting this work of destruction in the villages, they came to the town of Baslebeck, the seat of the Governor, who, notwithstanding the presence of Husain Bey, the Colonel commanding a regiment of regular Imperial troops, a battalion of cavalry, and two guns; did not evince any disposition to defend the rayahs from the attacks of the enemy. Secondly, in the interval, the Emirs of Harfoush, outlaws by order of the Ottoman Government, placed themselves at the head of a body of brigands, and attacked by surprise the Civil Governor, Farès Agha Kadra, with the intention of killing him, they did not succeed except in killing some of his retainers. The Turkish troops in garrison did not oppose these lawless bands, nor take any step to protect the helpless Christian community amidst these great perils, but remained passive spectators.

3rdly. When I found myself surrounded by danger, both from without and from within, I took to flight with some of my flock, leaving behind all our property, household furniture, and wearing apparel, not having had even time to take the necessary food for the day.

4thly. On arriving, by the help of God, safely to the town of Bsharré, in the Lebanon, the news reached me that Hassan Agha Yanger had arrived at Baslebeck at the head of 400 irregular troops, styled "Alhumans," whom he had enrolled among the lawless class of Damascenes, chiefly Kurds, notorious for their licentiousness, with the ostensible object of protecting the population of Baslebeck, but it soon turned out that this Agha and his wicked troops were the greatest scourge to the Christians who had remained at their homes. On learning the barbarities committed by the Mussulmans of Damascus against the Christians, he, the chief, let loose his troops, who attacked our church and residence of our Bishopric, and the houses of the Christians in general, pillaged the property, and destroyed the rest, and defiled the house of God in horrible manner, killed some men, and violated the women and children that fell in their way, subsequently killing them. Up to this time a great number of them are dispersed in the wilderness, others kept by the enemies, and the rest have abjured Christianity and embraced Islamism to save their lives.

5thly. The calamity that befell the Christians in the town of Baslebeck soon extended to those of the surrounding villages in the district. The Mussulmans and Metualis, with Harfoush Emirs at their head, attacked the Christians, killed and pillaged, sacked and burnt the churches and the houses to the last of them. We see daily arriving our dispersed flock and their pastors, needy, naked, afflicted, and destitute not only of their wearing apparel, household furniture, their cattle and harvest, but some without their wives and children. Many are still hidden in the wilderness and in caves, and their place of refuge not yet ascertained.

6thly. The above brief narrative will show how much Christian blood has been shed in these attacks; how many women and children carried away, what amount of property pillaged, churches sacked and burned in the district of Baslebeck, amounting to upwards of twenty churches, of which twelve churches and two convents, namely, Deir Gazal and Seydet-er-Ras, belonging to our own community, where three priests were killed.

7thly. The amount of property pillaged and destroyed is 500 purses, the same amount arising from the destruction of the twelve churches already mentioned, and the two convents, the property of which alone amounted to 200 purses, making a total of 1,700 purses. The amount of the property of our lay community pillaged is estimated at about 5,000 purses, and that of the other Christian communities in the whole of the district, consisting of about 10,000 purses, or 100,000 francs, at 100 francs to the purse.

property, or 100,000 francs, at 100 francs to the purse, horses, donkeys and horses destroyed by fire, &c. exceeds 20,000 purses. This is the pecuniary loss, exclusive of that of men, women, honour, desecration, &c.

I feel it my duty to submit this protest to you, Sir, beseeching and entreating the benevolence and compassion of the exalted Government of England, distinguished for their high zeal and great power, for there remains to us no other refuge after God but them, to bestow a compassionate look upon the deplorable state to which the Christian community is reduced; men, women, and children are now brought to utter destruction, naked and hungry, not possessing the means of daily food. May they take up their cause and obtain for them reparation and indemnity; and gain their prayers and most fervent supplications to the Almighty to afford them victory, and consolidate the foundations of their power, so as to tread under their feet every enemy, and render them gloriously victorious for ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MALATHIOS

No. 115

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(No. 25.)

Beyrout, August 6, 1860.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a letter, marked Confidential, which I received yesterday from Fuad Pasha, in which his Excellency is pleased to acquaint me with the measures he had taken at Damascus up to the day of its date. The verbal communication with which the Pasha had charged Hassan Bey (Colonel O'Reilly) to make to me, as stated in the closing paragraph of his Excellency's letter, had reference to the coming of the French expeditionary force, of which he is most anxious to prevent the disembarkation, by showing that he is doing the needful at Damascus, therefore leaving no occasion for the action of the French troops.

This desire on the part of the Imperial Commissioner is natural enough; measures already taken, or to be further adopted, by the Turkish authorities, are due to the threat of occupation. In my humble opinion, they are so to a very considerable extent. I called, however, upon Admiral Martin, in order to show him Fuad Pasha's communication, and acquaint him with the nature of the progress of the French troops, viz., that independently of the instructions to us on the subject on the part of our Government, to attempt with the French Military Commander, who would attend to nothing but his orders, would be futile. I have acquainted Hassan Bey, who started for Damascus immediately afterwards, with our opinion, for the information of Fuad Pasha. Count Bentivoglio having called upon me later in the day, I had an opportunity of ascertaining his views on the subject, without acquainting him with our own, which I found to be in harmony with those we entertained. The French Consul-General had received a letter from Fuad Pasha similar to the one addressed to me by his Excellency. I beg to inclose a copy of my written reply to the Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 115

Fuad Pasha to Consul-General Moore

M le Consul-Général,

Damas, le 4 Aout. 1860

J'AI commencé à agir ici, hier, et mon plan a été couronné de succès. Après avoir pris toutes les dispositions pour imposer d'un côté à la ville et pour la frapper de l'autre en cas de résistance, je suis parvenu à faire savoir, j'ai

J. D.

soit 10 individus; qui m'ont été dénoncés en partie par les agents chrétiens et en partie livrés par les indigènes eux-mêmes. Les autres, qui meurent encore aujourd'hui, et arriveront jusqu'au soir au monde livré le butin criminel, et quoiqu'il soit difficile de faire restituer une grande partie des objets de valeur, la plupart des objets enlevés se trouvent aujourd'hui entre nos mains. Tout cela s'est fait sans coup férir, et la population honnête de la ville a donné une assistance morale, par son calme, à la troupe Impériale; qui du reste a imposé, par son attitude, aux mutins qui se trouvent aujourd'hui sous le coup de la terreur. Il me reste à présent à agir contre les personnes appartenant à la classe qui ont été compromises dans l'affaire de Damas, que j'ai employées, jusqu'à présent, au succès de mon plan, et qui bientôt seront entre les mains de la justice. Un Conseil Extraordinaire que j'ai déjà nommé vient de commencer à interroger les individus qui sont arrêtés. Ceux qui seront condamnés par ce Tribunal Extraordinaire seront exécutés par la sentence que je donnerai, conformément aux plombs pouvoirs que le Sultan m'a conférés. Cette mesure ainsi que toutes les autres que je prendrai pour infliger un châtiment exemplaire à la ville de Damas ne rencontreront aucune résistance de la part de la population, dont une partie, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le dire plus haut, qui est restée calme, et l'autre est devenue très docile, par les arrestations qui ont été effectuées jusqu'à présent. Sachant d'avance que tout ce que je vous communiquerai vous fera un plaisir particulier et que la relation exacte des faits peut prévenir des complications qui peuvent résulter d'un mouvement de troupes qu'on m'a signalé comme combiné, j'ai eu de mon devoir de porter à votre connaissance tout ce qui s'est passé ici, et j'envoie à Beyrouth mon Aide-de-camp, le Colonel Hassan Bey, pour qu'il vous donne à cet égard les renseignements nécessaires. Je prie le Commandant des forces navales de Sa Majesté de vous adresser les lettres que je vous envoie et pour qu'il fasse parvenir.

Assurez, &c.

S. MOORE

Incluse 2 in No. 115.

Consul-General Moore to Foad Pasha.

Excelsioncy,

Beyrouth, August 7, 1860.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the letter which your Excellency has had the goodness to address to me under date of the 4th instar.

In thanking your Excellency for the information which you are pleased to give me relative to the energetic measures you have taken at Damascus, I beg to assure you that you do me but justice in believing that your Excellency's communications will afford me a peculiar pleasure.

With respect to the verbal observations which Colonel Hassan Bey was charged by your Excellency to make to Admiral Martin and myself, I beg to state that I sought a special interview with the Admiral in order to confer with him thereon. The result of our deliberations I have verbally confided to Hassan Bey, to be by him communicated to your Excellency.

I beg, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 116.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell—(Received August 22.)

(No. 29.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, August 6, 1860

WITH reference to a statement that has appeared in the public papers to the effect that there were but 400 regular troops in Syria at the time of the outbreak, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship with the truth with regard to that point. Perfect accuracy is not attainable, but your

Lordship may rely that the following estimate is rather understated than the contrary.

In the two Pashalics of Beyrouth and Damascus there could not have been less than 4,000 Turkish regulars at the commencement of the disturbances and before the arrival of any reinforcements whatsoever. At each place in the Mountain where massacres were perpetrated there were garrisons, composed of regulars, ranging from 200 to 600 strong, with field pieces. In Damascus it is computed that there were 1,500 regular troops, cavalry and infantry, and as many irregulars, when the insurrection broke out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 117

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, August 8, 1860

I have the honour to report the arrival within the last few days of a Dutch, a Sardinian, an Austrian, and a Russian frigate; a Greek corvette and two gun-boats had come in about ten days.

In addition to Her Majesty's ships already reported, the "Raimond" entered the port on the 5th instar. There are now before Beyrouth several vessels of war of the different nations represented, besides the British, French, and Turkish ships detached on service along the coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 118

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 1.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, August 2, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report my arrival at Beyrouth, on the night of the 31st ultimo, in fulfilment of the special mission with which I am entrusted by your Lordship.

Immediately upon my arrival, and at his own request, I waited upon Admiral Martin, commanding Her Majesty's fleet here, whom I at once advised of the idea that I came in connection with an expedition on the part of England—an idea which had been suggested by the previous arrival of Colonel D'Omond, a French officer, who had selected ground at the "Pine Forest," near Beyrouth, for the encampment of a French force, said to be about to arrive in Syria. Believing that such a force calculated to expose the Christian population yet remaining in Damascus to imminent danger, in the yet uncertain position of affairs there, I have taken upon me to state generally, that I had no objection to any force, whether English or French, was likely to arrive in Syria. On seeing Mr. Moore, to whom I delivered your Lordship's instructions regarding myself, I requested him to state to his colleagues, by whom he said inquiry would be made, that I had come in connection with the operation of no body of troops but those of His Majesty the Sultan. I was desirous that this should be distinctly understood, because the idea that an armed intervention by a combined English and French force was imminent, had largely obtained in Beyrouth and neighbourhood, and had even reached Damascus, while Moslems, in various quarters, had threatened that if such occurred, they would exterminate every Christian they could reach. There does not appear to be much feeling against the landing of a French force, particularly if it is the force of the Sultan, but a marked objection exists to a French intervention. The influence of France appears to have utterly declined among the Maronites, after the severe losses they suffered at the hands of the Druses, brought upon them by the attitude they had been encouraged to assume by their French protectors. Since the report of a French landing, however, which appears to be industriously spread,

both officially and otherwise, the lost ground is being rapidly recovered. Whether intervention be positively decided or not, it is of vital moment that no landing be permitted, until the safety of the Christians in the interior of Syria and Palestine be first provided for, and in the event of the Sultan giving his consent to such intervention, that this fact be first widely made known, otherwise the results to the Christians may be most deplorable; for the little protection they have in the meantime from the presence of the Sultan's troops might then utterly fail them.

The arrival of thirteen French Commissariat officers, by the steamer of the morning, would seem to confirm the reports of the speedy arrival of French troops.

Beirut is quiet, and the presence of the English and French squadrons, added to a garrison of 2,000 Turkish regulars, under Ismail Pasha (General K...), seems quite sufficient to ensure its continuance. Yet there is a steady exodus of the Christian population going on, who leave coastwards for Smyrna, Greece, or any distant port to which they can get conveyance, stating that they have lost all feeling of security under the present Government of Syria. There are no Russian ships of war here at present; one which was recently in port having suddenly left. I believe without giving any intimation of her intention to do so. At Smyrna, it was positively stated that the steamers of the Russian Commercial Line on the coast of Syria, have been recalled to the Black Sea.

Fuad Pasha, as will have been reported to your Lordship from various sources, arrived at Damascus on the 29th ultimo, after a good deal of delay at Beirut. His Excellency, during his stay here, sent Achmet Pasha, late Governor of Damascus, a prisoner to Constantinople. It would have given much more confidence to the people of the country had he been detained and tried here, where evidence against him was obtainable. His Excellency also sent to Constantinople Khorsid Pasha of Beirut, though not as prisoner; but this was only done, as I am informed by the Admiral, under very strong pressure exerted by himself and Mr. Moore.

I have seen several letters from Damascus which arrived here yesterday, and which, in consequence of the uncertainty of all state safety, the sad privations of the Christians cooped up in the Castle, and the appearance of disease amongst them. Fuad Pasha's arrival caused a fall for the

if the Sultan's officers had sent a population would permit them to go. Mohammed Pasha, the new Governor, sent to Damascus, was, by all accounts, a most inefficient officer at Smyrna, his last post. Private communications mention that it had been discovered that another rising had been intended on Saturday, the 29th ultimo, when the Consuls were to have been special objects of attack; but the influence of some of the higher class Moslems, and probably the approach of troops with Fuad Pasha, had prevented it being carried out.

The English Missionary, Mr. Graham, cut down near the English Consulate, was killed in mistake for a Consul, as boasted by his murderer. The Damascus massacre appears to have been solely influenced by the old fanatical prevalent there against Christians; and the Consuls are looked upon as one of Christians being raised to an equal footing with Moslems, in the next day. Your Lordship will be pleased to learn that though the writers of the above-named letters often disagree with Mr. Beant as to the existence of extent of danger, they invariably speak in the highest terms of his untiring energy and courage, and attribute the safety of a great portion of the Christians now in the Castle to his vigorous remonstrances and demands addressed to the late Pasha.

In justice to Mr. Moore, I ought also to state, that since my arrival, I have heard foreign Consuls speak with admiration of the determination and energy exhibited by him also, in dealing with the late Pasha of Beirut, previous to the el-Kamar massacre.

A letter from the Druse district of Lebanon has just been brought me, which states that the Druses, in fear of a foreign intervention, are sending away their valuables, and propose to retreat to the inaccessible fastnesses of the Ladjah and Haichin, south-east of Damascus. That they have no objection to an inquiry being made by England as to their culpability, and are even prepared

to give up some of the ringleaders; but though they would accept the word of the Sultan, they would not accept that of no one else. They appear determined to fight to the last against French interference. I must offer many apologies to your Lordship for the loose form of these notes, which, in consequence of many interruptions, I am only able to jot down thus rudely in time for to-day's mail. It is probable that I shall leave for Damascus almost immediately.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 110

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 22)

(No. 2,
My Lord,

Beirut, August 8, 1860.

ON the 2nd instant, I had the honour to report my arrival in Syria as well as to make some remarks on the position of affairs at that time. I had been requested that more troops might be sent, to enable him to proceed with arrests, I considered that the arrival of Europeans in the city might, under the circumstances, excite the populace, and therefore deferred my journey till to-morrow. As regards the general state of the country, it can only be said that the lull which commenced on the arrival of Fuad Pasha still continues. In Damascus, with a garrison of 7,000 men, and in Beirut, in presence of twenty ships of war and a garrison of about 1,500 men the Sultan's authority can be and is asserted, while Christians may be considered safe. But in too many other quarters they are yet subjected to threats, insult, and plunder. How deeply rooted is the rancour which has now burst forth among the Moslem population, was painfully shown at Damascus last week, in the attempt to poison the wretched pittance of bread issued to the refugees in the Castle, and to the baker and others implicated, I am happy to say, were quickly arrested. Five thousand additional Turkish troops are said to be expected from Constantinople. Their arrival will enable an expedition to be made to the vicinity of Hachbeyn, and Hacheya-el-Takkir, at the western base of Mount Hermon, where many Christians, chiefly women and children, are yet reported to be detained, ill-treated by the Druses in the meantime, and in fear of being put to death or carried away, should there be a general Druse retreat to the Haichin. There are persons who escaped from the villages near Hacheya at the time of the massacre, and who have hitherto been protected by the sister of Said Bey at who now either cannot or will not any longer protect them.

In the 4th instant, there arrived here 3,000 of the Christians, who have been cooped up in the Castle, for whom come

as a beggars, while many have lost all. Christian population of Damascus perished in the massacre, besides about 1,000 villagers, who had escaped to the city in search of safety.

It is hoped conveyance will be found for another party of refugees in a day or two.

On the 2nd instant, Fuad Pasha commenced making arrests, first doubling the guards over the Europeans and occupying the city with troops. Up to the present moment the arrested amount to nearly 1,000, chiefly from among the rabble, though, within the last day or two, he has imprisoned some of the higher people. There were great threats of resistance if any attempt was made to arrest a Moslem for what has occurred; but not a shot has yet been fired.

It is a very rare and unusual case, a Pasha would do more than fine, imprison, enroll in the army, or perhaps send a few of the principal to Constantinople, but they are now alarmed, and fear they are to be treated much more severely. For the last sixteen years a Moslem has never been put to death for killing a Christian, and they can hardly conceive it will be otherwise now. His Excellency's movements have been cautious, yet decided.

A good deal of the more bulky and worthless plunder has been collected; the richer portion has not yet been discovered.

At 11 A.M. from Fuad Pasha arrived here on the 5th instant, announcing that some 400 arrests had been made, and, with the further view of securing the European representatives here—particularly those of England and France—to arrest the landing of any military expedition that might have been directed on Syria, on the plea that order was now restored, justice being executed, and that, therefore, foreign intervention was at present unnecessary. This officer came to me, but I told him I had no authority in the matter, and referred him to Mr. Moore and the Admiral, with both of whom, it then appeared, he had already conferred, but with little success. He seemed to say, as from himself, that Fuad Pasha would lose all courage to go on with a task which would make him many enemies, if, notwithstanding all he might do, there would still be an intervention. I assured him that I thought this a false view of the position, and that Fuad Pasha's best security against foreign intervention would be the signal punishment of the guilty, whatever position they might occupy, and the re-establishment of order and security for the future. That it was not to be supposed there would be any interference whatever, until it was evident that the officer who had been deputed to the task had failed in its accomplishment.

I have letters from Damascus this morning, but no executions were yet known to have taken place; and all proceedings connected with the prisoners were conducted with great secrecy.

I must again repeat that the prospect of a French occupation, unaccompanied by an English or other force, is viewed with great disfavour, both by the Government and by the inhabitants of the country generally, with the exception, perhaps, of some of the Maronites, there being a generally prevailing fear that it will be difficult to induce the French to quit Syria again. A proposal by an English force, or by a mixed expedition, composed of contingents from the several Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, an armed occupation would not have been viewed with suspicion, as is the case at present.

A proclamation was issued, a few days ago, announcing that, by the Sultan's wish, a foreign military expedition would shortly arrive in Syria, and that it was to be received with friendship. This will, I trust, remove all misconception on the part of the Moslems of the interior.

The French Consul-General here asserts that the occupation will only be "momentary," as he expresses it; and that, though it be exclusively French, there need be no difficulty about it, if the other European representatives here are satisfied. He says that some stores, have been landed, and accommodation for sick provided, but no expeditionary force has yet appeared. Some attempts have been made to recruit a force of 2,000 Algerines, Abd-el-Kader's men, are now maintained by France at Damascus.

The Chiefs of the Druses are holding meetings in various parts of the mountains. One was held yesterday, within ten miles of Beyrout, and Said Bey has summoned one near Rasheya, probably to decide on some proposal to be made, or other general plan of action. They feel they are now encouraged, or at least countenanced by the Government authorities, though no documentary evidence has yet been shown. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that the only points at which serious massacres occurred were precisely and exclusively the points at which there were Turkish garrisons. Witness the tragedies of Hasbeya, Rasheya, Deir-el-Kamar, Sidon, Zahlé, Damascus, the principal garrisons of this part of Syria. Near Beyrout itself, the villages of Babdab and Hadad were burned within 300 yards of the Pasha's camp, and before his eyes, without an attempt made to save them, the only movement made being on the part of the Bashibozouks, who rushed forth to plunder the Christians.

Having recently seen in a newspaper that M. Musurus, the Turkish Ambassador in London, had stated to your Lordship that there were only 400 troops in Syria at the date of the outbreak, I find, on inquiry, that there

were from 4,000 to 5,000 men in this part of Syria alone, and I hope shortly to be able to give their exact numbers and distribution.

In conclusion, I beg to state that I experience very great difficulty in procuring information at present, in consequence of the interrupted communication between the different parts of the country, while many of the actors in the late events have already emigrated. I am collecting information, however, as opportunity offers, regarding the outbreaks and massacres at each point, with a view to drawing up a detailed report hereafter. I must again beg your Lordship's indulgence for the shortcomings of the clerical department, in which I have not hitherto been able to obtain any assistance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 120

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 27.)

(No. 31.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, August 10, 1860

I HAVE the honor to report that Ahmed Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus, returned to Beyrout on the 8th instant, having been sent back by the Porte to take his trial on the spot, the scene of his misdeeds. He is to be followed, it is understood, by Khoorshid Pasha, the late Governor-General of Beyrout, for the same purpose. This measure cannot be too highly commended, and nothing short of it would have satisfied the exigencies of the case, or even secured a proper trial by affording the necessary evidence direct and circumstantial, which a local inquiry can alone render available.

Although happily no fresh outbreak or disturbance on a large scale has occurred anywhere, yet I have to report the country as in a very disorganised and anarchical state; the Druses continue their depredations and molestations against the Christians, notwithstanding the peace patched up; the enclosed memorial I have received from some survivors of the massacre at Hasbeya will give your Lordship an idea of what is going on there and elsewhere. I am unremitting in my endeavours to procure protection for those unfortunate people from the Turkish authorities, but I am constantly hindered by the necessity of a reference to Fuad Pasha at Damascus prevents that promptitude of action which I should wish to see under circumstances of such urgency. In the meantime, I have been in the possession of an express to Fuad Pasha to bring the position of the Christian fugitives of Hasbeya to the knowledge of the Porte, with a view to his taking the necessary measures for their relief. From the enclosed copy of a letter of thanks I have received from Rev. Mr. Ford, enclosing one from the Protestants of Cana, your Lordship will perceive that I have been able to secure protection to others as well.

From the Christians of the coast towns I receive frequent urgent applications for British men-of-war to be sent for their protection, on account of the violence they feel in consequence of the demerit of the Mahometans. Yesterday, for instance, a deputation of Christians from Acre called upon me with the same request. I brought their prayer to the knowledge of Admiral Martin, who at once ordered the "Firefly" to proceed thither, and to convey the members of the deputation to their town at their solicitation. Admiral Martin has with equal readiness attended to all my suggestions in respect to the despatch of vessels to different points on the coast, besides affording me the weight of his support and influence in my communications with the authorities.

Ever since the news of the projected French occupation, the Druses have been in a state of the greatest uneasiness and perplexity. They recently held a general meeting of all the Chiefs of the Druses, to consider their position and decide upon a line of action in certain eventualities. I am informed by one of themselves, through an agent, that the decision come to is to retire further into the interior on the arrival of foreign troops to attack them, and to a large number to the Bashibozouks and Turkish Government, and to their own agents, to be treated as they see fit. The leading chiefs cling to me with the tenacity of desperation for

support. I beg to proper, pending the receipt of your Lordship's instructions, to give them such assistance as may be necessary for the preservation of the same to a specific engagement.

At Damascus, Fud Pasha's arrests had reached between 700 and 800; the execution had taken place. At Hama, a Mahometan who attempted to poison the Christians in the Castle; but on the same day of the execution, and almost simultaneously, a Christian was murdered in the streets by Mahometans, who, it is said, had sworn to kill a Christian for every Mahometan put to death. Mr. Consul Brant reports that it is now certain that upwards of 5,000 Christians were slaughtered in Damascus; but the French Consul raises the number of victims to 8,000.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

August 12.

P.S.—In consequence of my representations, Fud Pasha has sent an order to the Commander of the Druses at Hama, to send a detachment of his troops for the protection of the Christians at Hama and Rasbeya. The troops have orders to attack the Druses if they continue to molest the Christians.

(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 1 in No. 120

The Christians of Hama to Consul-General Moore

August 8, 1860.

YOUR servants, the inhabitants of Hama and the neighbouring villages, beg to state that your Serenity is aware of the misfortunes which have befallen us—namely, our men massacred, our houses burnt, our property plundered. The surviving widows and orphans are in a deplorable state, remaining in the power of the Druses, in danger and insecurity on account of the threats held out by the Druses to them, besides other horrors they are exposed to, which we cannot from delicacy explain to you. The Druses continue to demolish and destroy our houses, cut down our trees, and kill any of the few survivors they at any time meet with alone outside the houses in which they have found an asylum.

Oh, Sir, how many children have perished from starvation, how many women are still dispersed in the wilderness without shelter, clothes to cover their bodies, or food to sustain life; they are naked and bare-footed, the sky their covering, and the earth their bed.

We, your servants, throw ourselves at your feet, imploring you in the name of God to look with compassion and mercy into the state of these widows and orphans, dispersed in the wilderness, mountains, and caves, &c., and to take measures to deliver them out of their distress by procuring their withdrawal from amongst the Druses, those ravening wolves who seek to fall upon their prey from all sides. We, your servants, have no asylum or help but God and the mercy of your Government. God forbid that you should allow these widows and orphans in this state to perish from hunger and fear; your compassion and benevolence towards us have always been great.

Inclosure 2 in No. 120

The Rev J. B. Fara to Consul-General Moore

Sir,

Beyrout, August 11, 1860

SOME weeks since, you were so kind as to furnish the Protestant community of Cana with a letter to Hassan Bey El Fara, the Governor of their district, commending them to his special care and protection; as the beneficial effects of your efforts on their behalf have been so manifest as to lead them to write a letter of acknowledgment, describing the conduct of Hassan Bey towards

them, and toward all the Christians in his vicinity. I hasten to lay before you the said letter, begging leave at the same time to add my own thanks as pastor of the little flock who have thus been preserved from sharing in the general destruction.

Permit me to subscribe myself with sentiments of the highest respect.
(Signed) J. E. FORD

No. 121

Mr. Fara to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 27)

(No. 59)

My Lord,

Vienna, August 23, 1860

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 19th instant, I informed Count Rechberg that Her Majesty's Government approved the instructions which the French Government proposed to address to its Commissioner for the Affairs of Syria, and that the British Commissioner would receive instructions nearly identical with those furnished to his French colleague.

Count Rechberg said that he also approved the French instructions, and he was glad to have his opinion of them confirmed by that of Her Majesty's Government. He should issue similar instructions to the Austrian Commissioner who, he informed me, had been appointed in the person of M. Weckbecker, now Imperial Consul General at Beyrout.

His Excellency added that, in case the Commissioners should be authorized to apply for any supplementary instructions which they might require to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, he hoped that care would be taken that the instructions issuing from those sources should be identical. With this view he would instruct the Austrian Representative at Constantinople to furnish no instructions except in concert with his colleagues, and that his Government would recommend their Representative

Acting on your Lordship's suggestion, I took the opportunity of observing to Count Rechberg that, as the foreign intervention in Syria was a matter involving questions of much delicacy and difficulty, the course of events there, and the attitude assumed by all parties, would require to be very narrowly watched, and that his Excellency would be keenly sensible of the importance of exercising great vigilance and circumspection, not only upon this, but upon every question relating to Eastern politics.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 122

Lord Bunsfeld to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 27)

My Lord,

Berlin, August 25, 1860.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 308 of the 18th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Prussian Government have decided to draw up instructions to their Commissioner in Syria, in the sense of those which have been addressed to Lord Dufferin, the substance of which has been made known to this Government by Count Bernstorff.

M. de Giner told me yesterday that nobody had yet been finally selected for the office of Commissioner, but I understand that the choice of the Prussian Government is likely to fall on the Consul at Beyrout, M. Weber.

I have, &c.
LOOMFIELD

—Since signing the above, I have heard that M. de Rechfues, Secretary to the Prussian Legation at Constantinople, is appointed Commissioner in Syria.

Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore.

(No. 5.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 30, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve of the steps taken by you, as reported in your despatch No. 27 of the 4th instant, to effect the release of several Christian women and children from the hands of the Druses, in the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kamar, and also to recover a considerable amount of property plundered from Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 455.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 30, 1860.

YOUR Excellency was made aware by my despatch No. 424 of the 16th instant, that Her Majesty's Government considered the condition of the Christian women who had been carried off by the Druses was the question which attracted the attention of the Commissioners sent to Syria, and that I had been instructed to press upon Fuad Pasha and his European advisers moderate measures for rescuing those unfortunate women, and to bring the matter most urgently on the Porte, and to urge the sufferings of these women must call forth the sympathy on the part of all Christian nations.

You will also take such measures as may appear to you most advisable to provide for the maintenance of these poor women till they can find permanent homes and means of subsistence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 845.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 31, 1860.

I PRESUME there will be no necessity for sending to Syria the second division of troops, and if a necessity arise, Her Majesty's Government will be ready to send 3,000, and they have reason to believe that Prussia will be ready to send 3,000 to complete the number. So long, however, as it does not appear probable that any necessity will arise for despatching these troops, it may be as well that your Excellency should not discuss the matter with your colleagues. But should it arise, you are authorized to speak in the sense of this despatch. It must be remembered that the fleet can remain with safety on the coast of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 4.)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 20, 1860.

I HASTEN to report that the execution of the criminals condemned for their share in the massacre at Damascus, commenced, somewhat unexpectedly, at 10 o'clock last night (Sunday). At that hour, fifty-seven culprits, four or five being of superior position, were hanged in the bazars and public squares of different quarters of the city, where their bodies yet remain. Two hours ago, 110 others, connected with the irregular troops in the employment of the Government, were shot outside the city, on the plain called the "Merj," or "Merj el-Dik."

The trials of the arrested still continue. That of Achmet, late Pasha of Damascus, is closed; but the sentence is not yet promulgated. Omar Bey, the Colonel commanding the troops at Hasebya during the massacre there, is before the Court to-day. Sentence is also being recorded against many who have fled, but have not yet surrendered or been captured. Arrests and disarmaments still continue. There has not been hitherto the slightest attempt at resistance. I confine myself to these bare details on the present occasion, as I desire to take advantage of a Turkish post about to leave, affording a speedier conveyance than usual, I propose to transmit a longer report by a safer channel.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Fuad Pasha to Ali Pasha.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Munster, September 1.)

Damas, le 20 Aout, 1860, le soir.

Ce matin, 167 des coupables dont le jugement est clos, ont été exécutés publiquement. Cinquante-sept ont été pendus sur des échafauds élevés dans les plus populeux de la ville, et 110 individus appartenant à la police locale ont été fusillés sur la place dite Djent-Mordan. La ville est frappée de terreur, aucun mouvement n'a été observé dans la ville durant les exécutions.

Demain, les coupables condamnés aux travaux forcés et à la détention seront, sous bonne escorte, dirigés sur Beyrouth pour être immédiatement embarqués pour Constantinople.

Parmi les coupables pendus il y a des frères, des fils et parents, des plus hauts notables du pays. Les coupables de rang ou dignité sont également arrêtés, jugés et punis tous les notables compromis.

Les procès de l'ex-Gouverneur Ahmed Agha et d'autres officiers se poursuivent par devant le Conseil de Guerre, dont les sentences recevront leur exécution dès qu'elles auront été prononcées.

Les coupables qui ont pu s'évader après les massacres sont aussi jugés par contumace. Ils subiront leur peine dès qu'ils seront saisis.

L'armée du Sultan agit avec la discipline la plus rigoureuse et la plus parfaite loyauté. La main de la justice est maîtresse absolue de la situation.

La tranquillité est parfaite sur tout le littoral de la Syrie. La sécurité est rétablie à Saida et les environs.

Agneau, &c.
(Signé) FUAD PASHA.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 35.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, August 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report, that troops belonging to the French expeditionary force continue to arrive at Beyrouth; about 5,000 men, including

2000 Cavalry has landed up to this date with an immense quantity of stores and provisions. The troops are now encamped in the plain of Hama, a few minutes' walk from the town; the troops then march up to the town, and encamp there, without entering, on to the camp, preceded by their bands playing the march.

I need hardly say that the occupation is viewed with the utmost aversion by the Christians. Their general manner is irritable and sullen, breaking out occasionally in sneers and insult to the Christians, and in some cases in personal violence upon the slightest occasion or fancied provocation. Thanks, however, to the energetic measures of repression taken by Ahmed Kaserli Pasha, the new Governor-General added to a proclamation issued by his Excellency, forbidding the use of arms of any kind by the townspeople, Christian and Mahomedan.

On the other hand the Christians are overjoyed. On the landing of the troops, Christian refugees brought the men of their market, and which they carry for them all the way to the camp, others of the market water tobacco, lamp-oil, &c. &c.

I cannot but state to your Lordship that a great and general relief and sense of security amongst the Christians, European and native, has followed the arrival of the French. Perhaps to this event, no one knew what, or when, fresh disasters might not take place, and nothing short of a European occupation really guarantied their apprehension. The non arrival of the French has been a great relief.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

No. 120

Consul-General Miers to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 1)
No. 86)

My Lord,

Beirut, August 23, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report that Ahmed Kaserli Pasha, the new Governor-General of this eyalet, has arrived, and entered upon his functions. He is a man of high rank and high position, and is well known to the French.

Satisfactory news to the 20th instant came in this morning from Damascus, including some notables, were hanged in all parts of the city and 110 irregulars as prisoners to Beirut, on their way to Constantinople. As Mr. Consul Brant writes to your Lordship by this opportunity, I have no doubt he will give all details.

I beg to inclose copy of a communication which I received from Mr. Consul Brant, dated 17th instant, from Damascus on the 20th instant, which is a sequel to his report of his visit to Hasbeya and Rasbeya, already transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. Brant.

The Druses maintain the same attitude and determination as when I had the honour to address your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure in No. 129.

Sequel to Mr. Graham's Report of his Visit to Hasbeya and Rasbeya.*

I MENTIONED in my report of the 13th of August, that immediately on my return from the Province of Hasbeya and Rasbeya, I had, in the course of a lengthened interview with Foad Pasha, suggested to his Excellency the expediency of forming a division among the Druses of Rasbeya, by inviting Khazim Aga-el-Arian to Damascus, and offering him a safe passage back again, should he consent to come.

I likewise recommended his Excellency to send a sufficient force, and some artillery, to both the above-mentioned towns, for the protection of the large Christian population which still remained there in hourly fear of their lives. I entreated him to take these steps with the least possible delay, in order to anticipate the report of the arrival of French troops.

Foad Pasha did me the honour of attending to both these suggestions, and immediately dispatched Hassan Bek (Colonel O'Reilly) to Sidon, with orders to march up one battalion and two pieces of artillery on Hasbeya, while a half battalion, on the way from Beyrout to Damascus, was to be intercepted in the Bekia, the plain of Coele Syria, and ordered to march upon Rasbeya. His Excellency likewise dispatched a letter to Khazim Aga desiring him immediately to start on his journey, at the same time offering him the commission of writing to him (Khazim Aga) myself, and giving him safe passage on the promise of the Pasha. At the same time, no pains were spared to sow jealousy in the other faction at Rasbeya—that of Mohammed Nasar. All this had the desired effect. Khazim Aga, after taking measures for the protection of the Christians, removed all his Druses, leaving the place in the quiet possession of the Christians, under the protection of the friendly faction among the Druses. The interview between his Excellency and this Druse Chief was of great value, and it ended by his guaranteeing to protect the Christians, or, if necessary, to remove them to Sidon. By this time the regular troops will have reached their destination, and the Christians will be fully protected. We cannot be thankful enough for this, as we had cause, and good cause, to fear that, under the most favourable circumstances, this result would not have been obtained without bloodshed.

Foad Pasha has likewise appointed a Mutcellim or Governor in each of these towns, thus resuming the authority of the Porte in one of the wildest and most disturbed of the provinces of Syria. One hundred and fifty Cavalry are likewise placed at the disposal of the Governor of Rasbeya.

(Signed) CYRIL C. GRAHAM

Beirut, August 22, 1860.

No. 130.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 823.)

My Lord,

Thessalon, August 21, 1860.

I HAVE read with interest the letter which the Emperor of the French lately addressed to his Ambassador in London; and the style and sentiments of that letter are such as cannot fail to be exceedingly satisfactory to one who has so long and so closely watched the relations maintained between France and Great Britain, and it is, moreover, gratifying to me to know that Her Majesty's Government has the intention, should the French occupation be continued, of adding thereto an English force.

My impression, after the perusal of that letter, indeed, is that the French expedition will not be left in Syria for any length of time.

Still, it is perhaps my duty to make a few observations in support of those that I lately addressed to your Lordship, concerning the importance of the position which France might occupy, if, for any reason or other, she were to

* For the first portion of Mr. Graham's Report, dated the 13th of August, see p. 120
2 G

remain for any considerable time the only Power possessing an army on the Syrian coast.

Your Lordship is aware that Syria has always been considered, by all those who have established their empire in the East, as the centre of a system in which any scheme of Eastern conquest might best be based.

It is, in fact, the connecting point between Asia and Africa, the position she has received from Nature, and the great military marine which is at the disposal of the Powers, in a situation which she has no other means of extending her influence. It is, therefore, declared he does not at

the more we shall keep our eyes

From the neighbourhood of Toulon, where I believe a large military force is to be found, and which is directly to Toulon and Marseilles, in a very few days any number of troops might arrive at Beirut.

Any force, however small, will carry with it, in the first instance, all the means for establishing a much larger one; and it is to be observed, that the officers who have in the present war, have been

of the French will be, both

really, considerably augmented by the destruction or interruption of the means by which the Maraboutes have to

Agony, the only

as well as of Syria, even were the forces of the Viceroy disposed to combat on the side of the Sultan, which is not certain.

open into the country, start also from El Arish, and from Suez to Cairo on the one side, and to

is always to be remembered, moreover, that the French have a large number of irregulars, and that the genius and character of the Eastern populations generally is to side with the most powerful.

As to the forces of Turkey, hardly to be counted upon, as the Sultan is now properly called will in no small degree affect

My remarks, however, do not merely apply to what I consider the improbable contingency of any hostile design on the part of the French Government at this moment.

It seems to me necessary, that, in considering the future situation of Syria, the Government that is to be established there, the circumstances

I have called your Lordship's attention should not be overlooked.

I have heard from travellers who were previous to the recent outbreak, the M

element which

favor their

gly desirable,

Al

such

moral system of

at the assurances of the Turks could not be a sufficient guarantee for this Government being duly carried on, a small

more force composed of French and English not exceeding 1000 men, might supply the additional protection to the Christians, which they expect from Foreign Powers.

Any general system of this kind, even if thus supported, would, I am

led to think, be better than the present state of affairs, in which the

were not greater than those left by other Powers; and every sign of

endanger in these countries, or any encouragement of the supposition that

Europe has consigned them to her peculiar superintendence, must, I think, be

carefully guarded against.

I should add, that nothing can be more false than the supposition that

What I say, however, is not on account of any particular subject of

the French Government, still less perhaps on account of any subject of

of the present Ruler of France, who has manifested a strong inclination

to maintain friendly relations with us, and who I believe will

to the feelings towards us, but more to the fact that a Government

such point as I have mentioned, which would be a source of

inconvenience both on the part of the French Government and on

the part of the British Government, and which would be a source of

inconvenience both on the part of the French Government and on

the part of the British Government, and which would be a source of

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the part of the British Government, and which would be a source of

inconvenience both on the part of the French Government and on

the part of the British Government, and which would be a source of

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

No. 131

Lord Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 2.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 1, 1860.

I INQUIRED to-day of M. Thouvenel whether he was in possession of any fresh intelligence from Syria. His Excellency replied, that the reports which he had received were of the same nature as those which I had received from the same source. I have, therefore, no new information to add to what I have already written to you.

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY

Lord J. Russell to Lord Blomfield.

(34, 103)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, 8-September

My Lord,
COUNT BERNSTORFF has communicated to me an instruction from the
Court, in which with reference to the French instructions to their Commission-
ers in Syria, which the Prussian Cabinet concurs in and adopts, Count Bernstorff is
directed to point out to the Major Powers that in the event alluded
to in the French instructions, of the Representatives of the Five Powers seeing
occasion to send special instructions to the Commissioners of the Powers in
Syria, it is important that in such case there should be a previous understanding among
themselves, in order thereby to secure agreement among the Com-

Your Lordship will state to Baron Schœnits that Her Majesty's Government entirely agree with his Excellency on that point. But they are of opinion that the best course to ensure unanimity in the Commission would be to desire the Representatives at Constantinople to act in concert with regard to any special instructions which they may think it desirable to transmit to Syria rather than to add a paragraph to that effect, as suggested by the Imperial Government to the instructions already sent to the Commissioners.

If the Prussian Government agreed to this view, a proposal in that sense may be made in the Courts of France and Russia. Her Majesty's Government have been apprised by Count Apponyi that the Cabinet of Vienna entertains the same opinion on the subject as that of Berlin.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Mrs. Erskine to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 5.)

No. 45)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, August 21, 1860.

I AM informed by Prince Gortchakoff that he has been consulted by the Prussian Government as to whether the Commissioners about to be sent to Syria should be placed under the orders of their respective Embassies and Missions at Constantinople, or whether they should receive their instructions directly from their Government.

Prince Gortebakoff stated to the Prussian Minister that he coincided with the views attributed to Her Majesty's Government on this point, and that M. Novikow, First Secretary of the Russian Legation at Constantinople, who had been selected as Commissioner for Russia, would be furnished with a full list of the Russian Press at Constantinople and would correspond with that Legation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE

W. M. M. to Mr. Hammond

MURPHY M. HARRIS, JR.

4. ~~Letter~~, to 3 September 1960

Jl m'empresse de vous transmettre, ci-jointe, la copie d'une dépêche
 reproduction, ou plutôt la traduction de Turc, de celle qui m'a été expédiée par
 l'entremise du Consul Ottoman à Malte, et que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous
 communiquer avant-hier.

Volro, &c.
(Signé) O. MUSCHUS.

Inclosure in No. 134.

Find Points to Add Points

Damas, le 16 Seffer, 1277 (20 juil, 1860)

DES 187 individus condamnés à la mort parmi les révoltés arrêtés pour avoir pris une part active à l'événement de Damas, 66 ont été publiquement pendus, aujourd'hui Lundi, dans les rues de la ville, et les 121 fusillés.

Parmi ceux des coupables qui méritaient le plus la peine capitale, il s'est trouvé des gens appartenant aux familles notables du pays, ceux-ci nous ont

Au fur et à mesure que l'instruction des autres accusés sera achevée, et leurs crimes constatés, leur peine sera successivement et publiquement infligée. Les peines des travaux forcés ou de détention à Beyrouth et envoyés à Constantinople, ex-Muehbir et les officiers inculpés se trouvent en jugement devant le Conseil militaire institué à cet effet. Aucun obstacle n'étant à craindre pour l'arruation des notables du pays qui se trouvent inculpés dans ces affaires, ceux-ci ne seront arrêtés de rien.

—(Received September 4.)

Only

Demargus, August 11, 1893.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of three despatches addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer

I have met _____ and Pasha, in order to give your
bondship some _____
received from the pr _____

the murderers, who plundered the mob to bloodshed, robbery and arson. His Excellency said that the information gained would enable him in a few days to close the inquiries and justice which would be followed by the immediate execution of all those who had committed crimes worthy of death, irrespective of numbers; some would be condemned to imprisonment for life, some to the Bagnio, and a large number would be enrolled in the troops serving in any part of the Empire but Syria. Nothing could be stronger than the expressions of horror made use of by his Excellency at the enormity of the crimes committed, and the infamy of the

posing a fine of 25,000,000 piastres, about 200,000L sterling. I told him I could not form an estimate of the loss, but that my opinion was that 5,000,000L sterling would scarcely suffice to cover the destruction of property, and indemnify those who have lost money, jewels, plate, and articles of dress.

It has been ascertained, with tolerable accuracy, that about 3,500 Christians, natives of Damascus, were massacred, and about 2,000 strangers who had taken refuge in the town for safety.

I expressed a hope that his Excellency by his energy and activity might prove that security and order were restored and could be maintained on so certain a basis that an occupation by European troops would not be needed. He said he would endeavour to convince Europe of this, and he hoped a few days would prove the fact.

I must say that Fud Pasha, considering the difficulties he has had to contend with, and the obstacles thrown in his way, has proved himself equal to the task imposed on his Excellency by his Sovereign; and I have every hope that he will not fail to complete the work he has so ably and energetically begun.

I have, &c.
Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 135.

Consul Hunt to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Damascus, July

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, on the 1st August, in the afternoon, I waited on Fud Pasha, and presented him a long memorandum, containing a list of the most important points which have been brought forward by the public mind, and which I have every hope that his Eminence will be conducted in a manner to satisfy Europe, to remove the stain thrown on his Government by the conduct of its employés in Syria, and to restore the Sultan.

His Excellency professed to be surprised, and one cannot wonder on this point, and hoping that what is possible to be effected. The evil, however, so exceeds all that can be imagined by eye-witnesses, that I fear it is beyond the means of the Turkish Government to do more than partially allay a very small part of so extensive a calamity.

I have, &c.
Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 135.

Consul Hunt to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, August 4, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, on the 1st August, in the afternoon, I waited on Fud Pasha, and presented him a long memorandum, containing a list of the most important points which have been brought forward by the public mind, and which I have every hope that his Eminence will be conducted in a manner to satisfy Europe, to remove the stain thrown on his Government by the conduct of its employés in Syria, and to restore the Sultan.

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Excellency, however, had been warned of it by a courier from Constantinople, and of the consent of the Sultan having been given to its landing in Syria. Fud Pasha also told me that he was preparing his measures, and only awaited the arrival of two battalions, expected to reach the 3rd instant, to strike the blow. Accordingly, yesterday morning, at a little after 5 A.M., the troops having come to the guards at the Consulates and throughout the city were doubled, the plunder delivered up or seized; and it is said that between 300 and 400 of the worst characters were seized, disarmed, and imprisoned. Everybody was in alarm, and all were cringing to Europeans in order to obtain a good word from them. To-day the arrests continue, but no Chiefs have as yet been seized; the Pasha's plan seems to be to catch the lower class of assassins before he touches the Chiefs. Meanwhile the greatest panic exists among the Mussulmans of all classes and ranks, and their tone has entirely changed from what it was a few days ago, and no one ventures to threaten death to the Christians in case of the landing of European troops in Syria. Thus we have, I am happy to say, made a great advance towards the restoration of confidence, and the most timid now feel that they are safe.

I am happy to say that epidemics alone prevails among the crowds sheltered within the walls of the Castle; but fever does not exist, nor even dysentery, which was hardly to be expected under the circumstances.

I have, &c.
Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 135.

Consul Hunt to Sir H. Bulwer

Damascus, August 9, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that, on the 1st August, in the afternoon, I waited on Fud Pasha, and presented him a long memorandum, containing a list of the most important points which have been brought forward by the public mind, and which I have every hope that his Eminence will be conducted in a manner to satisfy Europe, to remove the stain thrown on his Government by the conduct of its employés in Syria, and to restore the Sultan.

His Excellency professed to be surprised, and one cannot wonder on this point, and hoping that what is possible to be effected. The evil, however, so exceeds all that can be imagined by eye-witnesses, that I fear it is beyond the means of the Turkish Government to do more than partially allay a very small part of so extensive a calamity.

I am happy to say that epidemics alone prevails among the crowds sheltered within the walls of the Castle; but fever does not exist, nor even dysentery, which was hardly to be expected under the circumstances.

giving to the Court power to recommend to a less penalty than death such persons in whose favour strong extenuating circumstances can be adduced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No 136

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 4.)

No. 13.,
My Lord,

Damascus, August 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a most interesting report, by Mr. Cyril Graham, on his visit to Halebey and Rasheya. It needs no addition to increase its interest, and it were needless to augment the horrors of the scenes Mr. Graham has so vividly described.

I can inform your Lordship that his Excellency Fuad Pasha has already taken measures to relieve these poor people from the fate with which they are threatened.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 136.

Report by Mr. Graham on the Condition of the Christians in the Districts of Halebey and Rasheya.*

On the 6th inst. accounts were given me by certain natives of Halebey and Rasheya of the condition of the Christians in that district, that I determined upon visiting without delay both those towns, so recently the scene of horrible massacres.

On the 8th I had an interview with his Excellency the Pasha, and explained to him my intention, at the same time asking authority for removing, if necessary, the Christians from that country, or for making the best possible arrangements for their safety. The Pasha seemed delighted with my proposal, for he said he was extremely anxious to obtain accurate information of what was going on in that quarter, and hitherto he had been able to obtain no authentic accounts whatever. He immediately ordered me an escort, promised to be guided by my reports, in his future measures for the security of the Christians, and placed at my disposal the sum of 20,000 piastres for the relief of the unfortunate Christians of the country I was about to visit.

I left Damascus that same evening, Wednesday, August 8th, and reached Rasheya the next morning. On arriving there I went to the house of the Druse Chief, Khazâ-el-Ardân, and immediately began my inquiries as to the number of Christians at that moment in the place, and as to the condition in which they were. I soon found that they were indeed in a miserable state; they had nothing to eat except what they owed to the bounty of the Druses, and that was little enough! The population amounted to 1,100 souls, whereof only 26 were men, all the remaining males having been killed, and some few having fled to Damascus and Beyrout. In order to distribute the funds committed to my care, I had all the women and children mustered and then separated in

according to the quarters of the town they occupied, each division being assigned to one of the women and children. I stood and placed in their hands money, so that I had an opportunity of ascertaining almost to an accuracy the number of the population at that moment at Rasheya. The Druses, however, soon became very jealous of this and came in numbers to ask what I was doing there, and what my object was in coming.

There are two Chiefs in Rasheya, one the above named Khazâ Agha-el-Ardân, the other Mohammed-en-Nasâr, whose name is mentioned with horror by all the Christians, as having been the chief instigator of, and chief actor in, the

* For the sequel to Mr. Graham's Report, see p. 121.

massacre of the 11th June. He came to see me at the house of the other Chief, and a conversation ensued, from which it appeared that they still entertained the belief in common with most of the Druses, that the English Government must be extremely satisfied with what they had done, for they imagine that any diminution of the number of the Christians will be acceptable to us as weakening the French influence in the country! I soon undeceived them, and told them

that all the civilized world was horrified at their atrocious behaviour, and no people could have a greater abhorrence of their conduct during the last months than the English. They were then very anxious to learn all they could about a French occupation, and assured me that should the French land in Syria and attempt to penetrate into the interior, they would at once slaughter all the remaining Christians. The Chief Mohammed Nasâr then left me, and, on going out of the house, told some of my escort, Algerians belonging to the Emir Abd-el-Kader, that they, the Druses, would kill me as I had no good intentions towards them. He repeatedly told me he despised the Sultan and his Government, and that the Druses were a free people and defied any force which should be brought against them. That night I started for Halebey, and passing through Kfeir and Samra, two villages in which almost all the Christian houses had been burned and some 110 Christians killed, I reached the other large town belonging to the district of Hermon, Halebey. Here I repeated my inquiries, numbered the women and children, distributed money, and received visits from

the inhabitants. The whole number of Christians at that moment was 14, having been only three months ago no less than 2,200; some few were in Beyrout and Damascus; but I fear that fully 1,200 were slaughtered. Here the Christians were in the same state of suffering as those whom I found at Rasheya, and in both places they were hourly in terror of a massacre, so excited had the Druses again become.

I visited the Serai, which was full of the corpses of the Christians; none had been buried, and, strange to say, the bodies were well preserved, having been parched by the burning Syrian sun. The sight was dreadful, bodies lying in every attitude on the paved court of the palace, the stones, naturally white, being stained a deep brown; but the upper rooms presented even a more horrible spectacle; in almost all of them the bodies were piled one upon another to the height of five or six feet, and lay just as they had fallen; to add to the horror of this frightful scene, the poor women followed me in, and began to howl and mourn over their dead; they led me from corpse to corpse, telling me how they had seen their brothers, fathers, husbands, sons, slaughtered before their eyes, and calling me to witness and to avenge their wrongs. The Druses who accompanied me made their jokes on the bodies, and one fellow showed me a pair of pistols set in silver, one of which had been broken in dashing the brains out of the Christians' heads. He lamented over his pistols and said, "Oh, that it should have been spoiled against their cruel hard skulls!"

Here again the Druses were more bold and insolent than I had ever seen them before. I have travelled over all their country, and even visited them in their strongholds in the Haurân, and have never met with anything but courtesy; now, however, they speak with great insolence, boast of the number of Christians they have killed, and assert that they will cut to pieces

which shall be brought against them. The Emir Saoud-el-Din, who was anxious to the Druses, had his head cut off during the massacre, and his body thrown out under the walls of the Castle. It is said that the Druses on first entering the Serai began to cut the Christians to pieces, but some of them remarked, "If we do this we shall spoil their clothes, let us strip them and then kill them;" so, accordingly, after that, they stripped them and slaughtered them in cold blood. I made inquiries about the gun which the Commander of the troops had with him in the Serai at Halebey, how often it had been fired, &c. The Christians told me, it had been fired twenty-seven times, but all the balls had struck the houses of the Christian quarter; this was certainly the case; and on asking the Druses, they said, "Yes, it is true; Osman Bey intended to fire upon us, but he did not elevate his gun enough, so that it destroyed the Christians instead of us." Osman Bey had the doors of the Serai opened and in rushed the Druses and commenced their slaughter.

In the evening the Druses here again threatened my life, on which one of my escort had some words with them; two Druses thereupon fell upon him, and there would have been some bloodshed had not some others interfered. I then

trustless representations for the protection of our blood and families. We are up to this moment scattered in the mountains, naked and hungry, as we do not possess the means of subsistence, enduring the bitterness of death. We find nobody to whom we can have recourse to but your illustrious Government, as it is the source of mercy, pity, and benevolence towards those who appeal to it. We presented a petition to his Excellency the Mushir at Beyrout, containing all we have ventured to state above, but without any answer beyond referring it to the Commission, who told us to go to our homes. But our homes are desolate, there is neither produce or crops, or security for our blood there; and now over Sheik Kenj Amad, the Protector of the Bekaa, still frequents our villages, and he kills those whom he meets with, and especially the old days ago, two of our women went to their village of Sfeita, and immediately seized and burnt alive, this, besides cutting down our fig-trees, and taking our silk and other crops. We have therefore been obliged to subsist upon in our villages, although we have paid our engagements to the Government on the same. We throw ourselves at the feet of your Government, and beseech it to consider our condition, for we are in a forlorn state, naked and hungry; death carries off numbers of us daily in consequence of our destitution. We venture to repeat our applications for succour, &c

(Signed by the inhabitants of eight villages of the Bex...

(Received August 14, 1890.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 137

Vice-Consul Abelo to Consul-General Moore

(Translation.)

918

Sidon, August 13, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the day before yesterday the woman of the village of Azour, whose arm the Druseen had broken, and not cut off, as I had stated, came here. The doctor of the "N

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

2. Next, it is important to gather relevant information and data. This can be done through research, consultation with experts, or by analyzing existing data sets.

3. Once the information is gathered, the next step is to analyze it. This involves identifying patterns, trends, and relationships that can help in understanding the problem.

4. After analysis, the next step is to develop a solution or plan. This involves identifying the most effective and efficient way to address the problem.

5. Finally, the solution is implemented and monitored. This involves putting the plan into action and tracking its progress to ensure it is effective.

Another woman arrived yesterday, from Hozao, and says that Father Ouan, the Agent of mid Bey Dhoublat, has ordered that no Christian should be allowed to go for Selou, under pain of death to whosoever

measures to check the disorders; but the latter told me, except within his jurisdiction, that is, about

More than this, the Colonel of the German informed the Captain that security was still wanting in the neighbourhood of Sedon, and that, therefore, he, the Captain, should not permit his officers to penetrate into the gardens in the region of the River Anah.

These last two days the Mahometans evince a more fanatical feeling than was the case two or three weeks ago, though we have at present two vessels of war: what would they do if these vessels were to leave? In Iklor, Dyessio, Kharmah, Hasheya, and Rasheya, the Druses continue to cut down the trees of the Christian.

In Der-el-Komar, where there is nothing but dead bodies and ruins, there is a company of troops, whilst in the Diezzin district, where so many miserable Christians are to be found, there is not one soldier to protect them.

The Druzes still carry off the cattle and crops of the Christians in Gubaa; the Christians do not cease making their complaints thereof to the Nadr of the district, but he is indifferent, and extends no protection to the Christians.

In conclusion, it is seen that the state of disorders against the Christians

In conclusion, it is seen that the state of disorders against the Christians

is unabated in the surrounding country, and that the Governors of the districts do nothing to restrain their course.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. ABELA

Inclosure 8 in No. 137

Vice Consul Abela to Consul-General Mogre

TABLE 2

Sir,

Sidon, August 14, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that to-day a Christian woman of the village of Mehtekra, who had fled to Sidon for refuge, went with her daughter to the mill, on the River Awali, to grind some corn; on their return, on this side of the bridge, they were attacked by a Druse, who carried off the small quantity of flour they had, and stripped them of their clothes, loading them with the most horrible curses.

The Mussulmans of the Kharroob, who have plundered so much from Beir-et-Kumar, Zafidé, and the neighbourhood of Sidon, have been for the last two days engaged in transporting their booty to deposit it in the Metwahl districts. The authorities here not only give no assistance in retaking and restoring to their Christian proprietors such plundered property as comes this way, but they do their best to prevent such restitution.

Signed) J. ABELA.

No. 138

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell — (Received September 4.)

(No. 34)

My Lord,

Beuron, August 10, 1890.

CHAMP the honour to report the arrival, this morning, of General d'Hautpoul, with two battalions of French troops, partly in the steamer of the *Messageries Impériales*, and partly in a Government transport. More transports with troops are in sight. The force is at this moment

ing to inclose extract of a letter I have just received from Mr. Consul Graham, at Damascus. Your Lordship will perceive therefrom, and from Mr. Consul Brant's reports, that Fuzul Pasha has as yet confined himself to bullocks insurance, which appear only explicable as the supposition of Mr. Graham as to the Pasha's policy, or of a feeling of weakness on the part of his Excellency.

Ahmed Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General at Damascus, whose return to Syria I have already had the honour to report, has been sent on to Damascus, together with the other minor military officers arrested, to take their trial there. It is to be hoped that a proper trial, and an adequate sentence, will not only be passed, but also locally carried out, on these culpable public officers. I gravely doubt, however, whether Faid Pasha, allowing him the good will, will have the power to carry into effect a sentence of death against the ex-Commander-in-chief, should such a penalty be awarded. Such an event would shock every feeling of the Mohammedan populace and soldiery in its very centre, and raise a storm of fanatical fury which it might be dangerous to evoke.

Another Armenian frigate, the "Radetski," has arrived, as well as another Dutch one, to-day, bearing the Dutch Admiral's flag.

(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 138

Mr. Graham to Consul-General Moore.

(Extract.)

Damascus, August 14

NOTHING especially new to-day, but I may mention that the French and Russian Consuls, with both of whom I had a long conversation to-day, seem to be very much dissatisfied with Fuad's doings these last ten days; all the energy he showed in the beginning, they say, is gone.

I cannot help feeling the same, and I have no doubt he is now waiting to see how the discussions in Europe end. He will, if possible, regularly drive a bargain, and stipulate for the minimum number of executions which will satisfy the vengeance of Europe. This, I own, is the light in which it appears to me he views it. He never will re-establish permanent order—never. We must have an intervention, or no guarantee for the future can be obtained.

No. 139

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 4)

(No. 8.)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 16, 1840

I ARRIVED at Damascus on the 11th instant, having passed Lebanon by the new carriage-road from Beyrout, on which a French company have been employed during the last year. This road is now tolerably complete, almost to the summit of Lebanon, with some detached portions beyond, so that, with about three weeks' work, it would be practicable for an army, as far the eastern extremity of Bekka (Coele-Syria), whence troops could move either north or south, for operations on the great plain of the interior. In the plain of Bekka, the smoke was still rising from Zahed and numerous villages which had been burned, while parties of Moslems were scattered over the plain, carrying off, on camels, the crops of Christians who had fled or been killed.

I entered Damascus early in the morning, when I at once called upon the Consul, and delivered the letter with which I had been entrusted for him. I was struck by the sullen, scowling aspect of the people, in passing through the bazaar, showing that they were by no means eased, although they may feel some alarm at the arrests being made. Yesterday, I waited upon his Excellency Fuad Pasha, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Brant. He informed me he had arrested 800 persons, of whom several were above the common rank, that they were undergoing trial, and that he would execute the sentence, or it might be. I said I was glad to hear that matters were proceeding to his Excellency's satisfaction, that the eyes of all Europe were upon him, and that a report of the due punishment of the miscreants of Damascus would be eagerly expected. He said that he could not act more rapidly than he was now doing, and that it was difficult to get evidence. I mentioned that the occasion was one which demanded summary proceedings; those of a military nature he delays and quibbles of an ordinary law-court. He said he quite agreed, and had adopted such a course.

Evidence was admitted, even as far as that of a single Moslem. I replied no more could be expected, and that it was the

He yet felt that, if he had been indicated, he would have endeavoured to follow that course, even to executing such a number as might be demanded. I replied no European Government could induct such a course, or make such a requisition; that his Excellency was the judge appointed by the Sultan, and all that European Governments could demand would be, that, as the crime had been so great, and shared by so many, the punishment should also be of so great a nature as would not only satisfy justice in the meantime, but deter from like crimes coming. He said that he felt his personal character to be at stake in the case, and that he would therefore confront all the difficulties of his position.

but that he required support and advice, and requested that I would give him mine. I said any service I could render was at his disposal, for, although I had no instructions whatever on the subject, I believed it to be the anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to support him in the execution of the duty entrusted to him. His Excellency expressed his regret at the approaching arrival of a French force, and feared it would create much confusion in the country. I assured him that I did not think the French expedition would be permitted at present to mix itself up in the internal affairs of the country, and that, in any case, the wisest mode to prevent any such intervention was to settle matters so thoroughly as to leave no excuse for such a movement. He said he feared excuses would nevertheless be found. I reminded his Excellency that an occupation would take place under a Convention, and that the French Government would be required to abide by its terms. He asked whether no English force would come; to which I replied that I did not know.

His Excellency's delay in commencing operations has already been condemned, his desire to have some definite indication of what would satisfy Europe, his anxiety to have some definite indication of what would satisfy Europe, has caused me to think, that he is rather desirous to ascertain with how few indemnifications Europe could be satisfied, than to secure and punish every criminal. This is perhaps not to be wondered at, for it is a serious step for a Pasha to put so many co-religionists to death for having killed Christians, an act in their eyes certainly not worthy of death. Up to the present moment, reports have begun to circulate in the city that some Moslems are to be executed on account of the late massacres, they yet believe it will be fine, sent to serve in the army, or

perhaps pressure, will be required to induce him to act. Any drawing back, or irresolution on his part, particularly if coupled with the non arrival of the foreign expedition, now expected, may have a most disastrous effect in the country. I sincerely trust, therefore, that he will act with all the vigour which he has been generally believed to possess.

Achmet, late Pasha of Damascus, sent back from Constantinople next properly, will arrive here to-day, and immediately be brought to trial. I think it is little doubt that he will be condemned to death, so strong against him appear the various charges of complicity in the recent massacres, both in and out of Damascus.

I have suggested to Fuad Pasha to send from Beyrout a portion of the troops to be accompanied by a well-known native Christian, to give confidence to the refugees. He has acted at once in this matter, and dispatched an officer last evening to carry out the measure.

This morning he sent two Maders, or petty governors, direct to Hasbaya and Rasheya, to resume the functions of government at those places, and to issue them with a Proclamation, by which the Druze Chiefs are held responsible for the safety of the nearly 3,000 Christians yet in their district. The Christians are now being maltreated, and were maltreating them.

I have proposed to move against the Druzes, and to follow them, if necessary, to the

at I should return to England, as already directed, or to be favoured with any other instructions that may be deemed necessary for my guidance, in the event of my remaining in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 605.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 4, 1860.

I INCLOSE herewith to your Excellency copy of a report addressed to the Admiralty by the Admiral Commanding on the coast of Syria, stating that matters in that country are becoming worse instead of better, and detailing the steps which he had been obliged to take, in consequence of the misconduct of the Turkish authorities.

You will communicate the substance of this despatch to M. Thouvenot.

[100, 200]

(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Inclosure 1 in No. 140.

Vice-Admiral Merton to the Secretary to Admiralty.

My Lord,

¹¹ *Mariborough*, Heymont, August 16, 1840

I REQUEST you will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, until to-day, nothing had occurred since my letter of the 8th instant, to alter very materially the apparent state of this country; and yet the prevailing feeling during the interval has been far less satisfactory than it was.

2. This proceeded from unrealized expectations of Foad Pasha's action and resolution, and not from any positive failure on his part, or from any outbreak among the Mahometans. There has certainly been a great display of energy in his proceedings, not improbably occasioned by embarrassment consequent upon the expected arrival of foreign troops: for that expectation has given rise to a feeling of agitation among the Muslim population, which, if any, it may be difficult to control.

People have been looking for some heavy blow to fall upon the prime in the recent atrocities, and that act of justice and vigour has been announced. They also point to the alarming of the population obviously necessary measure that has not yet taken place, want of energy, or power, the neglect of a precaution so

perpetrated upon the Armenians by
a resumed some of that influence of
the Armenians. The Armenians were up the
for their late outbreak, induced Fınd Pasha to detach a regiment to those
towns, to attempt the liberation of the Armenians. The Armenians
to by no means certain.

0. Still, however, until to-day all has been apparently quiet. To-day circumstances of importance have taken place. A French regiment has arrived, and is now being landed, and information of a serious character has been received from Hasbaya and Rasbaya. Mr. Graham, the English traveller, so celebrated for the generous interest he takes in these people, has just returned to Dunsania from those two towns. He reports that the Christians, amounting to 1,300 in each town, are in the utmost danger from the violence of their implacable Druse enemies, by whom they are detested. Hundreds of the bodies of their slaughtered relatives he saw lying where they were killed; and he states that the distress of the women, and the direct evidences of the massacre around them, were the subject of brutal jests among the Druses.

He was assured by the Druses that these remnants of Christian communities would be slaughtered if foreign troops landed, and that they would themselves march to oppose the foreigners. For these unhappy Christians the utmost anxiety is, of course, felt, and the best hope for them is that their rescue may be effected by the arrival of a British regiment sent by Kead Pasha.

7. I inclose copy of a letter received from Captain Campbell, of the "Natal," now stationed at Suva, copy of a letter which, in consequence of Captain Campbell's letter, I wrote to the Governor-General of the Pacific; and a copy of a letter I addressed on the same subject to his Excellency Fuad Pasha at Damascus.

6. My letter to the Governor-General at this place was answered personally by the Pasha commanding the troops, who came without loss of time to assure me that the Governor of Sidon should be forthwith dismissed.

1400. Sec.

(Signed) WM. F. MARTIN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 140.

Captain Campbell to Vice-Admiral Martin.

Sir,

"Neptune," Sidon, August 13, 1880

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the country in the vicinity of Sidon has not been so quiet during the last few days, and that Said Bey's promises of guaranteeing protection to such Christians as wished to return to their country dwellings, as mentioned in my letter of the 6th instant, have proved to be worthless.

About four days since two Christian women left this town by word of their
 order to discover whether the taxes on their property, at the villages of Room
 and Azouz, about four hours distant, had been destroyed by the Druses.

On arriving there three Druses (whose names are known) belonging to the village of Mayraat-el-Shoof, advanced towards them, and desired to be where their valuables were deposited.

where their numbers were reduced. The

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial v^i} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x^i}$

1. The first part of the text discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions, including sales, purchases, and expenses. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for determining the correct amount of tax liability.

2. The second part of the text describes the various methods used to calculate the tax liability, including the use of tax tables and the application of various deductions and credits. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different types of taxes, such as income tax, sales tax, and property tax.

3. The third part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxes can be paid, including direct payment to the tax authority, payment through a third party, and payment in installments. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

4. The fourth part of the text discusses the various consequences of failing to pay taxes on time, including penalties, interest, and the possibility of legal action. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

5. The fifth part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can reduce their tax liability, including the use of deductions and credits, the choice of tax-exempt investments, and the use of tax-deferred accounts. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

6. The sixth part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can avoid double taxation, including the use of the foreign tax credit, the use of the marital deduction, and the use of the estate tax credit. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

7. The seventh part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can protect their assets from creditors, including the use of trusts, the use of life insurance, and the use of other estate planning techniques. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

8. The eighth part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can reduce their estate tax liability, including the use of the unified credit, the use of the marital deduction, and the use of the estate tax credit. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

9. The ninth part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can reduce their gift tax liability, including the use of the unified credit, the use of the marital deduction, and the use of the gift tax credit. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

10. The tenth part of the text discusses the various ways in which taxpayers can reduce their capital gains tax liability, including the use of the capital gains tax credit, the use of the capital gains tax exemption, and the use of other tax-deferred accounts. It also discusses the importance of understanding the different rules and regulations that govern the payment of taxes.

urged upon him, as Governor of the town, the necessity of taking home-

The Governor stated that he could do nothing, as his jurisdiction only extended half a mile outside the town, and that he could not act without written

I told all I could to combat this extraordinary statement of him, asking whether the Porte did not consider the Christians here as under its protection.

to which he replied, "Yes," but that he could not act. I asked him in whose jurisdiction was the country half a mile beyond to which he replied, the Druses. I have seen and conversed with the

four women, whom our surgeon attends; one of the women stated that, on the day she was ill-treated, the Druses took another woman from the village of Medin-el-Noroon, and because she had no property to show them, they tied

and kicked her to death. The Druses have
still cutting down all the mulberry, fig, and olive trees they can
find doing an enormous amount of damage. Mr. Alsola, the

re-sanctified excited since hearing of the expected arrival of French troops, that, were it not for the presence of some slims of war, they would be still

Christians, the British Consul (agent of Said Bey) has forbidden any of them to flee to Egypt under penalty of death.

In that disturbed district there is not a single Turkish soldier, but at Bel-kamar, which is now in ruins and depopulated, three companies of Turkish troops are stationed.

With troops so stationed

The Commander of the French screw brig-of-war "Sentinelle" informs me that he and his officers, when on shore, often meet with insults from the Mahometans. I have not, however, experienced any myself; perhaps from their being under the delusion that England will uphold them in all they do and which they say openly.

Her Majesty's ship "Firefly," Commander Mansell, communicated with me on Saturday, the 1st, at 7.30 P.M., being en route to Caïffa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. A. CAMPBELL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 140

Vice-Admiral Martin to Mustapha Pasha.

"Marlborough," Beyrout, August 14, 1860.

Sir, It is my duty to bring to your notice that a memorial has been put into my hands from the Christian inhabitants of the Bekaa, near Zahlé, complaining that, notwithstanding the orders of the Pasha, conveyed to them, to go to their homes, where no injury would be done to them, two of their females who went to that district, eight days ago, were burnt alive,—one by the Druses and the other by the Mahometans. The inhabitants state that their present misery is daily increasing, and beg that their unfortunate condition may be taken into consideration.

The state of the neighbourhood of Sidon will be conveyed to your Excellency in the inclosed copy of a despatch, just received from Captain Campbell of Her British Majesty's ship "Neptune," in which details respecting the state of anarchy there are given, and the extraordinary fact is revealed that the Governor of Sidon has no authority to act for the prevention of these barbarities, as the Government of that neighbourhood is still confided to the people who have been the authors and perpetrators of the atrocities committed in this country during the last two months.

You will observe, in Captain Campbell's letter, that the Druse Chief at Djezzin has forbidden any of the Christians to flee to Sidon, under penalty of death.

I would beg to know from your Excellency whether you can take immediate steps for the prevention of these lawless proceedings, or whether it is to be left to others to take such measures as may be considered necessary for the protection of the lives and property of Christians who continue to be treated with barbarous cruelty.

I am, &c.
W. F. MARTIN

Inclosure 4 in No. 140

Vice-Admiral Martin to Fuad Pasha

"Marlborough," Beyrout, August 14, 1860.

Sir, I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, the copy of a letter from the Captain of Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Neptune," now stationed at Sidon.

The letter represents facts and a condition of utter misrule which are calculated to destroy the reputation of the Government they serve.

The information which the Captain of the "Neptune" has given, combined with other statements of the same character, which are being spread in Europe generally, will be considered as an evidence that no Government exists in Syria, and the conclusion must be that a Government is very urgently required.

I would entreat your Excellency to exhibit the power you have assured me you possess, by dealing with the Governor as an officer who has done his utmost

to screen the perpetrators of the most horrible and disgraceful outrages, to bring contempt upon the Sultan's Government, and, by his infamous misconduct, to defy yourself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. MARTIN.

No. 141

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane

(No. 17.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 5, 1860.

AS the accounts which have lately been received from Syria are not altogether satisfactory, I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of stating to Count Rechberg that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, if the second division of 6,000 men should be required in that province, according to the Convention concluded at Paris, the French and Prussian Governments might furnish 3,000 men each, and that Her Majesty's Government are quite ready to agree to a proposal to that effect, or to make it, if thought desirable.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 142

Safvet Effendi to M. Musurus.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, September 6.)

22 Aout, 1860.

DANS les dépêches successives que vous avez adressées au Gouvernement Impérial pour le tenir au courant de l'impression produite en Angleterre par les événements de Syrie, et l'informer des considérations dans lesquelles vous avez dû entrer pour relever les graves inconvénients qui résulteraient pour la tranquillité de l'Empire si le projet d'une intervention militaire étrangère venait à être exécuté, nous avons constaté avec reconnaissance que le Cabinet de St. James, tout en admettant, en principe, l'intervention en question, l'avait cependant subordonnée à l'acquiescement formel de la Sublime Porte.

De son côté, la Sublime Porte, sentant les dangers dont cette mesure se trouve entourée, n'a pas manqué de s'exprimer dans ce sens; et ce n'est que devant les conseils des Représentants et la perspective qu'on nous a montrée de voir les troupes étrangères débarquer sur notre territoire malgré le refus que nous avons opposé à la conclusion d'une Convention, que nous avons été obligés de céder.

En même temps que nous avons donné ainsi notre adhésion, nous nous sommes fait un devoir d'exposer franchement aux Puissances toutes nos appréhensions, et la sagesse des mesures que nous avons déjà prises. Ce que l'and Pacha a fait à Damas en peu de jours, prouve que nous étions en force pour comprimer les désordres et punir les coupables. L'heureux début de notre Ministère des Affaires Étrangères nous fait espérer que le corps expéditionnaire ne trouvera, à son arrivée en Syrie, qu'un pays parfaitement pacifié et tranquille.

Or, si le débarquement des troupes Françaises s'opère sans qu'il soit justifié par aucune cause suffisante qui nécessite leur présence, à plus forte raison pour-on admettre qu'elles ne pourraient avoir aucun motif plausible pour s'avancer dans l'intérieur du pays.

Nos efforts sont, à l'heure qu'il est, dirigés vers le but de circonscrindre l'occupation à un point convenable du littoral, et d'obtenir qu'on ne le pousse pas dans l'intérieur. Si ce point peut être résolu comme nous le désirons, non seulement la pacification de la Syrie n'en sera que plus promptement et plus sûrement obtenue, mais il aura encore l'avantage de neutraliser le dangereux effet de l'intervention militaire étrangère qu'il ne nous a pas été donné d'empêcher.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell. — (Received September 6.)

N 3

My Lord,

Damascus, August 23, 1860.

On the 20th instant I had the honour briefly to report that the execution of the criminals condemned for participation in the massacre at Damascus had at length commenced. Of 167 persons condemned only 57 were found guilty of murder. These were hanged in the bazaars and public places of the city, at 10 o'clock in the night of the 19th instant. Amongst them were four or five persons above the common class, leaders of armed levies, in the pay of Government. Hardly 40 of the whole number of criminals belong to the ordinary population of the city.

On the afternoon of the 20th instant the remaining 110, who belonged to the irregular troops, and had been found plundering with arms in their hands, were shot, by parties of infantry of the line, without the city. The executions took place without disturbance and were witnessed by very few persons. The shops of the city have been very generally closed, and yet remain so.

I have since waited upon his Excellency Fud Pasha, who then stated that sentence of death had been recorded against about 40 others, who had not yet been captured; that between 300 and 400 prisoners were being sent to Constantinople, 100 of whom were condemned to hard labour for life, the remainder to imprisonment and exile; and that he would, besides, levy a contribution of some 3,000 men for the army from among the youth of the city. He also mentioned that the trial of Achmet, late Pasha, and of other officers, was concluded, and that other prisoners were before the Court, but that no sentence had yet been announced. I suggested, that if not more than 57 of those executed had been guilty of actual murder, the inference would be that the great bulk of those engaged in the massacre were yet free, as it was hardly to be supposed that upwards of 3,000 persons had been put to death, not to speak of women outraged and carried off, by 57, or even by 100 individuals, and that it was to be hoped the others would not escape.

He said that there were others still to be tried, and that arrests would continue as information could be obtained, but that he found it most difficult in procuring evidence; that he had been most anxious to ascertain whether any conspirator had existed, as had been repeatedly asserted, but that hitherto his efforts had been fruitless, and that Achmet, late Pasha, utterly denied all knowledge of any such plot. There seems no doubt, however, in the minds of those who were best acquainted with what was passing in the city previous to the outbreak, that, if not a formal conspiracy, at least a general understanding in favour of a massacre existed among the leaders of public opinion in the city. The Emir Abdel-Kader, with whom I had an interview yesterday, asserts it. He states, moreover, that, in his own mind, he divided the city into twenty-four parts; of these, twenty were likely to be the scene of a massacre; of the remaining four parts, three and a half were really opposed to such a proceeding; that, when he went to the Great Council, while the massacre was taking place, and spoke to them, he was obliged to leave in disgust, for they went on smoking their pipes and would do nothing.

Fud Pasha further mentioned having arrested three persons of station, the day before yesterday, viz., the principal Sheikh of the great Mosque, who had been very busy exhorting the people, named Abdullah-el-Hulhi, also, Mohammed Said Bey, the influential leader of a band of villainous Koordish ulans; and Ghazi Effendi, a principal member of the Great Council, and a man of very fanatical disposition. I may here mention, that Fud Pasha, Secretary, who called upon me this morning, states, that, from fear of the future consequences to any informer, the Pasha has not yet been able to obtain an accusation against Sheikh Abdullah. I know that morning of his arrest, a large body of women, belonging to some of the men executed, marched in a body to his house, re-

execrating against him, to the alarm of all the neighbourhood, as the death of their husbands and relatives, in having incited them to rise against the Christians. Yet the Government have not been able to procure any further information.

His Excellency mentioned, that some forty Christians, who had been requested, from a village, that they had been told they were free to return to their own faith, which they declared to be their wish, and that they have returned to their village Christians. His Excellency having stated that it was a great error since the executions, I replied, that the terror was not confined to the Christians, but that, on my own knowledge, parties of men had come, in open defiance of the American Consul, and that only yesterday, and carried off a number of persons, assuring him that he need not think Fud Pasha would spare them. The same had also been done to the Emir Abdel-Kader, and Europeans had been cursed and insulted in the streets.

I said, I believed the American Consul could give the names of some. I suggested whether it would not be well to make it generally known that such conduct would be treated as a grave offence, as tending to disturb the public peace. He said it should be done at once. His Excellency had said that the Damascus Pasha disliked even the Turks, and was anxious to strike terror into them to confirm the Ottoman rule, as well as on account of late events. I fully agreed in this, feeling, as I do, that it was more evident than now, that the Sultan rules in Syria only in name, and that the feuds and mutual distrust of its various sects and races, and that the country has yet to be civilized. I stated, that in respect of striking terror, it seemed to me a deeper effect would be produced in the city by detaining here in the meantime, the prisoners about to be sent to Constantinople, the publication of their sentence being delayed for a time, as it was very undesirable the citizens should think the minor punishments had already commenced. His Excellency said he had not sufficient prison accommodation, though I should think this might easily have been arranged.

Enough to put down any demonstration, it might be well that the executions should be more public, take place at a fixed hour in the day, and that it should be publicly announced for what crime the criminals were being executed. It not having, hitherto, been the practice here to punish Moslems capital for the murder of Christians. His Excellency said that a paper was attached to the breast of each culprit, stating his crime, though, as few natives can read, even if they would approach at all, this serves little purpose. He added, that he had no little efficient assistance, every thing could not be so well arranged as might be desired, that all the work fell upon him, from the first intimation of the charge, even to the final details of execution. This is, no doubt, too true, for the new Governor, Mohammed Pasha, to whom I referred in a previous report, is as weak here as he proved at Smyrna, and, it is said, he will leave, on the plea of bad health. The paucity of efficient instruments, renders it exceedingly doubtful whether, even under a greatly improved administration, it would be possible to maintain order.

I am gratified that the foreign troops were to hold themselves at his disposal, a fact just announced to him by the French General in command of the force now arriving at Beyrout. His Excellency also expressed much regret at being detained so long at Damascus, as there was yet much to do with the Druses, and the rainy season was not very distant. He did not think it would be necessary to call on the French troops to act in the interior.

There has been no recent disturbance anywhere in the neighbourhood of Damascus, though an isolated murder of a Christian yet occurs occasionally in the city. Christians cannot yet walk about without a guard or Moslem protector, without being subject to insult, and none yet ventures beyond the walls. Still there is a very general alarm, particularly since the arrest of the three persons of station mentioned above. The Koordish quarter, in particular is almost totally deserted by the men, who fled immediately the first news of the arrests. The Emir Abdel-Kader, who I mentioned in my last report, in opinion of the steps Fud Pasha had taken, replied, "Ten times the number

executed yesterday must die before an effect will be produced on the Damascenes, and if this be not done, the Sultan's rule will be powerless in Syria."

Of the movements of the Druses little is known here, except that the Chief Said Bey Jumblatt, has been in the plain of Bekaa, within the last few days, collecting corn and money among his tenants and others, and seizing the property of all who cannot furnish these. This property has been sent to the southern end of Mount Hermon (Jebel-es-Sheikh), apparently for transport to the Hauran, whither it is now reported the Druses propose to retire quietly, and wait till the storm has passed. Said Bey has been addressing repeated letters to Fuad Pasha, to Abd el-Kader, and to Mr. Brant, the English Consul here, containing no proposition, but that he has been doing his best to prevent evil, his object evidently being to procure a reply that might put him in what light he is regarded. In this, however, he has hitherto failed.

It is believed that the Christians in the Druse districts will now be withdrawn without opposition, as well as a native Bey (Ali Bey, of Hama) having left some days ago for that purpose.

There are still about 8,000 Christians here. Fuad Pasha assures their safety, and has evacuated a Musulman quarter for them, where they are being housed. His Excellency informs me that the Christians had been urging their instant departure, and seemed to think they had some ulterior object in view. Knowing the misery to which they must be exposed in Beyroot, already so overcrowded, from which I had just arrived, I could not but think so too. I therefore proposed that his Excellency should assure their safety, and provide quarters and food for them, as has been done, and that Mr. Brant and I should try to persuade them to stay. They have now generally agreed to do so, the French Consul having withdrawn his opposition. It is hoped the Russian Consul will do the same, but if not, as their present quarters are good, I do not think he will be able to influence them. It was very desirable to stop a hostile force from producing a panic, with its accompanying evils, elsewhere.

Having now been at Damascus nearly a fortnight, and having heard many accounts of the conduct of individuals during the period of terror, I think it will be gratifying to your Lordship to learn, notwithstanding what has been stated in some French telegrams, that all disinterested persons concur in stating that the English Consul was the only official who showed himself, and who, during the reign of universal terror, when he repeatedly ventured, at the imminent risk of his life, to pass through the streets to the palace, where he entreated and urged the Pasha to interpose to prevent the wholesale destruction of life. Although unsuccessful in this respect, the self-sacrificing efforts he then made have been deeply appreciated, and he was undoubtedly instrumental in saving many lives. I am glad to be able to state that he appears in good health, notwithstanding all his recent harassing anxieties and exertions.

I have thus entered into many details, which may, perhaps, appear trifling, and in a somewhat informal manner, but considering my communications to your Lordship to be of a confidential nature, I have thought it right to do so. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
A. J. FRASER

No. 144.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 6.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Lordship that the Government have been informed of the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. and that they are taking the necessary steps to meet the views expressed therein.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 14

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 3.)

My Lord,

Therapia, August 24, 1860.

I BEG to inform your Lordship that yesterday I had the honour of being presented to the Sultan by his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer.

His Majesty was pleased to give me a most gracious reception, and was kind enough to say, that he was glad to have an opportunity of seeing me before my departure for Syria.

He then expressed in a most energetic manner his horror at what had taken place there, and concluded by assuring me of the sense he entertained of the friendly feeling which had always been evinced towards him by Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

No. 146

M. Musurus to Mr. Hammond.—(Received September 4.)

Mon cher M. Hammond,

6, Bryanston Square, le 8 Septembre, 1860.

JE me fais un plaisir de vous envoyer le résumé ci-joint de quelques lettres de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, contenant des détails qui, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas d'une date bien récente, ne vous paraîtront peut-être pas sans intérêt.

Votre, &c.
(Signé) C. MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 146.

Résumé of Despatches from Fuad Pasha, to the 23rd of August.

Traduction du Turc.)

D'ABORD, pour arrêter d'un coup les auteurs et complices des atrocités commises, la ville de Damas a été divisée en dix cercles. Dans chacun de ces cercles, un détachement de troupes impériales a été stationné, et une Commission composée de notables de la ville et présidée par un officier de l'armée. Enfin, un cordon militaire a été établi tout autour de la ville, de manière que tous les habitants se sont trouvés aussitôt placés sous la main redoutable de la force armée. Puis, on a procédé, dans chacun de ces cercles, à l'arrestation des coupables et à des perquisitions pour recouvrer les effets volés. C'est en conséquence de ces mesures qu'en un seul jour, et sans coup férir, 128 coupables ont été arrêtés; qu'une partie des effets pillés, pouvant évaluer à 6,000 ou 7,000 charges de cheval, a été recouvrée, et que, de plus, outre les effets qui avaient été jetés dans la mer pendant la nuit, une quantité considérable en a été restituée aux Commissaires.

Les auteurs des meurtres et du pillage ont été renvoyés par devant la Cour Extraordinaire de Justice pour subir l'interrogatoire nécessaire, et être condamnés à des peines proportionnelles à leurs crimes. Ceux des individus qui ont été trouvés coupables de meurtre ont été immédiatement exécutés.

Quant aux malheureux égarés, ils ont été placés dans l'Ecole Militaire, ou envoyés en hôpital, et où ils sont soignés et assistés de toute manière.

Toutes les mesures sus-mentionnées ont reçu leur complète exécution en quelques jours; et, au fur et à mesure que les différentes punitions prononcées

par la Cour Extraordinaire seront infligés, le résultat en sera communiqué à la Sublime Porte.

L'ordre et la tranquillité la plus parfaite règnent à Alep, à Jérusalem, et dans le reste de la Syrie.

No. 147

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 10)

(No. 334)

My Lord,

Berlin, September 8, 1860.
despatch No. 163 of the 2nd of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Hon. Secy of State, London, dated the 2nd ult.

I returned to-day to M. de Gruner when he said that he had examined the instructions to Count Goltz, which had already left Berlin a week ago for Constantinople, and that with an anxious desire to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government he did not see how it was now possible to alter the additional paragraph which had been already inserted in the instruction.

M. de Gruner appears equally desirous with Her Majesty's Government to ensure unanimity both amongst the Representatives at Constantinople and the Consuls in Syria, and a despatch will be forwarded to Count Bernstorff to answer to the communication which I have made to the President of the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD

No. 148.

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant

(No. 6.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 10, 1860.
I HAVE received your despatches to No. 13 of the 13th ultimo inclusive, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the judicious conduct pursued by you during the late disastrous events which have taken place in Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 149

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant

(No. 6.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 10, 1860.
MR. CYRIL GRAHAM appears from his report, of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch No. 13 of the 13th ultimo, to have behaved with great courage, sense, and humanity on the occasion of his late visit to Haseya and Rasheya, and I have to instruct you to convey to that gentleman the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his exertions on behalf of the distressed Christians in that district.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 150

Mr. Hammond to Major Fraser.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 10, 1860.

I AM directed by Lord John Russell to acquaint you that his Lordship approves of your proceedings as reported in your despatch No. 3 of the 17th ultimo.

I am further to state to you that Lord John Russell would wish you to remain in Syria until the 10th of October.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND

No. 151

Mr. Hammond to Major Fraser.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1860.

I AM directed by Lord John Russell to acquaint you that his Lordship approves of your proceedings as reported in your despatch No. 5 of the 22nd ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND

No. 152

Lord J. Russell to M. Murus

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1860.

I HAVE duly received the communication which your Excellency made to me on the 6th instant of a despatch from Safvet Effendi, dated the 1st August, respecting the limits to be prescribed to the employment of troops in Syria, and I have the honour to state to your Excellency in reference to the observations contained in that despatch, that the officers who were consenting parties to the massacres perpetrated in Syria have been tried and punished, I shall be prepared to discuss the question as to the manner in which the foreign troops sent to that country shall be employed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 153

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 14)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 1, desiring me to express, in suitable terms, to His Highness the Emir Beyed Abd-el-Kader for his exertions in saving the lives of Christians on the occasion of the massacre of Damascens.

I have peculiar satisfaction in performing this duty, and I trust your Lordship will approve the terms of the recognition of his meritorious services by Her Majesty's Government, as expressed in my letter to his Highness of this day's date, copy of which I have the honour to inclose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No. 153.

Consul Brant to the Emir Abd-el-Kader

To His Highness the Emir Seyed Abd-el-Kader

I HAVE been charged by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to express to your Highness the high sense they entertain of the services rendered to the cause of humanity by your Highness in saving the lives of so many Christians, who must otherwise have perished by the hands of their cruel enemies in the late massacre at Damascus.

In your Highness's conduct, Her Majesty's Government acknowledge the difference between the high-minded Mohammedan Prince and the cowardly bigot who unfortunately controlled the fate of so many defenceless victims of his rage.

I consider it a high honour to have been made the channel of communicating the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government on such an occasion, and I am, as I do, deep feelings of admiration at having witnessed your Highness's exertions in favour of so many persecuted people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Damascus, August 24, 1860

No. 154

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell. (Received September 13.)

(No. 15.)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 25, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of despatches which I have lately received from His Excellency Sir H. L. Bulwer.

Up to this time no sentence has been passed on the ex-Mushir Ahmet Agha nor on the other officers of the garrison now on their trial by the Military Court.

Fuad Pasha maintains great secrecy as to his intentions, and until his plans are carried into effect they remain unknown; meantime rumour is active, and reports of all kinds are circulated, some turn out good guesses, but most of them are improbable or totally without foundation. I think it best to abstain from relating what is not authentic, or what I consider doubtful. No more executions have taken place.

The Christians still in the Castle, estimated at about 8,000, are about to be lodged in Mohammedan houses in three of the quarters of the town which are to be entirely given up to them, and protected by a guard. The Local Government will not, I think, so far as to secure firmness as to convey them to the coast.

The Christians are much disturbed, but the fears of the majority are easily calmed by the words of their clergy, and their courage, but it will take a long time to restore them to their former state.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Inclosure 1 in No. 154

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the ex-Mushir arrived last night under the name of Ahmet Agha, and was immediately brought before a Commission to be examined; the examination was renewed this morning. Through this channel his Excellency Fuad Pasha expects to be able to ascertain whether the outbreak was a plot concocted long beforehand,

or whether it was only suppressed fanatical feeling which burst out through the occurrence of purely accidental circumstances.

Dias Agha, a partisan Chief, who was given the rank of Ubashee in the Amuch Irregular Horse, by the late Mushir, was arrested in the city two days ago.

The Mushir, with a strong body of troops, went out to Jeroud, where his family has long possessed large estates and great influence. A good deal of plunder was found in his house, which was brought into Damascus. His residence was burned with ten others of influential persons who had been laying the neighbouring villages under contribution and vexing the Christians.

Yesterday four Mussulmans from the Hauran were executed. They were accused of having committed a crime.

I am sure that Fuad Pasha will immediately commence executing some of the criminals condemned, and I have no doubt his doing so will strike terror into the population. The Mussulmans will not yet believe that any executions can result from the murder of infidels; when that is made clear to their mind they will be more disposed to obey and conduct, and make revolutions which they at present withhold.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Inclosure 2 in No. 154

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Damascus, August 10, 1860

I HAD the honour to receive your Excellency's despatches Nos. 6 and 7 and at the same time a communication from Mr. Consul-General Moore, inquiring what proportion of the sum placed at his disposal should be appropriated to the sufferers of Damascus.

With respect to my immediate wants, occasioned by the crowd of refugees under my roof, I ventured to draw on Her Majesty's Government 250*l.*, and as at this moment only a few remain, I am not in want of funds.

There are a great many refugees in the Castle, who have been hitherto supplied with food and clothing, partly by the local authorities and partly by the French Consulate, with some aid on a larger scale by the Russian. The numbers have now diminished from between 14,000 and 15,000 to between 8,000 and 10,000, and these will probably be sent off in two or three divisions in the course of eight or ten days. The French and Russian Consuls are urging them to depart, with what view I do not understand, for their position on arriving at Beyrouth is likely to be worse than it is here. Fuad Pasha provides half an oke (12*lbs.*) of bread daily, and 80 paras in money (2*d.*) to each grown-up individual. The Consuls allege that his Excellency's orders with regard to these supplies are not punctually obeyed, and that the people suffer from this irregularity. Fuad Pasha offers to remove the Christians in the Castle to private houses, which they declined, preferring to leave the city. They themselves some days since were disposed to remain, hearing from the Consuls that the persistence of the Consuls in pressing their departure has altered their views, as they think there must be a strong motive for the advice, so that at present none of the refugees were disposed to remain behind. If they were to leave their present determination, a little money to provide them food for their journey might be still applied, or if any will remain, some additional allowance could be furnished to meet the small pittance made by the Local Government.

I consulted with the Missionaries on this matter, who would lend me their assistance to carry out the distribution of the bounty, and I have also consulted Major Fraser and Mr. Cyril Graham, and I wait to see whether any refugees can be induced to accept the Pasha's offer of houses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Inclosure 3 in No. 154.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, August 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that I have just learned by a communication from his Excellency Fuad Pasha, that 37 criminals have been hanged this morning in different parts of the city, and 110, partly belonging to the Bashibozouk horsemen, and partly to the Irregular Cavalry, called Annieh, were shot at the Genk Meidan, just outside the town.

The trial of persons arrested is continuing, and his Excellency promised to furnish me with a list of all those who are or may be condemned, as well as with the names of those who have escaped for the present, but who have been condemned by contumacy.

The ex-Seraskier, Ahmet Agha, has been tried, but his sentence is not yet published. Osman Bey, the Commander of the troops at Hasbeya, is under trial.

The people of the town are stricken with terror; they evidently never contemplated what has happened, and are trembling at what may still be impending.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 154

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Damascus, August 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency, that yesterday I was invited by Fuad Pasha to pay his Excellency a visit, as he happened to be at leisure. Major Fraser accompanied me, and the French Consul joined us soon after. The conversation naturally turned on the events of the preceding day. His Excellency informed me, that about forty criminals had been condemned by contumacy. He announced to us also, the arrest of Sheikh Abdallah-el-Haebeg, the Chief of the Ulama of Damascus, considered by the people in the light of a saint, but in reality a mischievous fanatic and intriguer; although he seeks his pecuniary interest by fraud and chicanery, he exercises immense influence over the people. His arrest produced a sensation. Another influential person, Maffi Ghuzee Effendi, was likewise taken, he was a member of the Ulama, as well as of the Great Medja, extremely fanatical, and by his age, standing, and position, possessed influence, which he chiefly used to gain money.

Mohammed Said Bey was also arrested; he is the son of Shamideen Agha, the chief Koord in the place, a man of about 60 years of age, and very rich. Mohammed Said was made a Miralla by Ahmed Pasha, to the great disgust of the regular army. He had the command of 500 horsemen of the Annieh Irregulars. I do not know exactly of what he may be accused, but as a whole he enjoyed a bad reputation. About 300 persons condemned to the Baglio for leaving this evening for Beyrut on their way to Constantinople, will be sent to the capital, to be enrolled.

As will take place tomorrow, the execution is going on, as well as arrest.

About 200 Christians are still in the Castle, and are reluctant to leave it.

Christians are still in the Castle, and are reluctant to leave it.

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Christians are still in the Castle, and are reluctant to leave it.

families of criminals to be enriched by their plunder. His Excellency did not seem to have well considered the case, but it will be advisable to renew the subject another time.

I received late last evening your Excellency's confidential despatch of August 17, as well as a circular of August 18, enclosing the circular of August 17 to His Majesty's Consuls in Europe. I shall, after attentively considering these communications, reply at a future date. I again remain from expressing how gratefully I appreciate your Excellency's indulgent approbation of my conduct.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 155.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 155)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 25, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a memorandum sent me by order of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, giving, up to the 22nd August, the number of the persons who have been implicated in the massacre and plundering of the Christians of Damascus.

I should hope that Fuad Pasha does not yet think of concluding his researches, as many individuals known to have been implicated in the massacre and plundering are still at liberty, and have not yet been brought to trial. His Excellency seems to have relaxed in his energy, and apparently to consider that sufficient has been done.

For my own part, I fear that the people have not been sufficiently intimidated by the example made, and that they might again repeat similar scenes of more pitiless cruelty and malignity under a weak Governor.

I cannot perceive what sufficient guarantee can be given for a vigorous administration, if future Governors of the Province are to be chosen from the ranks of Pashas, all the members of which seem so totally inefficient.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 155.

M. Danisch to Fuad Pasha.

M. le Consul,

Damas, le 23 Aout, 1860.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-près, une note relatant le nombre de personnes condamnées à la peine capitale, aux travaux forcés à perpétuité, à l'exil, ou aux travaux forcés pour un temps déterminé, suivant leurs degrés de culpabilité dans les déplorable affaires dont Damas a été dernièrement le théâtre.

Comme le Tribunal Extraordinaire institué d'office par son Excellence Fuad Pasha, occupe avec activité de l'interrogatoire des prisonniers, je vous prie d'examiner, la liste définitive et détaillée des personnes jugées et à juger, qui sera communiquée officiellement, aussitôt que ce Tribunal aura terminé ses travaux.

Agreez, &c.
(Signé) DALAGGIO DANISCH,
Secrétaire de son Excellence Fuad Pasha.

Inclosure 2 in No. 155

List.

Personnes condamnées à mort, comme ayant assassiné directement des Chrétiens, et qui ont été pendues	50
Id. condamnées à mort pour avoir pris part à l'émeute, armes à la main, et qui, en leur qualité de soldats auxiliaires, zapués et bachi-bozouks, ont été fusillés	14
Id. condamnées au bagne à perpétuité comme ayant pris part à l'émeute, les armes à la main, et qui ont été envoyées à Constantinople	132
Id. condamnées à l'exil, comme ayant pris part au pillage, sans armes	145
Id. condamnées aux travaux forcés pour un terme déterminé et retenues à Damas pour être employées aux travaux des routes	130
Id. condamnées à mort par contumace et qui seront exécutées au fur et à mesure qu'elles tomberont entre les mains de la justice	2
Total	273

No. 156.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 57.)

My Lord,

Beirut, August 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 29th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting occurrences of public interest since my last despatches to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure in No. 156

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, August 29, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report that General d'Hautpoul, Commander-in-Chief of the French expedition, wishing, it is understood, to have an interview with Fend Pasha, is to start to-day or to-morrow for Damascus, with a Turkish military escort, placed at his disposal by the latter.

The transport "Ganges," conveying the 800 troops a ... wanting to bring up the force to its stipulated numerical strength ... not yet arrived, and anxiety is felt at the cause of the delay.

Mr. Vice-Consul Abela reports that upwards of 1,000 Christians of ... under escort

The Druse position is not changed since my last report, beyond the reported departure of considerable numbers of Druses from the Shoof and Arkoub for the Hauran.

Isolated acts of aggression on their part against Christians and their property continue.

I am informed that a memorial to me from the Druse Chiefs is in preparation, appealing to Her Majesty's Government for protection against unfair treatment or persecution, and throwing themselves entirely upon their justice and consideration.

There are indications of a French movement, having for object the establishment of a ... Emir Mejd or Emir Kais, the person to be chosen for the office. I beg to ... your Excellency to my despatch of the 31st of May last, for a notice of ... first-named Emir.

I will watch carefully over the further development of this movement, and keep your Excellency informed of its progress and details.

About 200 Damascus ... by Fend Pasha ... the galleys, some for life and others for a term of years, arrived at Beyrout a few days ago on their way to Constantinople. They were embarked on board the "Shadié," Turkish screw line-of-battle-ship. They passed under the Consulate, handcuffed and guarded by military

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

No. 157

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 13.)

(No. 58)

My Lord,

Beirut, August 31, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch I have received from Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers, of Caiffa, transmitting the copy of a placard, in Arabic, that was posted over the door of the Greek Church at Acre, of which the inclosed is a translation.

This scurrilous production, though unimportant in itself, is of value as indicative of the state of Mahomedan feeling.

I have brought the matter to the knowledge of Alinet Pasha, who promises to direct an inquiry into it. The Authorities at Acre declined to take any notice of the affair when laid before them by the Greek Bishop of the town, telling him to produce the authors.

With reference to my despatch of the 29th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte (inclosure in No. 57 to your Lordship), I beg to report that General d'Hautpoul has since changed his mind about proceeding to Damascus in person, and sent Staff Colonel D'Omond in his stead, and that the "Ganges"

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... ..
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... ..

From Damascus there is nothing now since Mr. Consul Brant's last reports to your Lordship

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE

Inclosure 1 in No. 157.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Consul-General Moore.

Sir,

Caiffa, August 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have received from Mr. Consul Rogers
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 157

Pincard

(Translation.)

(Picture of a sword and a red dab, to represent Christian blood.)

'The Mussulmans are a sword against the Cross.'

(Picture of a man despoiling the Cross.)

"FROM the Mahometan race to that of infidelity, heathenism (or plurality of gods), you have behaved with haughtiness, and sown corruption on earth after its reformation. Ye met with aid from the Government, and did deeds which are unprecedented. By God, and again by God, you are only like dogs. To murder you is easy. Now that the blow of death and torture has fallen on you, and that you have met with ignominy after exaltation, you have become like the leprous dogs. The curse of God be on you and those like you, and upon your Cross, for your faith is vain - and the faith of Mahomet, whom may God exalt and glorify, is truth. Ye shall see the truth as it is in truth. You have strengthened your back by the French, and become again vain. By God, the French cannot resist our warfare, for our swords are sharp, and our spears piercing; our horses swift, and our warriors brave; our gunpowder roasts the ribs, our spears shed tears; our attacks depriving of rest. Ye shall see our deeds and attacks during this year, and you will share the fate of Damascus, because we fear nobody, and make account of none. It is become lawful to dispose of your blood, treasure and honour, for ye have exceeded bounds; and those who exceed bounds must have their blood shed. All that has occurred is your own fault, for God Almighty said in his book, 'By the works of your own hands, and God does not lead the unjust.' By the works of your own hands, and God does not lead the unjust. You have become bolder; this boldness conduces to your destruction, and because your blood is boiling. You pretend that I have peace on him, is your prophet; forbid it, He who has created you. Ye are the people of fire, and shall be consumed. What ye have done. May God, after this, give you no success! Those who trespass against you, trespass ye against them in return."

Inclosure 3 in No. 157

Report.

Beyrout, August 25, 1860

AT a Meeting of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, the following Statement and Report were adopted, and ordered to be printed for circulation in England and America

NIVEN MOORE, H. B. M. Consul-General, President

The Anglo-American Relief Committee deem it due to the British Relief Fund Committee, and to other Committees and individuals who have contributed or propose to contribute aid to the Syrian sufferers from the present war, to keep them correctly informed as to its operations, and also as to the urgency of the distress that calls for relief. It is to secure these important objects that the following statements are made.

Our Committee originated in a stern and terrible necessity. Many thousands of plundered helpless refugees fled suddenly into our city from the mountains, seeking protection from the devouring sword, and calling for food and shelter. The emergency was so pressing, unexpected, and overwhelming, that our first circular was sent off even before the organization of the Committee could be completed, and before the full extent of the calamity was known. A second issue of the circular, however, was put forth as soon after the first as possible, showing not only the full organization of the Committee, but also the

immense addition to the amount of distress and suffering in consequence of the massacre at Damascus. The subjoined report of our Sub-Committee will show that the work of distributing food, clothing, and medicine to the sufferers is now carried forward on a scale, small at the beginning, but which has rapidly expanded into dimensions quite beyond our ability, and revealing, in its daily progress, a mass of destitution and misery which is truly appalling.

The basis of our organization is wholly unsectarian, and broad enough in its spirit and design to embrace all classes of sufferers from this war. Christians only are mentioned in our circular, and that simply because they are the only applicants for aid. Not a Druse, Mohammedan, or Jew has applied for assistance. The Druses remain masters of their half of the mountains, and from the enormous plunder of the Christians are richer than before the outbreak. The same is true of the Moslems who have taken part in the war while the Jews have nowhere been either plundered or molested, except the very small community of Deir-el-Kamar. Of the 7,000 who now receive daily aid from your charity, a very large majority are Maronites; the next most numerous class are Greek Catholics, a considerable number are of the Greek Church, while only about 100 are Protestants. Should the changing fortunes of war reduce Druses, Moslems, Jews, or any other class of our population to the same destitution, we should be ready to extend to them the same kind of aid that we now give to the Christians.

We would earnestly guard our patrons against the impression that the necessity for these charitable contributions will soon cease by the restoration of peace, and the re-establishment of Government in this country. On the contrary, the number of the destitute is daily multiplying on our hands, and is becoming more and more stringent. Those who had a few piasters on their persons when they fled from their burning habitations have spent them; the 20,000 who escaped into the small district of Keirawan have exhausted the resources of their brethren there, and are now drifting back upon us by thousands, seeking shelter and crying for bread, while long caravans from Damascus block up our streets with the despairing remnants of her Christian population. Many are sick; the children are dying off with alarming rapidity in our hot climate; epidemics are spreading amongst the half-fed, half-clothed, half-sheltered multitudes; and unless better food, clothing, and medical care are provided, the victims of this war will ere long outnumber those of the sword. To alleviate this accumulating misery we distribute bread daily to more than 7,000 poor; we have procured houses and tents as far as possible for shelter; we have voted to purchase and distribute with the co-operation of a Ladies' Auxiliary Committee, 5,000 garments; we have commenced a hospital for the sick, and opened a soup kitchen chiefly, though not exclusively, for their benefit, and for mothers who nurse, hoping to save some of the children by giving to the mothers more nourishing food than mere dry bread.

It must be obvious that these various operations, expanded by urgent necessity to meet the wants of thousands, must require a large and steady supply.

Not is there any reason to hope that the calls for relief will materially diminish before October, and in fact we fear that the most piteous and poverty will be felt during the latter part of autumn, and through the rainy months of winter. Let not, therefore, the benevolent in England and America relax their efforts to save from starvation these remnants of Christian population, rescued from the sword of Druse ferocity and Mohammedan fanaticism. We will not faint under the perplexing and laborious work of distribution, but we cannot give more than is received, and when your donations fail our distribution must cease.

Since the labours of others in this cause, a few native Christians, and even so-called shelter, and Government has done the same to thousands from Basma, Hama, Deir-el-Kamar, and Damascus. From Greece and other parts of Europe liberal aid has been sent. Bread has been regularly and largely distributed by the French Consul-General, and by the Lazaran, and that activity, energy, and devotion to the claims of the suffering, for which they are so justly distinguished. But it must be remembered that, of these sources of supply

some have already fallen, and others are wounded and in great distress, and the others, working up to their utmost capacity, still leave an immense surplus of ammunition, and distress, over which we can only drop the tear of sincere but unavailing sympathy.

Summary view of the operations of the Sub-Committee.

Number of persons assisted daily from	15th to 21st July ..	793
	21st to 25th July ..	753
	26th July to 1st August ..	810
	1st to 5th August ..	1,453
	6th to 14th August ..	3,321
	14th to 17th August ..	3,042
	17th to 22nd August ..	7,105

Total cost up to this date for food, clothing, bedding, shelter, and medicine P. 60,332
Grants have also been made to the Sisters of Charity to aid them in their distribution amounting to P. 4,700

About £543 10s. or P 65,232

Beyrout, August 22, 1860.

No. 158.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 14.)
(No. 592.)

My Lord,

Therapia, September 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship translated copies of a rescript addressed by the Sultan to Fual Pasha; also his speech to the troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Inclosure 1 in No. 158

Imperial Rescript.

(Translation.)

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship translated copies of a rescript addressed by the Sultan to Fual Pasha; also his speech to the troops. I have, &c.

I need not therefore say to what extent my heart and that of all Mussulmans, who are acquainted with God's commands, has been afflicted by the fact that a horde of perverse and ignorant persons among the inhabitants of Damascus have, by reason of the wickedness and wordiness of their reprobate natures, disregarded the above pure principles, and have dared, in opposition to the divine law, to shed the blood, violate the honour, and plunder the property of a number of poor creatures, their countrymen.

The amount of punishment reserved for the authors of such wickedness in the next world is not concealed from the eyes of the intelligent, but it is most necessary that they should receive in this world also the punishment awarded both by the divine and temporal law.

Therefore it appears fit to our Government that you should, in accordance with your official authorisation, immediately proceed to the infliction of condign punishment on such persons as shall, upon trial, be proved to be guilty.

The zeal which you have displayed and the service which you have rendered, being a proof of your natural ardour and personal intelligence, has obtained my fullest appreciation and approbation.

The fresh proofs of fidelity and valour displayed by all the chiefs, officers, privates, and other functionaries of my troops that are accompanying you, as conveyed in your despatches and in two military "masabatas" presented by you, answer completely to what I expected of them, and are in harmony with the glorious military qualities and character I have always found in them. You will therefore, proceed to them that their acts have obtained my complete satisfaction. May God always grant success to you and to those who strive on my behalf with fidelity and integrity.

August 18, 1860.

Inclosure 2 in No. 158

Speech of Fual Pasha.

(Translation.)

Comrades,

SOME French and English troops are coming to this neighbourhood. The European Governments, always desirous for the tranquillity of our country, have wished to assist in putting down the troubles which have taken place here, and His Majesty's Government, in order to show the trust which they repose in their Allies, have accepted their assistance. You know that these troops are troops belonging to Governments which have once upon a time rendered great assistance to our Government. Fulfil, therefore, the duty of comrades, and as yourselves are the host, and they the guests, act up to this quality, and pay them a every sort of attention. Thus, they will see in what way you serve the just views of your Sovereign, how you observe military discipline and honour, and that you do not require to be amused or encouraged in pursuing authors of the crimes that have been perpetrated against Christians, who are equally our countrymen, nor in exacting vengeance in the name of humanity.

No. 159

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 14.)

(Private and Confidential.)

My dear Lord,

Therapia, September 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter from Mr. Consul Wilkinson, as to a conversation he had had with a gentleman, supposed to be in the confidence of the Emperor, on Syrian affairs; also a communication of a confidential character, as to an alleged letter from M. de Thouvenel to the Superior of the French Convent in Syria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 159

Mr. Edwards to Sir H. Bulwer

Excellence,

Smyrna, le 25 Août, 1860

"L'AVIS suivant vient d'être publié :— Le Supérieur des Lazaristes à Paris a fait savoir aux Missionnaires qui dirigent les Collèges de Bebek à Constantinople, de la Propagande à Smyrne, et d'autour dans le Liban, que la réouverture des classes serait indéfiniment suspendue dans ces trois établissements."

Cette annonce a causé la plus vive inquiétude, on en infère que la question d'Orient est réellement et sérieusement engagée.

Je puis vous donner pour certain que la mesure a été prise à la suite d'une conversation entre M. Thouvenel et le Supérieur des Lazaristes. M. Thouvenel dit au Supérieur :—

"Dans les circonstances actuelles il est prudent de retirer les Professeurs

et de fermer les Ecoles. Nos troupes pourraient éprouver un échec; ce sera pour nous un prétexte pour y envoyer 50,000 hommes. De grands événements naîtront."

Vous pouvez ajouter une foi entière à cette information.

Un ami de Paris qui m'avait annoncé trois mois d'avance, d'une manière positive, la dernière guerre d'Italie, m'écrit aujourd'hui que "l'intention de l'Empereur est d'en finir avec la Turquie ou de la mettre en tutelle."

Excellence, poussez les Turcs l'épée dans les reins pour qu'ils agissent avec énergie et prudence.

J'ai, &c.
(Signed) A. EDWARDS.

No. 160

Mr. Morris to Lord J. Russell, (Received September 16.)

My Lord,

"The Times," September 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a memorial from the Druse Sheikhs in which was entrusted by them to the Special Correspondent of "The Times" at Beyrout, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

One copy of this document has been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and another to the Emperor of the French, but I do not know through what channels they were forwarded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MORRIS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 160

Petition

(Translation.)

A PETITION to the pavement of the threshold of Her Majesty the illustrious Queen of England, whose grandeur may God, whose name be praised, and whose power and the love of her subjects, may be glorified. Amen.

The representation of the whole of the gentry and commonalty of the Druse nation of Mount Lebanon unto the Royal threshold of Her said Majesty is, that since, by the grace of God, his servants (mankind) have been favoured by the gracious manifestation of the mercy of your sovereignty and dominion, in clemency and compassion unto the servant of the Lord, and more especially to him among the sons of men; and more especially to him that something has happened to him without investigation, at the present time, do these (your) servants rush imploring that you, O Majesty, will be merciful and earnestly the execution

of the petition presented to the threshold of the Majesty, the just, the compassionate towards the weak among us, in the petition, we have dared to place a report, which has taken place between us and the Ottoman Government, and the execution of the same.

We are emboldened to present this petition to the threshold of the Majesty, the just, the compassionate towards the weak among us, in the petition, we have dared to place a report, which has taken place between us and the Ottoman Government, and the execution of the same.

and others, it were patent: not according to an idea of expediency contrary (thereof), against which we have no power, and over which we have no control.

We bow down, and we cast ourselves on the pavement of your illustrious Sovereign Majesty, praying that you will take pity on us, by causing justice and equity to be done by concerting measures with the Ottoman Government.

own exalted Ottoman Sovereign and the Great Powers, so that we may not be punished for complaints made by our adversaries against us, devoid of truth, or that execution be done upon us before investigation. The compassion of Sovereign Majesty forbids that execution be done contrary to justice. This is what we rush to represent to the pavement of the threshold of Your Majesty, whom may the Lord of mankind protect from evil! O God! Amen.

I the humble servant, by reason that the inhabitants, the presenters of the petition, do not, according to their custom, use signets, have hereunto affixed my seal and signature, and I certify to the truth of their representation.

(Signed) The Servant, HAMDAN BELMINI.
August 17, 1860 (A.D.).

Inclosure 2 in No. 160

Druse Account of the late Events in Lebanon.

(Translation.)

IT is well known to the whole world and the ears of people in all lands have been filled with the report that, ever since the year 57 (A.D.) (A.D. 1841), the Maronites have pertinaciously contemplated the uprooting of the Druse from the Druse Mountain (Mounts Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon), and the establishment of their own independence therein; being possessed of great numbers and wealth, and being also led to pride by the influence of certain interested persons.

hostilities in the year above-mentioned, and in the hopes of bringing about this result. But God frustrated their rebellious designs, and punished them as their conduct had merited, so that it was thought they would not in future attempt such acts, or be possessed with similar hopes.

But when the Bishop Bulus Mianad became patriarch over the above-named nation, the idea was again entertained by him, and the hope of his own pride. With the advice and approval of Bishop Tuhma 'Ain, and of others like him, he took and concerted measures necessary for the execution of the same.

They perceived that the most efficient means for the realization of their designs was unanimity, from which unity of purpose proceeds, and, since they saw it was possible for some of the Chiefs of their people to rely on their own numbers, and refuse to act in concert with them, especially as the greater number of these Chiefs were men of wealth, and surrounded by comforts, besides being known for their sentiments of kindness to women and children, and nothing of their patriotism, they (the Bishops) set themselves to work to bring out the conversation enjoyed by these Chiefs, and to abrogate their rights, setting up in their stead persons who entertained similar views with themselves, and who would be mere tools in their own hands. In proof of this, the Bishops of the Maronites, at the time of the Christians, where they were expelled, their property was seized, and Tanous Shahun, with others, were set up in their stead; also the spread of this same evil to the districts of Kati', Meten, &c.

Another requisite for their plans was the confidence (?) of their people, for a great number of them. They first set to work to secure this confidence consists in their having written and distributed pledge documents among the inhabitants of all the villages, binding them to act in concert, and in blind confidence. The purport of these documents became known, and several were got possession of, when they were found to contain that which is above set forth, and the wording of the whole was identical.

A third requisite was an alliance with the other Christian people, since thereby they would not only be directly strengthened, but would also be guaranteed from their opposition, for, in the two former risings, a considerable number had refused to participate in their proceedings, by reason that it was known that, after achieving the object of their desires, the Maronites would

turn upon them and treat them as they had done others, unless they embraced Maronism. The proof of this idea is the strenuous effort made to display affection, and to parade an unusual show of conciliation; also the issue of proclamations and manifestoes by the patriarch and bishops to the whole sect to the effect that they should behave towards the people of other Christian denominations as if they were the children of one sole race, and to the Khawarizm [praise.] is the effect that they might frequent their (Maronite) churches, be present at their masses and burials, contrary to what had been the custom. We saw all this in more places than one, and it was established beyond doubt by a multitude of people.

A fourth requisite was the existence of delegates, in the nature of a public assembly, in each of their principal cities, who might be the means for addressing and advising, and from whom might emanate orders or dispositions, for, similarly, ~~in the~~ in the ~~city~~ ^{country}. The proof of such the organisation of delegates in Beyrout, Zahleh, Deir-el-Kamar, Kesrawan, and other places, as is well known. The principal of these assemblies was the assembly at Beyrout.

A fifth requisite was the creation of "Chiefs of the young men," whom these latter might obey; for, by this means, it became easier for them to carry their plans into execution. The proof of this is what took place, and was publicly known in respect to the appointment of "Chiefs of the young men" in every village and plantation, even in the towns, and, what is more still, in the very centre of Government, in Hayti itself.

The sixth, was the general armament of the people of the sect, so that their strength might be augmented. The proof of their efforts to gain this point consists in what was seen as to the distribution of great quantities of arms from Beyrout to every place. This distribution was effected principally by means of the *hawarim* (persons?) people. When the arms were made as to the necessity for this measure, and as to payment for the arms, since it occurred in a season of distress, when most of them were in want of necessary food, let alone the means of paying for these arms in large quantities, the answer was given that they were for their own protection, and, according to the tenor of the bills of exchange, the time of payment was fixed for a future date. It afterwards became evident that these bills of exchange were a mere feint, and that the arms were from the "Company" formed at Beyrout, for conducting the affairs of the rising.

For the space of about six months, also, Bishop _____ occupied himself in the formation of a Christian Committee at A _____ transparently his chief design, in the formation of the _____ was the _____ of young men in every place, and to learn who among the _____ so that arms might be furnished to them. When he found that he could not carry out this design, he took other steps to arrive at the desired knowledge by means of the Khawarira {priests?} people _____ the education of the young men in military

Another measure was the instruction of the young men in military exercises. The proof that they exerted themselves to accomplish this object consists in what was seen as to their furnishing drill-masters to the greater number of their villages, to teach the sword exercise, equitation (?) and ball practice. Sec.

Another, again, was the getting rid from among themselves of all strangers to their sect, as far as was possible, so as to be safe from a divulagation of their secrets, not to mention their own security of mind. The proof of this is that Mussulmans and people of the Mute'evvils sect (Metevali) are found inhabiting Astrawan, Tutul, and their districts, these were urged to take their departure from among them, or to adopt the Maronite creed, since they were few in number. In fact, a considerable number were constrained to embrace the Maronite faith, and those who adhered to their old professions were left in bad circumstances. The exertions of the Bishop Tubia reached that point, he threatened the wife of the Emir Sulayman-el-Metin, and also her two sons, who were Mussulmans, until they entered the Maronite community. He also exhorted the Emir M. J. I., ^{the Emir of the Four H. shah Shabala.} promised him that, if he would begin the ruse, he would procure his nomination as Kathmakam of the whole Mountain. This was with the view to induce him to become a Christian again, and to make him pleased with the idea.

Islamism at Constantinople. In fine, they left nothing undone that might facilitate the execution of their designs, and to such a point that, if they were all to be mentioned, the tale would never end.

As soon as it was perceived that the arrangements were completed as they desired, and that the preparations for their designs were all carried out in the best manner, as above detailed, the Committee of Boyrout began to write to the districts and to require the attendance of delegates from each place. The confident bearing of the Christians, also, and their warlike aspirations, became more and more conspicuous; as did also their pressing invitations to join them, and their promises of immense advantages, such as the distribution of munitions, the furnishing provisions (or pay), and everything needful for war; so that, in a short space of time, they rose in open revolt and made public manifestations of being in a state of warfare.

They began, in the first place, to take possession of the highways, to rob and threaten travellers, and to oppress those newly established (?). All this while the Druses took no heed of what was happening, and their Chiefs, in using every effort and endeavour to preserve and perpetuate tranquillity, making continued representations to the principal Christians and those known for their wisdom, and exhorting them to remain quiet and peaceable, and to refrain from such acts, warning them at the same time of the evil consequences. The only effect, however, was that these latter became more and more excited and unsettled, until at length, on Friday night, the 15th of Ramadhan [6th April, 1860 ?] while a Druse muleteer, of the village of Ba Kalin, one of the dependencies of the (Bel or) or manor of Shuf, was passing the night in the caravanserai named Khann-¹-Kas'a, and situated in the vicinity of the village of El-Hula, a dependency of the Deputy-Governorship [Kaimakamate] of the Christians, a posse of Maronites came upon him from the village and fired upon him as he slept; they then cut him to pieces with their swords, and left him strowed about. Nothing was done in this matter, further than representing the facts to the authorities in the usual

A certain interval elapsed after this, the public excitement increasing from one day to another. Then was seen the commencement of the formation of military corps in the district of Konawin, in the neighbourhood of Beirut, and elsewhere.

Again, on the 23rd of the month of Shewsal (14th May, 1860), three tribes, muloteers, of the village of Ma'adr, were returning from the town of Sidon, and on their arriving in the vicinity of the bridge of that place they were met upon by a rabble of armed men from among the Maronites of Kaytala, a village in the district of Jazin, and various other places, who fired at them, killing two of the number, and leaving the other at the point of death. When news of this event reached the relatives of the slain, great excitement was caused, but instant measures were adopted to calm it. Four days later, however, as several Christians of the district of Jazin were passing beneath the village of Kashtuliyra, situated within the fief of Shuf, they encountered a mob with some drums, and fire was opened on both sides, three of the Christians losing their lives on the occasion.

Intelligence of this having reached Jazdo, the inhabitants became greatly moved, and a party set out declaring war against the district of Shuf. Upon which steps were taken to lay the matter before the Authorities. Orders were immediately given for the especial despatch of an officer and fifty horsemen who were also accompanied by Commissioners on the part of the Ka'im-mukam (Governor), from among the members of the Council and others, with a sufficient number of horsemen, so that, with the cognizance of the lord of the manor (Mukata'ji) of those places, Sa'id Bey Jandulat, the necessary measures might be carried into execution under the circumstances.

When this party reached the village of Mukṭāra, the residence of the above mentioned lord of the manor, it was judged best to send two messengers to treat (?) with Kahlāṇiyya and Kayṭāla, as was the usual custom. The inhabitants of Kahlāṇiyya accepted the terms proposed (?), but the men of Kayṭāla flew to arms and drove away the messengers in a most insolent manner, acting under the advice of Abu Samra, "Chief of the Young Men" of the district.

The excitement in this part of the country then rose to an extreme pitch.

and every symbol declaratory of war was displayed. All kinds of endeavours were made to counsel moderation to them, and to set them right; but their arrogance was only increased thereby.

The delegate of the Christians of Hazûb (or Kharûb), too, named Dâhir Nasîf, rose up in arms declaring war, and a body of the Christians of that district collected about him in the village of Burjeyn, where he resided. On Monday, the first of the month of Zi-l-ki'da [21st May, 1860], he met with a Mussulman of his village, assailed him with his arms, and wounded him. And on the same day a large party of horsemen sallied forth from the village of Zahleh proceeding to the plain of Bekla, where they commenced molesting the cattle and the men of the Druses that they found in those quarters. This party established themselves in the village of Kabr-Elyas, situated at the foot of Mt. Marjûn. On the 2nd of the month (22nd May), and there continued to be some skirmishes between the Christians and the Druses. On the 3rd (23rd May), some Druses of the village of Baslamin were going to find some of their relatives who were among the irrigators working on the river of Beyrouth. When they had arrived in the neighbourhood of the kitchen-garden of the oil presser, situated on the bank of the river, they were met by the Christians assembled there, who demanded their arms. They refused to give them up, but those latter continued to press them until they entered a house there. This was surrounded, and the menace was held out that unless they gave up their arms, the house should be burnt down over them. Several of them then gave in, but others threw themselves into the outer premises out of the windows (?). Cavalry (?) were sent after them, who came up with them in the direction of the city. At this juncture they were met by Eyyub of Tripoli, one of the committee of delegates at Beyrouth, and author of this plot. With him was an armed band, who immediately commenced firing on them, killing one and wounding a second badly, so that he died in consequence.

The day following, a Maronite of Deir-el-Kamar was proceeding on the road of the above-mentioned place, and had reached the shop of 'Aynûb, when he was met by some relatives of those killed in the way above recited. They fired at him and killed him; and when the intelligence reached Deir-el-Kamar, it produced great excitement among the inhabitants, and they commenced a persecution among the Druses there present and found a Druse man Kâfir-Fakûd, whom they shot, and he died.

The next day, Sunday [27th May], by reason of what had happened at the village of Zahleh, the whole Maronite population thereof assembled in the village of Mu'allaka, and displayed the emblem of war.

On the morrow, Monday [28th May], a full Court of Employés, the Members of the Provincial Council, and the Notables of the city, was held at Beyrouth, in the presence of his Excellency the Governor of the province, and the Bishop Tubla was sent for. A debate was held as to what should be done to abate the existing disturbances, and to disperse the gathering of Christians, which had extended up to the boundaries of Beyrouth, and to them to depart to their homes.

The resolution was taken, to put in with all dispatch, the troops of the Imperial force, who were, accordingly, moved out that very day to the lands of Hazuniyya; also, that confidential persons on the part of his said Excellency, and the Dean or Archdeacon (Vaxil) of the said Bishop, should be sent to Tanous Shâhin, to exhort him to withdraw from what he had undertaken, and to disperse the band collected about him; and although the Bishop made an appeal to notify his disapproval of this arrangement, and declared he could do nothing in the matter, it was still thought the best that could be done; so he became satisfied, and sent his Dean with the confidential persons, who went together to Tanous. But nothing came of this, excepting that in the evening of that same day a large body of men from that army entered the village of Ba'badâ, in the confines of the village of Shuweyfat, the place of residence of the Druse Kaimakam, whence, to the manor of Ksarawân, is a distance of about five hours' journey. All the Christians of the district assembled there also.

The Kaimakam (Deputy-Governor) immediately sent in a report to the authorities and to the Consuls his well-wishers (?). His Excellency the

Governor gave orders that confidential persons should be sent to advise the chiefs present in the said village, and to turn away that army from prosecuting its designs. They had peremptory instructions to disband it. The answer was that, of a certainty they would complete that which they had undertaken in point of smiting the Druses; and that if the regular troops should interfere, they would fight them also. Not satisfied with this, the Kaimakam again sent confidential persons to the said chiefs to ask for the dispersion of the assembly, and the dismissal of every one to his home, and the withdrawal from this enterprise, the cause of universal trouble. As a last argument, the reply was that they had opened the banners of war, and there was no way left to close them again.

On the same day, a large body of the Maronites of Jerûr Ksarawan and Kûl advanced upon the lands of the meadows which are in the advanced

Khari (priest?) of Busheniyya, one of the arable districts of Beyrouth, went out with a large assembly, having in his hand a flag of war, and advanced with them in the intent of attacking the Druses of Beyt-Meri, situated in the direction of the Meten. When they were nigh upon entering the village, they were met by an Agha (an officer of the hired troops, stationed there by the provincial authorities to prevent the causes, among the inhabitants, on the part of daring people, of what had happened in former years), and the elder (or an old woman) of the Druses of the village, went to the Emir Yusuf-Ah-Ebu-l-Lam, the lord of the manor, and begged him to send back this Khari and his band, and to prevent warfare. The Emir did his best to attain those results; but, seeing that he had no power over them, he told the Druses to evacuate the village. They forsook their homes immediately so as to avoid all cause (for trouble), and betook themselves in the direction of the village of the Druses. When they arrived outside the village, they saw this band enter it and commenced burning the houses thereof. They suddenly set out in pursuit of the band to destroy them also. Then they were forced to defend their

use dependent on them, so that a combat took place between the two parties, and, in spite of the small number of the villagers, the superiority of the Christians in that respect, it did not take long before the latter were routed and put to flight, so that the Druses returned to their homes.

On the same day, the band of Zahleh, stationed in the village of Kabr-Elyas, went out into the Mountain with the view of finding Ah Bey El-'Amad, who resided there in the village of 'Ayn-Dâra, for the protection of the Dinnous road, as he was commissioned to do. When they approached the entrance to that village with their bands, which amounted to about 5,000 fighting men, the said Ah Bey went out to drive them away, attended by his servants and the people of the village, who were under 200 fighting men in number. A battle took place between the two in the Debur valley, which lies near the village. The news of the combat reaching to the adjacent districts, successive arrivals of brave men brought him succour, and the struggle was prolonged until the band from Zahleh was routed and returned to the caravanserai Khan Morâd, situated near to the village of Kabr-Elyas, where it took up its quarters. The battle was then renewed, they were surrounded by the men, and the fight pressed sore upon them. It took but a short time to rout them again, when they fled in confusion to the various districts of Zahleh. The number of Druses engaged in the whole of this affair did not, however, amount to 1,000 fighting men; and the said Ah Bey El-'Amad was wounded in the combat, while the Shuykh Hammâd 'Abdu-l-Melik was slain therein, although he had come solely to make inquiries, and to prevent hostilities, and was unarmed, being generally known as one of the chiefs of wisdom and peace.

On the above-mentioned day, a band of Christians went forth from Deir-el-Kamar to go to the lower 'Urkûb. On nearing the village of Kâfir-Nabrakh, the residence of Mulham Bey El-'Amad, the Bey went forth to repel them, and a combat ensued, when they beaten, and had to turn back again.

On the next day, Wednesday [30th May], the bands of Ba'badâ went forth to attack the manor of Upper Gharb. And as soon as news of this expedition reached his Excellency the Governor of the Province, he sent his interpreter to them, with several military officers, to advise them to desist from

their design, and to caution them as to the consequences of this attack. But they would not listen to this, and proceeded to the place they had in view. And when they entered the nearest parts of the Gharb, and began to set fire to several places therein, the men of the Gharb went out against them, defeated them, and put them to flight; neither did they give up the pursuit until his Excellency the said Governor restrained them, and put a stop to the combat.

On this day, a body of Maronites collected together in the Metin from Zahleh and other places, advanced against the Druse villages situated in the valley of the Christian districts, which villages had already been abandoned by the inhabitants. They set fire to the villages of Karnat and Kafr-Selwan, with others, and then advanced against the remaining Druse quarters. Upon this, the Druse inhabitants went forth to repel them, when a battle ensued, which lasted a long while, until the Christians were driven back in confusion to their own district.

On the same day a fight took place in the village of Hamana, and after a fierce siege, the Christians were routed there also. Again, on the same date, at about midnight, many shots were heard in various directions in the plain of the Shuwayfat from all the guardians placed towards the west of the village, in the direction of the band of Mudlaka; and, as is usual when such things occur on the part of the guardians, it was understood as a signal of the arrival of a band to attack the place. For this reason, the inhabitants began to take measures of precaution, and to prepare to meet the approaching band. Some few went out to obtain information in the direction of the guardians, and found a multitude of men under arms, and one of the guardians killed. And when they advanced towards them, they fired at them and moved on towards them; so that they were under the necessity to return the fire of the advancing party. After fighting for a certain while, they were defeated, and left the road.

The next day, Thursday (31st May), the bands of Christians who were assembled in Beit Mri, advanced to attack the Druses of the village of 'Uddiyah, and the bands assembled in Salima, 'Uhamyia, Ba'badai, and Bekkayn, to attack the Druses of the village of Raa. When each of these bands reached the vicinity of the place it was to attack, the inhabitants came out to meet them, and fought with them for the space of eight hours, until they were routed away, and returned in disorder.

On the day following, Friday (1st June), as a number of Druses from Mandail were reaping a field belonging to them, near to Deir-el-Kamar, a party of Christians from Deir-el-Kamar went out to attack them, and fired at them; this led to a fight.

Another party went out to attack the Druses of the two villages, Kafr-hamad and Kafr-katra, both belonging to the governor of Mandail; a battle ensued, and the noise was heard in the neighbouring districts. People flocked in promiscuously at the sound, to give succour, and when the Christians saw this, the Christians began to set fire to the houses of the Druses, in the Deir-el-Kamar. Upon this the fighting became serious, and attacks were mutually made on both sides; but the Christians were beaten, and took refuge in the village, pursued by the Druses until they had occupied it, and they penetrated it in various places until nightfall, when certain of the leading men came forward and drew them away from fighting, upon which each of them went away home.

The same day a party of Christians started from Jidin to attack the Druses of the village of Nias. The inhabitants went out to meet them, a fight ensued, and fresh combatants kept coming up to the assistance of both parties. The combat waxed fiercer and fiercer, until the result declared in the rout of the Christians in the whole of those districts.

On the same day again, Yusuf, the bleacher, delegate of the Christians of the district of Tuffah, went out with a band he had collected in the district of Deir-el-Kamar, to attack Kasim El-Yusuf, who was on the river of the bridge of Sidon, keeping guard over the possession of Ra'id Bey Janbulat, situate in that direction. When he neared the spot, they met and fought, when the bleacher and his party were discomfited.

On Monday, the 17th of the same month (4th June, 15th Zi'l-Ka'da), the bands of Zahleh, stationed at Humma-Kafr-Selwan, attacked the Druses

of the village of Fatūgha; and, as it chanced that his Excellency the Great Governor of the Province had set out on the road to Damascus to prevent a

his Excellency prohibited any succour being sent to the Druses, and sent the most peremptory orders to their Chiefs in the vicinity to prevent any relief from being sent to them; but, as the village of Fatūgha is near the village of Karnat, a party of Druses resident there had already set out to assist before the orders arrived, so the fight waxed hot, and the Christians retired defeated. His Excellency immediately sent some men of note among the Druses to turn them back and to put out the flames of this misadventure.

After that the Druses had arrived in the neighbourhood of Zahleh, and on the day, the 26th of the month (12th June), took place the arrival of the levies of the Hawran and of the valley of 'Im and their environs, in the Bekin, for, so soon as the news was received in those quarters that the Maronites of the Druse Mountain, with their co-operators belonging to other sects, had risen openly to carry out what they designed in respect of extirpating all traces of the Druse nation from the Druse Mountain, and of establishing their own supremacy there, and that they had begun to form bands and to attack the Druses, their zeal for their kinsmen was kindled, and a large body of them came forward to ascertain the truth and to assist.

The next day, Wednesday (13th June), as a small party, established at Her-Elvay (Kafr-Elvay), about an hour and a-half's journey from Zahleh, were engaged in a combat, a combat ensued between them, and the result was that until the horsemen of Zahleh were wanted and retired.

It was then the case from the beginning, the utmost endeavours were used to prevent the least thing from happening, and to take away all cause of disturbance, and to bring about the return of tranquillity; and, since the levies in the places mentioned was a cause of disquiet,

by the Kaimakam to restrain the said army, and cause them to return home quietly. He sent for Sheikh Mahmud El-'Id, one of the chief priests (or elders) of the Mountain, whose love of peace and security was well known, and commissioned him to go and advise them, and set them right, employing all possible means to effect that purpose. He went to them, and after much persuasion he received from their Sheikhs and Christians the promise to undertake nothing for the space of three days, founded upon the consideration that every pains was being taken to effect a reconciliation between the two nations; that delay expired without the accomplishment of that purpose, and then a fresh term of four days was arranged with them.

But, on Monday, the 20th of the month, as was arranged, as some Druse horsemen were picketed in the plain near Zahleh, a body of Zahleh horsemen fell upon them, and a battle was begun. The remaining bodies of Druses present themselves, gathered by degrees to the noise of the combat; fresh parties issued from Zahleh, and the flames of war raged outside of the village between them. Before very long, the bands of Zahleh retreated to the village, and introduced themselves there. The parties of Druses surrounded it, attacked it, and entered it with sword in hand. Those who were therein fled in disorder to the Mountain.

On Wednesday (20th June) the first of Zi'l-hija, news spread over most districts of the Mountain that fighting had occurred at Deir-el-Kamar, and that it was undergoing a siege. Then men began to flock there from places in the vicinity. When the more advanced parties of these gatherings arrived there, and shots began to be fired from the houses, a certain number of these were struck. Then it was they attacked the place, and took possession of the whole town, killing a large number of those Christians whom they found there.

When his Excellency the Governor of the Province heard of this, he instantly mounted his horse, and taking with him a part of the regular and of the hired troops, set out in haste for the village. On arriving there, he ordered the fighting to be stopped, and the evacuation of the place by the Druses, who were there. He then received information that affairs were in a critical state in the city and its environs; upon which he returned thitherwards, and, after

The report also contains information that the
subject has been involved in various activities,
including the purchase of a car, which was used
for the purpose of transporting individuals.

ILLINOIS
SOCIETY JULIAN FANE

of Musurus to Mr Hammond.—(Received September 17.)

Mon Cher M. Hammond, St. Leonards, le 17 Septembre, 1860.
JE m'empresse de vous transmettre, ci-jointe, la copie d'une dépêche télégraphique que je viens de recevoir de la Sublime Porte par l'entremise de l'Ambassade de Turquie à Vienne.

Votre, &c
 (Signé) C. MURUS.

Inclosure in No. 166

The Turkish Ambassador at Vienna to M. Musurus.

(Télégraphique.)

PAR un télégramme du 15 Septembre de la Sublime Porte, je suis chargé de vous communiquer ce qui suit

Vienne, le 16 Septembre, 1880.

"Plymouth, le 2 Septembre, 1860.

"Un expédition est arrivé à l'instant. Le Muechir Ahmed Aga, les Colonels en commandant à Halebaya et à Heir-el-Kamar, Osman Bey et Abdul Scam Bey, ainsi que d'autres officiers de haut rang, sont arrivés à Beyrouth, le 9 Septembre, 1860. Demain il entrera à Beyrouth; une brillante réception est préparée au représentant du Sultan.

(Sign4) "ALRO."

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant

No 7.)
Sir,
I HAVE to acquaint you that
Foreign Office, September 12, 1860.

I HAVE to request you that I am allowed to send
on the 24th of August 1860. A copy of the
document to the National Archives of the
Bank of the Marine & Commercial Bank of the
Christians during the late massacre at Damascus.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 19.)

(No. 6.)

My Lord,

Damascus, August 30, 1860.

Damascus, August 30, 1860.

No event of importance has occurred since I did myself the honor to call on the place on the 24th instant. About the 10th inst. a list of which I now inclose a translation, was forwarded to the Consulate, containing a list of the number of persons who have been made during the last week, but for four days past the Consulate has been levying contributions from among the able-bodied citizens. During seven or eight days the city of Damascus has failed to furnish the annual quota required, thus forming a debt of which his Excellency has now demanded payment. Up to to-day the troops have collected about 1,000 dollars, as well as other places of

& more of guile, these difficulties are by no means insuperable.
 His Excellency has been graciously pleased to

The Excellency has been receiving visits from several + + +
flourish district during the past week, and has been attain
old trial sent to

It is, in every point of view, that the Government should show itself capable of single-handed with its unruly subjects.

Further house accommodation for the population, who still crave protection. There seems to be a fuel at once in

The French authorities express much regret that their troops should have been accompanied by an

[illegible]

The approach of the caravan of pilgrims from Mecca, commonly designated "the Hajj," has just been announced by Saudi Arabia. It is expected that the Hajj will enter the city.

(Signed) I have, &c.
A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Memorandum.

(Translation.)

Persons condemned to death for having murdered Christians, and who have been hanged	56
Condemned to death for having joined in the outbreak with arms in hand—and who, as belonging to the irregular troops, or armed police, have been shot	1,111
Condemned to imprisonment for life, as having joined in the outbreak, with arms in hand, and who have been sent to Constantinople	132
Condemned to exile as having joined in the pillage, without arms	133
Condemned to hard labour for a fixed period, and detained at Damascus to be employed on roads	20
Condemned to death in their absence ("par contumace"), and who will be executed according as they fall into the hands of justice	22
Total	1,454

No. 169

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)

(No 7)

My Lord,

Damascus, September 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose notes of a conversation I yesterday held with his Excellency Fud Pasha, which will, I trust, explain the present position of affairs.

His Excellency seems very desirous that the French expedition should remain inactive for the present. No further executions have yet taken place; but about 500 persons in all, are expected daily.

A few conscripts are yet being taken, the required number of 2,000 not having been yet obtained.

The Christians seem alarmed at the prospect of Fud Pasha quitting Damascus, and the garrison is ample.

No event of any importance has occurred since my last report on the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure in No. 169

Notes of a Conversation held with Fud Pasha by Major Fraser, at Damascus, September 3, 1860.

HIS Excellency Fud Pasha having expressed a desire to see Mr. Consul Beaumont, I went to his residence, and after waiting some time, he came to see me. He said that he had no objection to my waiting upon the Pasha.

His Excellency said that he wished to state his intention of quitting Damascus for a short visit to Beyrout, rendered desirable in consequence of representations made by the French expeditionary force. That General Beaufort had sent Colonel Chanzy to intimate that the French force was now ready for any duty that might be required of it; that the General was very anxious of quitting Istanbul, as he was proving an useless encumbrance for the troops, and as they were eager to be employed, and been much excited by the reports of the Christian refugees in Beyrout, the General feared some unpleasant collision might occur between the French and the Maronite troops. That the General therefore intended to

a double purpose might be served if the French troops were permitted to proceed into Lebanon, taking with them the Christian refugees, and re-establishing them in their villages; but that in any case the General would be obliged to seek a position in some good military position where he might hope to preserve the health of his men.

To which statement his Excellency had replied, that he had no objection to General Beaufort's intention, but that it should be in the Kesrouan, the Maronite country, which was objected to, or, at all events, not in the country occupied by Druses, as his Excellency was particularly desirous of avoiding any collision until a plan of action had been decided, and due preparation made. His Excellency had further stated that he thought it better the Christians should not return to their villages until it were known whether military operations would be undertaken against the Druses or not, as in the former event the whole French force would be insufficient to guard the Christians, scattered, as they would be, through numerous villages, against the perils of Druse reprisals. His Excellency added, that in consequence of these representations he had decided to proceed himself to Beyrout about the 6th instant, with the view of personally examining what would be required. He also remarked that the French seemed bent on being employed, but he saw the greatest objection to their acting at all in the Kesrouan, or in the Maronite country, as should blow up, and it would be once exchanged between the French and the Druses, it was impossible to say what it might lead to, as the Hauran Druses would probably join the others, and a community of feeling might cause some of the Bedouin to join the Druses, so that, opposed to greatly superior numbers, the French honour might possibly become involved, when it would be quite impossible to say where the warfare or intervention might end.

With regard to the trials of criminals, his Excellency mentioned that those of Achmet, late Pasha, and of several military officers implicated at Hacheyra, Hacheyra, and Damascus, were closed, that the subordinate officers would shortly be executed, but that Achmet Pasha would in the meantime be reserved pending the trial of Kanoun and others. He also mentioned that the members of the Great Council of Damascus, who had now been arrested, in the hope that some light might be thrown on the nature of the relations subsisting between them. The conduct of the private soldiers at Hacheyra and elsewhere towards the widows and daughters of the slaughtered Christians, including the abduction of some, having been brought to his Excellency's notice, he said he had not before heard of these charges, that the men had been disbanded and incorporated in other corps, but were yet within reach, and that their conduct would be inquired into, as well as that of all military officers in any position of authority at places where massacres had taken place.

His Excellency repeated that he found himself in the greatest possible difficulty as regards the notables of the city, that he had received letters from all quarters begging him to strike quickly and severely at the leaders in late events, but that, notwithstanding all his desire to succeed, he had hitherto utterly failed in obtaining evidence sufficient for conviction; though hearsay evidence and general rumour were not wanting. That his position was deeply embarrassing, as it would hardly be believed in Europe that evidence against individuals of the higher class was so difficult to obtain in this country. He would willingly have formed a species of jury had he been able to find five men who could be trusted with such a duty, but he felt that such men as he could obtain would in all probability acquit every Moslem brought before them. He was therefore deterred that resource and had hitherto been obliged to conduct all the preliminary examinations himself, with the aid of his personal staff, in order to decide who should be sent before the Special Court constituted for the

His Excellency requesting to know whether I had any suggestion to make in this matter, I replied that it appeared to me he would economise his own valuable time, as well as be relieved from a very unpleasant responsibility, by causing functionaries accustomed to the collection and preparation of evidence to be sent from Constantinople, who could then devote themselves exclusively to this duty. That I had also heard it said by others that although the "Mukhtars" (or chiefs of quarters) might be unwilling to give lists of compromised persons belonging to their own quarter, they would not make the same

difficulty regarding those of adjoining quarters, and that in this way much information might be obtained. His Excellency said he would consider these plans, yet he feared he would never be able to satisfy European Governments: that he proposed, however, to continue his present investigations, try such offenders as he could discover, reserving their sentence; that he would then report what he had done, with his opinions of each case; if these were approved sentence could be passed and executed; if not, further investigation might be prosecuted. But that, in any case, he felt it would be necessary in the interest of the Ottoman Government itself to exile for ever from Damascus those influential persons who had been at all compromised by their attitude in the recent outbreak, even where there was no distinct proof of overt acts. That with regard to the property of those executed, including in several instances plunder taken during late events, he had, pending a reference to Constantinople, placed it under sequestration, direct confiscation not being permitted by the Ottoman Code.

I have taken the opportunity in an interview with His Excellency to explain to him the views of the Government on the subject of the late events, and to state that I would carry out the instructions therein given me by your Lordship to the best of my ability. I beg to enclose copies of three despatches to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte—the two last reporting, amongst other events of public interest, the arrival at Beyrout and reception of Lord Dufferin, and his Lordship's departure for Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 170.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)
(No. 59.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 7, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 1 of the 17th ultimo, relative to Lord Dufferin's mission to Syria as Her Majesty's Commissioner, and to state that I will carry out the instructions therein given me by your Lordship to the best of my ability.

I beg to enclose copies of three despatches to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte—the two last reporting, amongst other events of public interest, the arrival at Beyrout and reception of Lord Dufferin, and his Lordship's departure for Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 170.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, September 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Lumley's despatches, acquainting me with the receipt of telegrams by your Excellency from Lord John Russell to authorize me to draw the former for 3,000*l.* and the latter for 2,000*l.* more on Messrs. Heywood, Kennard, & Co., for the relief of distressed Syrians.

With reference to the concluding part of Lord John Russell's telegram, signed in your Excellency's No. 22, I beg to state that I have already acknowledged to his Lordship in No. 33 to him, inclosure in my despatch of the 16th August to your Excellency, the receipt of authority to draw for the sums previously announced, amounting in all to 2,700*l.*, exclusive of the 3,000*l.* now acknowledged.

I draw for sums on account according to the requirements of the Beirut Commission.

I have also drawn on Lord John Russell for the 200*l.* Government donation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 170.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, September 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch No. 38, with inclosures, to Lord John Russell.

I Pasha, who had sent a guard of honour to meet him, accompanied him to the landing-place, and accompany him to the Serai.

Five hundred conscripts of the number recently taken by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, on account of arrears for the army for the past eight years, arrived from Damascus handcuffed, and were embarked yesterday on board a Turkish steamer for conveyance to Constantinople.

French transport "Ganges" also arrived here yesterday towed by French steamer, the "Indus." A battalion of the 5th Regiment conveyed in her landed this morning. The "Indus" is laden with stores for the army of occupation.

Some Mohammedans of Acre have been arrested and brought to Beyrout for trial suspected to be the authors of the placard found affixed to the door of the Greek Church at that place, referred to in the inclosure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 170.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, September 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 26th ultimo, acquainting me with the arrival of Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, and giving me certain instructions relative to his Lordship's mission to Syria, to which I beg to say that I will carry out to the best of my ability.

I have already reported in my despatch of the 3rd instant, Lord Dufferin's arrival at Beyrout on the 2nd instant. I had made the necessary arrangements with the Authorities for his proper reception on landing, previously to which Ahmet

Pasha at my suggestion, had sent an officer of rank on board to compliment his Lordship.

And I have been informed of some days that will elapse before the arrival of the French Commissioner at Damascus, accompanied by the Turkish military escort, they were accompanied from the French camp to the town by a detachment of French Hussars, with drawn sabres. This is said to have been done to prevent the repetition of the disorders which occurred on the occasion of the last arrival of conscripts, and of the insulting language and demeanour used by them towards the French Emperor and nation, and Europeans in general. On that occasion, amongst other incidents, a Damascene Christian pointed out one of the conscripts, exclaiming, "This is the murderer of my brother," with a gesture of rage, when a Turkish soldier first struck him, and then inflicted a bayonet wound on him. Some French soldiers who were looking on seized the Turkish soldier, and carried him to their Commanding Officer, who sent him to the Serai, where he was tried and punished. Several of these conscripts have been allowed, by order of Fuad Pasha, to buy themselves out for 20,000 piastres per man; none of these are stated to have been amongst the murderers in the late massacre. The Christians say that these men can well afford to pay 20,000 piastres out of the plunder of their co-religionists.

From the accounts I have received from the French Commissioner at certain points, and a joint night-patrol established to prevent collision between the French and Turkish soldiery and townspeople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 171.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)
(No. 4.)
My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Damascus post came in this morning. My letter announces the arrival in that city of Lord Dufferin, on Thursday, the 5th instant. Fuad Pasha had not then left for Beyrout, which will enable Her Majesty's Commissioner to see his Excellency. This day is mentioned for the departure of Fuad Pasha for this place. Major Fraser writes me that the T. at Hama ya, and Rashaya and Deir el Kanar would probably be executed soon. Ahmed Pasha's sentence was still unpublished, being, it was stated, reserved until the trial of Khorsheed Pasha also be completed.

The object of Fuad Pasha's visit to Beyrout is understood to have reference—firstly, to the French expedition, and secondly, to meet the Commissioners of the Great Powers, and ascertain the objects of their mission, and the nature of the relations to subsist between his Excellency and those gentlemen. Certain it is that the French General is becoming impatient of the inactivity to which he has hitherto been subjected, and has expressed the same to Fuad Pasha.

The Turkish functionaries in Syria appear to be totally unaware of the

No. 172.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)

(No. 4.)
My Lord,

Beyrout, September 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Damascus post came in this morning. My letter announces the arrival in that city of Lord Dufferin, on Thursday, the 5th instant. Fuad Pasha had not then left for Beyrout, which will enable Her Majesty's Commissioner to see his Excellency. This day is mentioned for the departure of Fuad Pasha for this place. Major Fraser writes me that the T. at Hama ya, and Rashaya and Deir el Kanar would probably be executed soon. Ahmed Pasha's sentence was still unpublished, being, it was stated, reserved until the trial of Khorsheed Pasha also be completed.

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Certain it is that the French General is becoming impatient of the inactivity to which he has hitherto been subjected, and has expressed the same to Fuad Pasha.

The Turkish functionaries in Syria appear to be totally unaware of the

appointment of European Commissioners to Syria. When I announced to Ahmed Pasha, the Governor-General of Beyrout, Lord Dufferin's arrival and his Lordship's mission, the Pasha professed entire ignorance of everything relating thereto.

Yesterday a further batch of about 500 conscripts from Damascus reached Beyrout, on their way to the capital. They passed through the town handcuffed; besides the Turkish military escort, they were accompanied from the French camp to the town by a detachment of French Hussars, with drawn sabres. This is said to have been done to prevent the repetition of the disorders which occurred on the occasion of the last arrival of conscripts, and of the insulting language and demeanour used by them towards the French Emperor and nation, and Europeans in general. On that occasion, amongst other incidents, a Damascene Christian pointed out one of the conscripts, exclaiming, "This is the murderer of my brother," with a gesture of rage, when a Turkish soldier first struck him, and then inflicted a bayonet wound on him. Some French soldiers who were looking on seized the Turkish soldier, and carried him to their Commanding Officer, who sent him to the Serai, where he was tried and punished. Several of these conscripts have been allowed, by order of Fuad Pasha, to buy themselves out for 20,000 piastres per man; none of these are stated to have been amongst the murderers in the late massacre. The Christians say that these men can well afford to pay 20,000 piastres out of the plunder of their co-religionists.

From the accounts I have received from the French Commissioner at certain points, and a joint night-patrol established to prevent collision between the French and Turkish soldiery and townspeople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 172.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)

(No. 6.)

My Lord,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, respecting the state of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYNE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 172.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency with my arrival in this city.

Although I did not anticipate that any inconvenience would be likely to arise from my visit to Damascus, I thought it prudent to acquaint his Excellency Fuad Pasha with my intention, stating, at the same time, that I came quite in an unofficial capacity, and that should his Excellency be of opinion that it would be at all undesirable I should persevere in my project, I should at once return, and in the meantime would wait on the road, to learn his pleasure; his Excellency having invited me to proceed, I entered the city on the afternoon of Thursday last, and during my stay I have been informed that his Excellency was himself about to proceed to Beyrout, I waited on him at once, in order that my arrival might not in any degree disarrange his plans. I had, however, the satisfaction of learning that other causes had already induced him to postpone his departure for some little time longer.

His Excellency then proceeded to give me an account of the way in which he had dealt with the persons implicated in the late massacres at Damascus.

Mr. Brant will have already informed your Excellency of the nature of these punishments. Fifty-six persons have been hanged on the charge of murder; 111 irregular soldiers have been shot on the charge of having taken part in the emente, 139 have been condemned to the galleys for life; 145 have been exiled on the charge of plundering; 186 have been condemned to hard labour for a term of years; and sentence of death has been recorded against 83 persons who have escaped. A considerable number are in prison awaiting their trial.

Other measures of severity have been initiated, and I have the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information, a statement furnished me by Fuad Pasha, of the various acts of rigour which he had thought necessary since his arrival. For the last three weeks there have been no executions.

In reply to some further inquiries, his Excellency was good enough to inform me, that Osman Bey, who had commanded at Hasbeys, Mohammed Ali Bey, and Ali Bey who was in charge of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus, had been condemned to death, and would probably be shortly executed.

In regard to the fate of Ahmet Pasha, his Excellency seemed still undecided, and in mentioning his name was even careful to speak almost in a laudatory manner, of certain arrangements the ex-Governor had made previous to the outbreak.

On presenting myself to his Excellency, I had taken the precaution of explaining to him, that I had no official communication to make to him whatever, that my instructions were to act in concert with my colleagues, and that if I now ventured to wait upon him he must consider my visit merely that of a former friend and a future colleague. Yesterday he was good enough to come and see me at the house. He has been so kind as to receive me under his roof. During the course of this second conversation, which was also understood to be of an unofficial character, his Excellency

has been so good as to furnish me with a copy of which he had lately received. The Commission was itself to become a tribunal, before whom the accused were to appear. He was to supercede his own, as Military and Civil Governor of the Province, coupling his inquiries with a request that I should refer the matter directly to my Government, and inform them, that his proposal was, "That he should be allowed to adjudicate on the cases brought before him, becoming himself responsible to the Commission, for the manner in which he carried on the investigation, that on the same terms he should be permitted to determine on the mode of conducting the military operations against the Druses, and that before the Commission the discussion of any arrangements for the future. It should be competent for him to take the initiative, submitting to their consideration, whatever plan of his own he might be prepared to propose." I replied, that of course I could not state in what way the Commission might eventually interpret their instructions, but that, in my private opinion, I should expect that they would be anxious to adopt whatever course would be most likely to preserve, in the eyes of its subjects, the dignity of the Porte and the authority of its Representative. I ventured to add, that I felt assured that the sole object which His Government had at heart, was that the Commission should act in a manner

On taking leave, his Excellency informed me, that the officers he had designated to me on the previous evening as having been condemned to death would probably be shortly executed, and he even implied, though very vaguely, that Ahmet Pasha might possibly have to share their fate.

With the little information I have as yet had time to acquire, it would be premature for me to hazard an opinion as to the character of Fuad Pasha's policy. There is one fact, however, to which I would venture to draw your Excellency's attention.

He has been actually executed on a charge of murder: now the lowest computation places the number of Christians massacred in Damascus alone, at 5,000; it is impossible to suppose but that the numbers of the murderers, at all events, equalled the number of their victims. It would not, however, be an improbable conjecture, that in the death of every Christian, at least three Moslems were concerned.

for the butchery seems not to have been conducted by hands of men, proceeding successively from street to street, but to have taken place simultaneously in every part of the Christian quarter. This would raise the number of those who are probably guilty of murder, to 15,000 persons. But murder was not the only description of crime committed; to murder was superadded an universal pillage, the looting of houses, the burning of churches, and the most atrocious cruelty. I have been assured by a person, on whose authority I could rely, that there is but a small proportion of Christian girls in all Damascus who have not been ravished. It would certainly seem that fifty-six executions bear but an inadequate relation to the number of guilt persons and the enormity of their crimes.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, Fuad Pasha has been so good as to furnish me with a copy of which he had lately received. The Commission was itself to become a tribunal, before whom the accused were to appear. He was to supercede his own, as Military and Civil Governor of the Province, coupling his inquiries with a request that I should refer the matter directly to my Government, and inform them, that his proposal was, "That he should be allowed to adjudicate on the cases brought before him, becoming himself responsible to the Commission, for the manner in which he carried on the investigation, that on the same terms he should be permitted to determine on the mode of conducting the military operations against the Druses, and that before the Commission the discussion of any arrangements for the future. It should be competent for him to take the initiative, submitting to their consideration, whatever plan of his own he might be prepared to propose." I replied, that of course I could not state in what way the Commission might eventually interpret their instructions, but that, in my private opinion, I should expect that they would be anxious to adopt whatever course would be most likely to preserve, in the eyes of its subjects, the dignity of the Porte and the authority of its Representative. I ventured to add, that I felt assured that the sole object which His Government had at heart, was that the Commission should act in a manner

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

P.S.—I have just received intelligence that Ahmet Pasha, Colonel Ali Bey, Colonel Osman Bey, and Mohammed Ali Agha, have been shot. The executions are not public.

D. AND C

Inclosure 2 in No. 172

Memorandum.

Damas, le 8 Septembre, 1860.

Le lendemain de l'arrivée de son Excellence Fuad Pasha, occupation de chaque quartier de la ville, pour arrêter les émeutiers, assassins, pillards, &c. Ces Commissions ont parvenues à arrêter après quatre ou cinq jours de travail 800 personnes environ, qui ont été remises au Tribunal Extraordinaire, de fonctionnaires amenés de Constantinople. Les arrestations ont continué depuis ce jour là. L'Ecole Militaire de la ville a été transformée en casernes militaires ou bureaux, formation d'une Commission pour l'arrestation des vivres, de l'argent, et des effets aux Chrétiens. Les individus qui ont massacré les frères et le père d'une jeune fille, qui a été par l'un d'eux et avoir été possédée à tour de rôle, par ces émeutiers, qui ont été pendus. Sur la condamnation du Tribunal Extraordinaire chargé de juger les personnes incriminées, 111 personnes ont été fusillées, 56 pendues, 145 condamnées à l'exil, 186 aux travaux forcés, et employées aux travaux de construction de routes, 83 à mort, par contumace. Parmi ceux qui ont été exécutés on trouve 11 Chrétiens, 11 Moslems, 11 Juifs, 11 Grecs, 11 Arméniens, 11 Syriens, 11 Libanais, 11 Palestiniens, 11 Égyptiens, 11 Turcs, 11 Albanais, 11 Grecs, 11 Arméniens, 11 Syriens, 11 Libanais, 11 Palestiniens, 11 Égyptiens, 11 Turcs, 11 Albanais.

Le 15 Août, ordonnance portée à la connaissance du public, et mettant en demeure tous les habitants de la ville et de la campagne, à remettre aux autorités locales les hommes, femmes, et enfants même ayant embrassé l'islamisme qu'ils retiendraient chez eux. Toute personne contrevenant à cet état déclaré coupable de révolte et condamnée à mort. Tous les Chrétiens, un nombre de 500 environ, qui avaient de gré ou de force embrassé l'islamisme, ont été mis en demeure de retourner dans la religion de leurs pères. Trois quartiers Musulmans ont été évacués et mis à la disposition des Chrétiens, qui y sont installés ou s'y installent. Une maison a été mise à leur disposition, pour servir de chapelle à tous les rites Chrétiens.

Ordonnance condamnant la ville de Damas à fournir 2,000 hommes à l'armée Impériale. Prix de rachat fixé à 20,000 piastres, de ceux qui se trouvent en dehors de 2,000 conscrits et qui appartiennent à des familles nobles. Plus de 1,000 hommes expédiés déjà à Beyrouth pour être dirigés vers Constantinople.

Arrestations journalières pour la conscription. Emprisonnement des personnes
 1. Lex-Muchir Ahmed Agas,
 2. Le Lieutenant-Colonel Ali Bey, Commandant lors des événements, le
 quartier Chretien de Damas;
 3. Le Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant la garnison de
 Hasbéya;
 4. Le Chef de bataillon Mehemmed Ali Agha, Commandant la garnison de
 Hasbéya.

En outre le Sous-Commandant de la garnison de Hasbéya, Mehemmed Ali
 Agas, et le Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant la garnison de
 Hasbéya.

En outre le Sous-Commandant de la garnison de Hasbéya, Mehemmed Ali
 Agas, et le Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant la garnison de
 Hasbéya.

En outre le Sous-Commandant de la garnison de Hasbéya, Mehemmed Ali
 Agas, et le Lieutenant-Colonel Osman Bey, Commandant la garnison de
 Hasbéya.

Id. id. Havis Agha, Sous-Commandant de Deir-el-Camar

Incluse 3 in No. 172

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

IN reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, marked confidential,
 into the honour to which I am entitled, I am to the conclu-
 sion that, however desirable I might consider it to be that Fuad Pasha
 act as independently and as energetically as possible in reference to
 unfortunate persons convicted of such atrocious crimes, yet that my instruc-
 tions would not justify me in allowing him to suppose either that yourself or
 Her Majesty's Government were prepared to indicate to him the course
 which he should pursue.

I therefore determined, unless he should seem disposed to commit himself
 publicly to too lenient a sentence, in which case I should have entreated him
 to pause until the Commission was assembled, to act with extreme cau-
 tion and to content myself with ascertaining in favour of what course he him-
 self seemed to incline.

On the occasion of the first conversation I had with him he appeared to
 me to desire to speak of Ahmed Pasha with some slight degree of favour,
 though he admitted his guilt was of a nature to deserve the punishment
 death. The next day, however, when his Excellency was good enough to
 call on me, his tone in regard to him seemed somewhat changed.
 He had thought of ordering his immediate execution. I
 hinted of such a course I could do nothing to discourage him, and I even
 permitted myself the remark, that the greater the vigour he displayed the less
 occasion would the Commission find for usurping his authority.

I cannot but think that his Excellency has come to a judicious decision,
 and I trust that your Excellency will give me permission to intimate to him
 your approval of his conduct.

It has become necessary Fuad Pasha should leave Damascus for Beyrout.
 His absence will, probably, last a considerable time. During the interim it
 was desirable he should secure the tranquillity of the city by an exhibition of
 severity, which should renew the impression caused by the vigour of his acts
 when he first arrived, but which time was beginning to efface. For re-
 sults remained to be seen.
 It would be wished that so great a responsibility as that entailed by the execution of
 Pasha should be assumed by the proper person before the arrival of the
 Commission, and lastly, this supreme act of justice became a not unjust

conclusion for the first act in the terrible drama which has been displayed in
 his country.

The French Consul here, M. Outrey, a remarkably clever man, expressed
 to me his regret at what he called Fuad Pasha's undue precipitation, but I
 did not think it necessary to controvert his views. In M. Outrey's opinion, the
 massacres at Damascus are connected with something which has proceeded
 from Constantinople. He even goes so far as to attribute them, not
 to the general policy of the Porte; and he argues that, by Ahmed Pasha's
 sufficient reply to this objection to state, that the pending trials of
 K... Pasha... should it indeed exist, would give ample opportu-

I am convinced that, in ordering the execution of Ahmed Pasha, his
 Excellency will have already inaugurated.

I have, &c.
 to which it may be necessary for the Commission to urge him hereafter will
 appear to occur less at their dictation than as the natural sequence of a line
 of policy his Excellency will have already inaugurated.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Incluse 4 in N 172

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, in compliance with
 the instructions contained in a despatch from Lord John Russell, No. 8 of
 14th ultimo, immediately on my arrival at Damascus, I brought under
 Pasha's consideration the case of the unfortunate girls and women that
 supposed to have been carried off to Moslem harems during the late
 disturbances. In reply, his Excellency assured me, that in consequence of
 having denounced the penalty of death against every Moslem who should
 my Christian woman, he had reason to believe that all those

child has so
 in fa

distances by Kurds and others, and will probably be sold. In the mean-
 time I have taken measures to ascertain, both at Beyrout and at Damascus,
 the number and the names of the missing girls and children of both sexes.
 One other chance presented itself, which I have not thought it prudent to

resident at Damascus an English lady, now married to an
 peculiar position she has free access to the native
 more than any other European. She has been good enough to promise to
 me every effort to second our endeavours, and I have intimated to her that
 I should be ready to place a certain sum of money at her disposal, to be
 employed in procuring suitable emissaries to discover where the poor unfor-
 tunates remaining in Damascus may be hid.

I confess I do not anticipate great success from her exertions, but it
 that perhaps through her instrumentality alone could anything be
 achieved.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 172.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

I THINK it is as well to report to your Excellency the substance of a conversation I had with M. de Beaufort d'Hautpoul, the General in command of the French troops at Beyrout. The General having been good enough to call upon me at Paris, immediately upon my arrival in Syria, I proceeded to return his visit. During the course of our conversation, which was strictly of an unofficial character, he informed me that he and his army having remained inactive for three weeks at Beyrout, and the Druses still being in the possession of Maronite villages, within an hour's march of his camp, while their unfortunate inhabitants were lying about the streets of the town; he had communicated to Fuad Pasha his intention of commencing the campaign on his own responsibility, unless his Excellency would at once indicate to him in what way he wished to employ him. I am bound to add that nothing could be more different than the language in which this somewhat energetic resolve was expressed. It is in consequence of this summons on the part of the French General that Fuad Pasha has started this evening for Beyrout. His Excellency stated incidentally to me that the impatience of the French General caused him great uneasiness, that he was afraid any premature movement upon the part of the French troops might compromise the arrangements he himself had made for conducting the campaign against the Druses, and that it was his object to use his utmost endeavours to induce M. de Beaufort to postpone his intentions until the arrival of the Commissioners.

I believe Fuad Pasha's plan is to intercept the escape of the Druses from the Lebanon to the Hauran, by an intervening cordon composed of both tribes.

In a few days I shall be able to give your Excellency fuller information on this point.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 6 in No. 172.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a confidential despatch I have addressed to his Excellency Fuad Pasha on subject of Mr. Graham's murder.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 7 in No. 172.

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha.

Excellence,

Damascus, 10 September 8, 1860.

J'AI l'honneur de remettre à votre Excellence une brève note à l'égard du meurtre de M. Graham, un de nos Missionnaires.

Votre Excellence s'apercevra qu'il y a quelque incertitude sur l'identité du meurtrier.

Cela ne sert pas nous étonner lorsqu'on réfléchit sur les circonstances dans lesquelles le crime fut commis, et que peut-être pas un seul de ceux qui ont été témoins du meurtre ne trouve dans son intérêt de dénoncer le criminel et de le mettre entre les mains de la justice.

En même temps il n'existe pas la moindre doute qu'il y a plusieurs personnes qui seraient à même de donner à votre Excellence les renseignements nécessaires sur ce sujet, et j'espère que par les efforts et le zèle de la justice

vos Excellences apprendra pour certain les noms des individus qui sont coupables, et parviendra à les faire arrêter.

J'espère que votre Excellence me pardonnera si j'affirme que je le regarde comme une mesure de première importance que les meurtriers de ce monsieur soient punis avec la dernière sévérité.

Votre Excellence ne manquera pas de voir quel c'est absolument nécessaire que la population de Damas soit convaincue que la Porte est résolu d'entourer de la protection la plus inviolable les personnes de tous les Européens qui se trouvent dans la ville. Les Chrétiens de ce province peuvent au moins se fier pour leur sécurité à leur connaissance de la langue et des mœurs du pays, mais la sécurité attachée à sa personne par le Gouvernement Ottoman, j'oserais ainsi soumettre à votre Excellence que si vous eussiez la bonne fortune de rencontrer les meurtriers de M. Graham, il serait à désirer que l'exécution soit conduite d'une manière si publique et si formelle qu'elle fasse une impression permanente sur la population de Damas, et qu'elle leur soit à jamais un exemple du danger qui leur attend si ils osent mettre leur main sur un Européen.

Mais laissant le dénouement de cette triste affaire entre les mains de votre Excellence, je me tourne à l'accomplissement d'un devoir beaucoup plus agréable.

C'est celui de remercier votre Excellence de l'aimable et gracieuse réception que vous avez bien voulu me donner. Je ne dirai pas combien j'ai su apprécier la manière bienveillante dans laquelle votre Excellence m'a fait sentir que c'est votre désir d'établir les relations que j'aurai l'honneur d'avoir avec vous sur le pied d'une amitié sincère et cordiale.

Je puis vous assurer que rien ne manquera de ma part pour mériter votre confiance.

En quittant l'Angleterre mon Gouvernement m'a prévenu qu'il était son désir que tous mes efforts soient dirigés à maintenir l'autorité de votre Excellence dans l'exécution de vos tristes devoirs, et il n'est pas nécessaire de vous dire avec quelle cordialité je m'empresse d'accomplir cette tâche.

Qu'à regretter que l'appui et l'encouragement que mon Gouvernement me donne ne soit moins efficace qu'il n'aurait pu l'être si quelque chose d'une plus grande expérience ou d'un plus haut rang n'était pour le représenter.

Encore à en la bonté de me dire que je pourrai me permettre de vous adresser seulement en ma capacité officielle de Commissaire de Sa Majesté, mais aussi comme votre ami personnel.

En faisant part à votre Excellence de tous en tous des vœux de mon Gouvernement j'espère que ne m'oubliera jamais la dévotion et le respect qui m'attachent à votre position, aux grands talents, et au caractère personnel de votre Excellence, et si jamais j'oserais profiter de la permission que vous m'avez donnée de soumettre à votre considération mes opinions particulières sur un sujet quelconque je prierais votre Excellence de se rappeler que c'est votre bonté qui m'aura encouragé et que ce sera avec la plus haute appréciation de l'indulgence de votre Excellence que j'oserais profiter d'un tel privilège.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 173

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell, — (Received September 21)

(No. 601.)

My Lord,

Therapia, September 12, 1860.

IMMEDIATELY on the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 455 of August 30, on the subject of the unfortunate women who were carried off by the Druses, I addressed an official note to Fuad Pasha, and a despatch to Lord Dufferin, copies of which I have the honour to inclose herewith.

I also wrote to Fuad Pasha in the sense of your Lordship's instruction, and I doubt not that his Excellency, in conjunction with his colleagues, will use his utmost efforts in rescuing these unfortunate persons from their lamentable situation.

I have, &c.
H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 173.

Sir H. Bulwer to Ash Pasha

Sir,

Therapia, September 11, 1860.

YOUR Highness is no doubt already aware that Her Majesty's Government considers the condition of the unfortunate Christian women who have been carried off by the Druses and other rebels as the question which demands the earliest attention of the Commissioners sent to Syria, and that Lord Dufferin is instructed to press upon Fuad Pasha and his European colleagues the necessity of taking immediate measures for rescuing from their lamentable situation those unfortunate women whose sufferings call forth the strongest feelings of sympathy on the part of all Christian nations.

I am therefore instructed by Her Majesty's Government to press this matter most urgently on the Porte, and to say that it admits of no delay; and at the same time to request that the necessary instructions be at once forwarded to Fuad Pasha directing him, in conjunction with his European colleagues, to take prompt measures for attaining the object in view, and also for taking such steps as may appear most advisable in order to provide for the maintenance of these poor women until they can find permanent homes and means of subsistence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 173

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Therapia, September 11, 1860.

YOU are already aware of the views of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Christian women who have been carried off by the Druses and other rebels, and whose condition demands the earliest attention of the Commissioners.

I have the honor to enclose herewith a précis of late despatches addressed to me by Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria having reference to passing events in that province. I leave the matter in your hands, and I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
H. L. BULWER.

No. 174.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 21.)
(No. 602.)

My Lord,

Therapia, September 12, 1860.

I HAVE the honor to inclose, herewith, a précis of late despatches addressed to me by Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria having reference to passing events in that province.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Précis of late Despatches from Her Majesty's Consuls in Syria to Sir H. Bulwer, up to August 29.

PROPER measures have been taken by the Turkish authorities to put a stop to disorders in the neighbourhood of Sidon and to coerce the Druses if necessary.

The ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus has been sent back to Damascus with the other military officers, under arrest, to take their trial.

About 5,100 French troops, including 200 cavalry, have arrived at Beyrout. Immense stores and ammunition, and mules for the carriages of field-pieces. The French occupation is viewed with the utmost aversion by the Mahomedans, whilst the Christians are overjoyed at the arrival of the French. Neither Christians nor Mussulmans disguise their feelings. The imitation of the latter is out occasionally in sneers and insults to the former, but owing to the timely arrival of Ahmed Kaserli Pasha, and the energetic steps taken by him, added to a proclamation issued by him, no disturbances are likely to occur in Beyrout.

But, on the one hand, relief and security have followed the appearance of English troops, whose presence, people say, would have calmed and reassured the Mahomedans.

News from Damascus is satisfactory—the executions had commenced. On the 20th instant a considerable number of noters, including some notables, were got and shot—and a large number also of the less guilty were to be sent as prisoners to Beyrout for embarkation for Constantinople.

The Druses continue to maintain the same attitude and determination as before.

Persons arrested continue to be sent to Beyrout, and will be given to Mr. Brant.

The ex-Seraskier has been tried, but his sentence is not yet pronounced. Osman Bey of Hasbey is under trial. Sheikh Abdalshah-el-Halabee, of the Ulema of Damascus, and considered as a Saint, has been arrested, which has created much sensation. Mufli Ghazee Efendi, Mohamed Said Bey, both very influential men, have also been taken. 2,000 Christian families are lodged in one of the best Turkish quarters of the city, and three other Moslem quarters are to be given up for the Christians.

At the suggestion of Mr. Brant that the property of the condemned should be confiscated, in order to compensate the Christians, Fuad Pasha said that confiscation was no longer legal.

General d'Hautpoul proposes going to Damascus to see Fuad Pasha.

Attempts are being made by the French party to establish Christian rule throughout the Lebanon under a Shehab, and Emir Mejid and Emir Kafs are candidates spoken of.

No 175

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No 529.)

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, September 22, 1860.

I SAW M. Mazuray yesterday, and expressed to him a qualified satisfaction at the punishments inflicted by Fuad Pasha at Damascus.

I pointed out to him that Khorsad Pasha had not yet been tried, and that the Christians driven from their homes had not yet returned to them.

No. 176.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 22.)

(No. 1,238.)

My Lord,

Paris, September 21, 1860.

I HAVE spoken to M. Thouvenel, as instructed by your Lordship's despatch No. 907 of the 15th instant, relative to the French forces in Syria, with a view of ascertaining how long they were likely to remain, and whether it would be necessary to reinforce them.

M. Thouvenel replied that he was without any information which would enable him to answer my questions. I had accidentally seen the Minister of War previously, and I had put similar questions to his Excellency, who answered as M. Thouvenel had done. General Beaufort, he added, had gone to Damascus to put himself in communication with Fuad Pasha, and his next reports would probably throw more light upon the future. Marshal Randon did not anticipate the necessity of sending reinforcements unless operations were to be undertaken by the European troops. Fuad Pasha was said to be at the head of 15,000 men, a force amply sufficient to keep the country quiet.

M. Thouvenel appeared to think that the Commission would best be enabled to judge when the French troops could return, and he expressed apprehensions that this would hardly be possible for the moment, as there would be great danger of a reaction on their departure.

I reminded M. Thouvenel that the season was fast approaching when the coast of Syria would become dangerous for the squadrons, and when the landing of reinforcements would become a matter of difficulty, and I said that were it deemed necessary to send reinforcements Her Majesty's Government were prepared to furnish a part of them. His Excellency expressed great satisfaction at this announcement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 177.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 981.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 22, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 123 of the 21st instant, reporting a conversation with M. Thouvenel with reference to the stay of the French troops in Syria, and the number of troops specified in the Convention, of which, in case they were required, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to send a portion.

I have no doubt that the French troops, if they are to be sent, will be late for the safe landing of such reinforcements on the coast of Syria, and Her Majesty's Government's hope they will not be needed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 178.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 24.)

My Lord,

Thessalon, September 12, 1860.

I ENCLOSE herewith a copy of the despatch of the British Commissioner to the Ottoman Government, dated the 10th inst., in which I have expressed my opinion on the subject of the reinforcements to be sent to Syria. I think it probable that the Ottoman Government will be prepared to furnish a portion of the reinforcements.

I am going to speak to Fuad Pasha on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 178.

List of Persons condemned to Death by Fuad Pasha.

[See Inclosure in No. 168.]

No. 179.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

No. 179.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 24, 1860.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 6 of the 8th instant, inclosing a copy of your several despatches of the 8th of September addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, respecting the state of affairs in Syria, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your views as reported in those despatches.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 180.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 26.)

No. 180.

My Lord,

Beirut, September 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information a copy of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, in conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 2 of July 31.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 180.

*Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.**Beirut, September 3, 1860.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I arrived here yesterday afternoon on the yacht, which his Highness El Hami Pasha, son-in-law to the Sultan, a personal friend of my own, was good enough to place at my disposal.

The British Commissioner had not been appointed when I quitted Constantinople. The Russian and Prussian Commissioners were not to leave that city until the 5th instant, and the steamer which is to bring M. Bédard to Alexandria is still at anchor in this bay; it is not probable, therefore, that a mission can meet for another eight or ten days.

Under these circumstances I propose, in obedience to my instructions, to put myself at once into communication with his Excellency Fuad Pasha, the Ottoman Commissioner, and to employ the time which must necessarily elapse before the arrival of the Commissioners in the study of the state of the country.

With this double object in view, I have arranged to start to-night for Beirut. I shall remain there probably three or four days, and then return to Beirut in time to meet my colleagues on their arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Balfour.

8 r.

Beirut, September 1, 1860

IMMEDIATELY upon my arrival at Beyrout I put myself into confidential communication with Admiral Martin, the Commander-in-chief, and with Mr. Moore, Her Majesty's Consul-General.

I have been informed by these gentlemen, and a private letter addressed to me by Major Fraser from Damascus, under date of the 30th of August, confirms their report, that Achmet Pasha, late Governor of the city, has been tried, condemned, and sentenced, but that his sentence, whatever it may be, has not been yet made public.

Your Excellency has been good enough to instruct me that, in my opinion it is a matter of great importance that a due measure of justice should

occurred in this unhappy province. The instructions I have received from home are conceived in the same spirit. Under these circumstances it seems to me desirable that I should lose no time in communicating to his Excellency, Fuad Pasha your Excellency's opinions and the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the line of conduct it is expected he will pursue towards the man, in whose imbecility, or to whose connivance the atrocities committed at Damascus may be mainly attributed.

In delaying to pronounce sentence upon this egregious offender, his Excellency may be influenced either by a desire to await the arrival of the Commission in order to compel them to share the odium he is likely to incur by a due severity upon a personage of such rank and importance as the Pasha, or by a habit of hesitation not I believe altogether foreign to his Excellency's character.

In the event of the first supposition proving correct, I shall venture to submit to his Excellency's consideration whether it might not be very undesirable that so grave a function as the punishment of crime should appear to be exercised at foreign dictation rather than proceed from the spontaneous

Government for the express purpose of assuming the execution of full and speedy justice on the guilty. If, on the other hand, I should perceive the delay to arise from hindrances of purpose, or an ill-placed regard to clemency, I shall endeavour to represent to his Excellency that the cause of humanity will be best served by such a signal example being now given as will be calculated to prevent for the future any dereliction of duty on the part of persons placed in high authority, and the consequent reputation of similar acts of outrage.

It is possible, however, that the intentions of the Turkish High Commissioner may be of a different nature. As yet, I believe, Fuad Pasha has dealt with few or none but native Syrians. The degree of punishment he prepared to mete out to the big or Turkish officials implicated in the commission of these crimes is as yet unknown. It is possible he may seek by the execution of a mass of menial criminals to engage Europe to remit its partiality with which she is prepared to insist on the punishment of those who from their high station were most responsible for what has occurred. The sentence he now holds over the head of Achmet Pasha may be an expiation not altogether to disappoint the expectation of the Christian Government, yet that sentence once promulgated, and his Excellency once publicly committed to it, it would be become almost irrevocable.

In the contemplation of such a contingency that I have considered it my duty to take the earliest opportunity of pressing on the consideration of his Excellency the opinions your Excellency has wished me to convey to him. I trust that my representations are ineffectual, that it is impossible to induce his Excellency to refrain from exhibiting a lenity as inconsistent as it is partial. I shall entreat him, at all events, to pause before he compromises his liberty of action, by publicly committing himself to a sentence he might hereafter be anxious to recall, until he shall have had an opportunity of consulting with the European Commissioners now on their way to Syria. It is most

inspiration, that the justice of the Porte should appear to be the result of foreign interference but even this is a lesser evil than that an attempt should be made to whitewash, in the blood of an ignorant and fanatical populace, the responsible personages who either instigated or connived at their crimes.

In bringing this subject under his Excellency's notice, I shall, of course, abstain from indicating the character of the penalty it might be able to inflict on the late Governor of Damascus. That must be measured by the nature of his guilt, and the extent of his connivance in the late massacres. Imbecility, however disastrous in its consequences, may seem to fall short of the extremity of guilt. A distinction might be drawn between a reluctant chance, the result of terror, and a malicious complicity. But with the responsibility of deciding between such delicate shades of culpability, I am sure it is not the wish of Her Majesty's Government that I should charge

The high functionary who constituted the tribunal before whom the accused has been arraigned, who has superintended all its proceedings, who has investigated the evidence, and into whose hands his Sovereign has confided sword of justice and an unlimited power of life and death, must singly

take to exercise the powers confided to his patriotism and to his

come upon his immediate consideration, though the case of the Christian women that have been carried off to Mussulman harems.

In conclusion, I can only say that I trust your Excellency will approve of the line of conduct that I have thus traced out for myself. I am painfully conscious of the responsibility I am undertaking. My inexperience naturally leads me to entertain misgivings to which a person more used to such situations would be insensible, but I feel that the state of affairs in this country is so that the best way in which I can show my sense of the confidence Her Majesty's Government has been pleased to place in me will be by endeavouring to act with energy and decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

P.R.—I have reason to believe that the number of French troops here amounts to 7,200.

D

No. 181.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord

Damascus, September 6, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of my despatch of the 30th ult. to your Lordship, and to beg to inform you that I have been during the late disturbances, and giving some of the causes of the massacres at Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Conrnt Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, August 30, 1860.

I HAD the honour to receive your Excellency's despatch No. Confidential, and I beg to assure your Excellency that your sympathy and approbation gave me no small degree of satisfaction, and I feel grateful for the kind manner in which it was expressed.

I cannot say that the most perfect calmness on the part of all my colleagues would have changed materially the result of the outbreak, for a slight degree of courage on his part would have prevented the calamity.

in abeyance so completely his functions as head of the Government, nothing could be done by the subordinate employ.

I observed to Ahmet Pasha that when the Mussulman boys were set to sweep the streets of the Christian quarter in chains, precautions should have been taken to repress a possible outbreak; he replied that it would have been

other would have served the purpose. I then asked him what was then done by the secret police, of whose activity and intelligence he had boasted, that he was not informed of the plot; to this he gave no answer. At one time, however, he pretended that there was a plot, at another that no such existed. I have not yet seen any distinct evidence that an organized plot was formed.

but the exhibition of vigour on the part of the Government, it is un- acknowledged, would have repressed it.

The soldiers recruited in Syria were not to be depended on, as was evident from their conduct at Hasebya and Rasheya, and these very men were selected to guard the Christian quarter on the occasion of the Beirut, and repress the outbreak. This certainly looked suspicious, but I believe the reason was that the Mushir was afraid of them, and wished to remove them from the Serai, and preserve for his own protection—which alone seemed to occupy his thoughts—the well disposed men.

The ex-Mushir is now on his trial, and must justify his conduct and explain his motives as best he can. What goes on is kept quite secret, so none but the members of the Court are cognizant of the proceedings. The public mind must judge of them by the final result, which is self-evident if the cause be decided, not by favour but by the justice of the case.

If the surmise of the people be correct there will inevitably be concealment, but I will not suppose the surmise alluded to to have any foundation, and I will not anticipate so blameable a course from his Excellency Roud I. from the suspicion of which, I think, his proceedings thus far should exempt him.

In my opinion Ahmet Pasha is guilty of gross incapacity in his mode of treating his Medjids, and in not taking precautionary measures often to him; of obstinacy, in maintaining in his post his Tufekgee Bashi, who was notoriously incompetent, against the repeated warnings of persons of all classes for weeks before the outbreak; for not endeavouring to remove the Christians from Hasebya and Rasheya, although he repeatedly promised to do so, being in danger; for not making any effort to prevent the attack on the Christians by the Druses, regarding which he is reported to have said that there were two great evils in Syria, the Christians and the Druses, and that the massacres of either party was a gain to the Turkish Government, for the most glaring want of foresight as to the consequences of what was going on, when matters became more critical, of being still more obstinate and inactive, until at last he appeared to be paralyzed by fear; for never appearing without the Serai at the head of his troops, either to prevent the outbreak

conflagration. For such neglect of duty, and incapacity in an employ of so high rank, and for such ardent cowardice in a General Officer, by which the lives of probably 10,000 Christians were sacrificed, besides the intense misery

occasioned to twice as many by wounds and sufferings, by loss of parents and relations, and of property; by the disgrace brought on his Sovereign, by the ruin on his country, and the indelible stain on his religious faith, supposing even nothing but incapacity for his high functions and cowardice as an officer be proved, the punishment of a disgraceful death has been merited.

It would indeed produce most lamentable consequences were this contest to degenerate into a religious conflict; but such a result is not improbable, unless very great discretion and forbearance be enforced on the Christians of the Lebanon. Their conduct, for some years past, has been marked by an intolerant and irritating spirit, and at Beyrout, now they have taken courage at the presence of French troops, they have directly become insolent and provoking towards the Mussulmans, and if such behaviour be not severely repressed by their religious Chiefs, great inconvenience will result.

The incidents of the war, in which Druses and Maronites were concerned, must be considered apart from the massacres at Hasebya, Rasheya, and Dair-el-Kamar, which were perpetrated in cold blood after the Christians surrendered their arms on their safety being guaranteed by the Turkish army commanding the garrisons. It might have been impossible for the authorities to have hindered or arrested the war, but it was in their power to have prevented the massacres, and therefore they may be charged with having allowed them. This gives to these massacres a character of enormity, independent of the war. The massacre of Damascus was no further connected with

temporarily, and was not allowed to retire while the province was attached to Egypt. Since the restoration of Syria to the Sultan, the local Government yearly becoming more lax, and fanatical has been

them on

their breasts; no doubt, he were not sorry to see the Christians buried. Perhaps

eager to promote, rather than suppress, a movement which would gratify their lustful passions and their love of plunder.

I have already stated that no conduct on the part of my colleagues would have altered the course of events. I need not therefore refer further to them, nor to the question of what was the result of unpremeditated accident, and what of premeditated design, on which subject I have sufficiently enlarged. With respect to Fuad Pasha, it would be difficult to form a correct estimate at the present moment. His Excellency has acted with decision, though some persons think that he might have been less scrupulous on such an extraordinary occasion by awarding punishment on slighter evidence, as it was notoriously difficult to obtain all that would have been desirable in ordinary cases. The course adopted

could have been made by a more direct but less formal proceeding, and his Excellency must be judged by the result of the inquiry when terminated, and by the completeness of his final success. He never probably could have imagined how difficult it was to obtain proofs of what had passed, nor of the number of respectable persons implicated, who thwarted him at every step; this has only gradually opened on his mind, and has rendered his course less prompt and decided than it would have been under different circumstances. I hope his Excellency may apply the remedies necessary to a final settlement with uncompromising sternness; it is needed to break the pride and fanaticism of the people, which have been so greatly excited and so much increased by the whole affair. The time is not yet come to think of conciliation, and it would be unpolitic and prejudicial until the supremacy of the Government is firmly established throughout the country. It is difficult to conceive how the Government is to be made strong when the agents to be employed are in general so incompetent. Where are energetic and enlightened Pashas to be found? I confess I have only met with one in my experience possessing both energy and enlightened views, and that is Fuad Pasha. Saffi Pasha enjoys a high reputation among the Damascenes, to whom he is known. If he be the man he is represented, and could be persuaded to accept the post, and be allowed to remain in it for five or ten years it might be a good arrangement. Khaled Pasha, Ferik of the troops, and second in command here, formerly an officer in Ibrahim Pasha's army, is, I have heard from many, an honest, clear-headed, and energetic man, who would probably make a good Civil Governor. I have yet to answer the circulars sent with the despatch I am now replying to, but some of the subjects require consideration and time to explain what your Excellency requires me to report on. I will do so as early as possible, trusting your Excellency will pardon a little delay.

No. 161a

Consul General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)
(No. 43.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 14, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 11th instant to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, announcing the execution of Ahmet Pasha and other Turkish military officers at Damascus.

When that despatch was written I had only received the bare announcement, and had but time to communicate the intelligence as it had reached me. I beg to recur to the subject, for the purpose of recording the high credit which

merits the highest applause for the firmness which pronounced, and the courage which carried out a sentence vindicating at once the claims of humanity and the honour of his Government, and it is only after a full consideration of the attendant circumstances, a highly excited and ferocious populace, a natural feeling of revenge, and the short of crime, that the full merits of the act can be appreciated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

Inclosure in No. 161a.

Consul-General Moore to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, September 11, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Ahmet Pasha, the ex-Seraskier and Governor-General of Damascus, together with Osman Bey, Commandant of the garrison of Hasbeya, the Binbashi of Rasbeya, and Ali Bey, the officer in command of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus during the massacre, were shot on the 11th inst. after the executions and arrived here

today.
Lord Dufferin also returned to Beyrout this morning.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

No. 161b.

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)

No. 44.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 14, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report the arrival of M. Richard and M. Novikow, the French and Russian Commissioners to Syria. The Prussian Commissioner is daily expected. It is to-day reported that the appointment of M. de Weckbecker, on the part of Austria, is cancelled, and that Count Ludolf is named in his stead.

To-day Fuad Pasha issued summonses to thirty-seven Druse and thirty-five Christian Chiefs, to appear at Beyrout within five days, failing which they will be judged by default. Several of the Druse Beys, however, amongst them Bechir Bey Neked and Huttar Bey Amed, have already fled towards

Hauran, together with the inhabitants of Biskleen, a considerable Druse village, and the surrounding district, who, with their Chiefs, the Hamades, are a prominent part in the massacres.

As for Said Bey Djumblat, he has to-day been granted an assurance of safety, when he would obey the summons, failing which he is prepared to fly. I have referred to him for his Lordship's consideration and decision, with which I will want your Lordship in a postscript if in time.

The French troops have not yet moved, though very impatient to do so. Several Mahometans of Beyrout, who took part in the riot of the 23rd June last, have fled, fearing that they may have to answer for their conduct on that occasion. It is now ascertained that they also joined the irregular troops in pillaging and setting fire to the villages in the Plain of Beyrout.

The French troops have not yet moved, though very impatient to do so. Several Mahometans of Beyrout, who took part in the riot of the 23rd June last, have fled, fearing that they may have to answer for their conduct on that occasion. It is now ascertained that they also joined the irregular troops in pillaging and setting fire to the villages in the Plain of Beyrout.

There is a good deal of sickness among the French troops, and several have occurred.

The number of distressed refugees on the list of our local Committee now amounts to 12,333, in daily receipt of relief from the Committee. Three thousand more are subsisted at Sidon, through an agent of the Committee in that town.

The mortality amongst the poor refugees is very great at Beyrout; as many as twenty died yesterday from exposure to the alternate heat of the day and the chills of the night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. MOORE.

3 A

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received September 29.)

(No. 7.)

My Lord,

Beyroul, September 14, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the state of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 181c.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyroul, September 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that M. Beclard, the French Commissioner, and M. Novikow, the Commissioner for Russia, have arrived at Beyroul, the former yesterday, the latter this morning. M. Weckbecker, the Austrian Consul-General and Commissioner, being here already, it is only the absence of M. de Rehsaen, the Representative of Prussia, that now d

a week

from Constantinople should appear on the part of Turkey, as he thinks that his own duties as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief will render it impracticable for him himself to attend our meetings. I do not know what view my colleagues will take of this change of plan, but I have felt all along that the constant attendance of his Excellency at the sittings of the Commissioners would be almost impossible.

When his Excellency mentioned the subject to me, I merely observed that I thought it was a matter of great importance that Turkey should be represented by an able man, who would be capable of successfully advocating her interests, as it was expedient that any dispute which might arise should be decided within the bosom of the Commission itself, in order to avoid the appearance of any want of unanimity between himself and the Representatives of Europe.

The trial of Khourshid Pasha commenced yesterday, that of Tahir Pasha is to be shortly instituted.

Yesterday, in alluding to those pending investigations, Fuad Pasha expressed to me with apparent sincerity, his determination not to flinch from his duty, however painful it might become, coupling his remark with the observation, that he now perceived that a more opportune severity at Damascus might have prevented the landing of the French troops. At the same time I clearly gathered from certain expressions which fell from his Excellency, that he rather counted on the affairs of Italy absorbing the attention of the Great Powers to such a degree as will enable him to withdraw himself and his Government from beneath the pressure of the public opinion of Europe.

In fact, I am afraid that it is fear, and the exigencies of the occasion, rather than a sense of justice, that inspire his Excellency's policy.

In regard to the disturbances of the Lebanon, the following is Fuad Pasha's plan. He has decided that the security shall be guaranteed to those who are able to clear themselves of all participation in the late atrocities. Against those who fail to appear judgment will go by default.

It is probable that the persons most compromised will decline to come. Their goods will then be declared sequestered, and their persons outlawed. So far as it goes, this step would seem sufficiently judicious. An opportunity will be given to the innocent to separate themselves from their more guilty

brethren, before the impending storm bursts upon the Mountain, and the principle will be established that it is unjust to consider the whole Druse nation as having been implicated in the late disturbances.

In regard to the ultimate arrangement which may be contemplated by the various persons interested in the settlement of the Lebanon, it would be premature to speak. At the same time, I consider it may be satisfactory to ever faint, of the policy likely to be suggested by the Representatives of the various Powers, as I shall then secure the advantage of being forearmed with your Excellency's observations on the various combinations which may hereafter present themselves. I would merely beg your Excellency to remember that the whole matter is a mere matter of conjecture.

As far, then, as I have been able to judge, I think it is likely that Turkey will endeavour to maintain, in all its integrity, the present position of the Lebanon. She will urge the fatal inconvenience to the authority along so important a sea-board, and will compare the influence likely to be

its, who will still cling to her ancient projects of subjecting the whole district to the paramount authority of a Turkish Government.

France, on the other hand, will, perhaps, content herself with proposing, as the basis of a settlement, that, in order to prevent any future collision between two great mountain tribes, it will be best to separate them, that as it is Druses who have put themselves in the wrong on the late occasion it is

Druses who must move out of the mixed districts. Now, to those unacquainted with the constitution of the Mountain, this would not appear to be an project; its execution, however, would in reality imply the of the Druses, to the number of 50,000 or 60,000 persons.

Hauran, inasmuch as there is no portion of the Druse districts among which Christians are not intermingled.

On the other hand, I am bound to say that, in the opinion of Mr. Graham, the transference of the entire Druse population from the Lebanon to the Hauran, would be likely to prove as conducive to the prosperity of their nation as it would to the tranquillity of the Mountain.

This project, however, I will bring under your Excellency's consideration after I shall have had further opportunities of examining it.

As to the opinions likely to be entertained on these subjects by Russia, Prussia and Austria, I have had no means of forming an opinion.

With England will probably reside the opportunity, should your Excellency desire me to avail myself of it, of proposing a compromise between the extreme views likely to be advocated by France in favour of the Maronites and by Turkey on behalf of the Druses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 181c.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyroul, September 14, 1860.

IN reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Fuad Pasha has come to what he seems inclined to consider a satisfactory understanding with M. de Beaufort respecting the movements of the French troops.

In a day or two, a portion of the Turkish army is to march a short distance into the interior, under General Kinety, for the purpose of occupying Deir-el Kamar and other positions in the mixed districts of the Lebanon. It has been

agreed that, shortly afterwards, detachments of French troops shall follow in their wake, and assist in patrolling the Mountain. By this means his Excellency hopes to preserve intact, in the eyes of the natives, the military prestige of the Turks, to invest the French army with the character of an auxiliary corps, and to afford the French General the opportunity of employing his troops, without allowing him to assume an independent line of action.

There can be no doubt but that it has been very much against his will that Fuad Pasha has been induced to allow General Beaufort to march at all from Beyrout, but it was scarcely possible for him any longer to withhold his consent. The language held, moreover, by the French General to his Excellency seems to have been very conciliatory. He stated that, on arriving in this country, he became aware that it would be his duty in some sort to sacrifice himself and his renown to disappoint public expectation in France, and to abandon all hope of acquiring glory and of reaping laurels; at the same time, it was quite out of the question for him to remain totally inactive, more especially while those of whose cause he was the champion were homeless and destitute, his troops, moreover, were becoming ill, and he was bound to do all in his power both for their physical and moral well-being. He begged, therefore, his Excellency to make such arrangements as might allow him to have at least the appearance of doing something.

I cannot but venture to submit to your Excellency that such language as this is an creditable to the intelligence of M. de Beaufort as it is to his character. A person less capable of appreciating the situation might have been tempted to the dictates of selfishness and vulgar ambition might have wilfully shut his eyes to them; by exercising with such sound judgment and moderation the influence which he possesses, M. de Beaufort will acquire a far nobler reputation than any that was to be gained by a reckless search after glory at the risk of complicating the difficulties of a situation already sufficiently embarrassing.

Of course, it is quite impossible for me to offer to your Excellency anything approaching to an opinion as to the character these military movements may eventually assume. Intelligence has reached me to-day that many of the Druse Chiefs are preparing to retire into the Hauran. Some may, probably, obey the summons of the Government, and surrender to take their trial. I can scarcely believe that any will attempt to make a stand in the Lebanon against the combined attack of the Turkish and French troops. Fuad Pasha expressed to me his hopes that the campaign would be confined to what he called "a military promenade." Whether the cordon of Arab tribes he has placed to the eastward of Mount Hermon for the purpose of intercepting the five chiefs on their way to the Hauran will succeed in their endeavours is more problematical; I am not, indeed, quite prepared to say that his Excellency is very anxious that they should. Above all things, it is quite impossible to conjecture what eventualities may arise out of an endeavour on the part of the French troops to follow the Druses into their Eastern fastnesses, should it be decided that M. de Beaufort is to march in that direction. That the campaign must ultimately extend to the Hauran is hardly to be doubted.

From thence called forth Ismail-el-Atrash, the most merciless of the Druse depredators, and thence will retire the most compromised of the Lebanon Christians. That the Turks will be able to carry the district single-handed is hardly to be expected. On the other hand, if the French engage in that portion of the campaign, the operations now about to begin will certainly not be confined, as his Excellency Fuad Pasha has suggested, to "a military promenade."

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 8.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 21 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of two despatches, of this date, with their inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the progress of affairs in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 152

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, September 21 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a nominal list of the persons forming the tribunal appointed to try Khorsahud Pasha. I have added a note indicating the religious persuasion to which each individual belongs.

Khorsahud Pasha's trial is still going on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 152

Tribunal appointed to try Khorsahud Pasha.

President—His Excellency Ahmed Pasha, Governor-General of Smyrna. Enjoys a certain reputation for ability and energy of purpose.

Members—1. Admiral Mustapha Pasha. Speaks English, educated at Sheerness, and has served on board English men-of-war.

2. The Mufti of the town of Beyrout, a Mussulman.

3. Akro Efendi, an Armenian Christian, an employé of Fuad Pasha.

4. Moharabey Hamad Bey, Mussulman Accountant for the province.

5. Colonel Humphrey, alias Mr. O'Reilly, an Irishman. Has served under the late King of Saxony.

There is a better Tribunal than this, but it is not entitled, perhaps, to very much confidence.

It is to find among the subjects of the Porte the elements of a

Inclosure 3 in No. 152

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, September 21, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a notification which has been addressed by the Government to the Damascus Christians who have fled to Beyrout for refuge to the number of 8,000 souls, inviting them to return to their city.

Yesterday a certain number of persons began to avail themselves of the offer, but it is not probable that many will possibly follow. I understand, however, that the great majority intend to wait until they receive from the Commissioners of the five Powers an unanimous recommendation to return.

I am as yet unable to say what may be the views of my colleagues on this subject, I confess that I myself am decidedly of opinion that these

unfortunate persons should be encouraged to go back. Their presence in Beyrouth is a great evil. The women and girls become demoralised; the men acquire habits of idleness and mendicancy; and above all things it is to be feared lest, when the rain comes, fever and ague should make terrible havoc among the unsheltered multitude.

Before leaving Damascus, I inquired most anxiously of every one capable of giving an opinion, whether any danger was to be apprehended of a second outbreak. Mr. Brant, our Consul; M. Outré, the Consul of France; His Highness the Emir, Abd-el-Kader; Mr. Robson, a Protestant missionary; Mr. Mashalla and Mr. Frej, eminent native Christians; the al-Kueth and others, have all assured me that as long as Pasha is in Syria I need entertain no uneasiness on that score. In fact, it seems to me that it is impossible to act at all, except on the supposition that his Excellency is capable of maintaining order at Damascus.

If this were not a certainty, it would be our duty not only to prevent any one from returning thither, but to warn every Christian soul within its walls to escape to the coast.

When, therefore, my private opinion was asked upon the matter, I did not hesitate to give it in the above sense.

M. Boelard is unwell, but I have been informed that he takes the same view of the matter.

In reference to this subject, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a letter, with inclosure, I have addressed to Major Fraser at Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 182

Antep.

(Translation)

UNDER the auspices of His Imperial Majesty, for the quarters of Damascus has been provided for the Christians after that outbreak which has now been suppressed. The Christians occupied the dwellings so provided, and now not a single one remains in the castle. There are at present in Damascus from eighty to ninety empty houses fit to be inhabited by families from amongst you who will return to their native place. As Damascus is at present under the shadow of His Imperial Majesty, and in the enjoyment of tranquillity and security, it is incumbent upon you to return to it; you will find there all that you require as regards lodging and subsistence.

In order to facilitate your return, and secure your comfort on the road, we have thought proper to assign 200 animals for each caravan that shall start for Damascus. Therefore, those of you that wish to subscribe their names, and the number of mules they may require at the office of the Relief Commission, in order that upon the requisite number being attained, animals may be given them at the expense of the Government and a sufficient escort to accompany them.

His Excellency the Vali of Damascus will be written to in order that upon their arrival he should lodge them in the residences provided, and give them their appointed rations; for your allowances, after fifteen days from this date, will be distributed to you at Damascus, and not at Beyrouth.

We have, therefore, issued this notification from the office of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and of the Extraordinary Special Commission to Syria.

Dated 1st Rebi-evod, 1277

Inclosure 5 in No. 182

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser

Beyrouth, September 20, 1860

IN consequence of the communication you have been good enough to make me respecting the annoyances to which the Christians of Damascus are still occasionally exposed, I have addressed to Abro Effendi a Memorandum, of which the accompanying paper is a copy.

I am happy to say that Abro Effendi has informed me, in reply, that his Excellency Fuad Pasha sent orders yesterday evening to Damascus, requiring the authorities to take immediate measures against the repetition of such irregularities.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 6 in No. 182

Lord Dufferin to Abro Effendi

Beyrouth, September 19, 1860

LORD DUFFERIN has the honour to inform Abro Effendi that he has just received intelligence from Major Fraser, at Damascus, that, since his Excellency Fuad Pasha's departure, the Christians in that city have been subjected to a certain amount of annoyance at the hands of the Moslem population.

Abro Effendi may rely on the accuracy of this information, as Major Fraser is a person by no means prone to exaggeration, and is particularly cautious in transmitting intelligence of the truth of which he is not

That the Moslem population should take occasion to oppress their ill-will towards their Christian citizens whenever they can do so with impunity, is, unhappily, to be expected. It might be impossible for even the most vigilant police to control every expression of animosity; at the same time, where it is so much in the interest of the Government to restore confidence and to engage the fugitive Damascenes to return to their city, it is absolutely necessary that extraordinary precautions should be taken against any exhibition of malevolence, however slight, on the part of the Moslem population; more especially as the slightest affront put by a Moslem on a Christian will be sure to give rise to a thousand exaggerations. No pains ought, therefore, to be spared in preventing the occurrence of such acts as these to which Major Fraser alludes, and their repetition ought to be punished with the greatest promptitude and severity.

In reply to an appeal which has been made to him for advice, Lord Dufferin has encouraged the Damascene Christians now at Beyrouth to accept the invitation of the Government to return to their homes; and, therefore, natural he should feel the greatest anxiety as to their future security, and he consequently ventures most earnestly to request that Abro Effendi would draw his Excellency's attention to this subject.

No. 183

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — (Received October 3.)

(No. 1281)

My Lord,

Paris, October 2, 1860.

I INQUIRED, this afternoon, of M. Thouvenel, whether the French Government had received any reports from the Commander of the French troops in Syria.

His Excellency said that they were in possession of nothing very new, that Fuad Pasha had requested General Beaufort to take an expedition having for its object the capture of some Druse Chiefs who

had not obeyed the summons sent to them to appear before him, that French and Turkish troops were to march on this service, but that it was well known that the said Chiefs had long ago made their escape.

To a further question which I put to him, M. Thouvenel replied that he had not heard of the assembling of the Commission, and that he much regretted the little alacrity shown by the Northern Powers to make it efficient would prevent its becoming of any real use.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 184.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell — (Received October 6)

No. 636

My Lord,

Damascus, September 26, 1860.

IN reference to my despatch No. 635 of the instant, relative to Lord Dufferin's proceedings and visit to Damascus, I have the satisfaction of saying, that he seems to have acted with the judgment and discretion which was to be expected from him. He in no wise urged Fuad Pasha to execute Achmet Pasha, if he (Fuad Pasha) did not deem that officer deserved death; but Fuad considering him guilty, and he having been regularly tried and condemned, Lord Dufferin deemed it advisable (and I quite agree with him) that his execution should take place forthwith, as the result of the deliberate judgment of an Ottoman authority, rather than at the demand of the Commission, which would otherwise have naturally made it so.

I understand that the French Consul now deems the act in question premature, but not only was the French Ambassador always urging the execution of Achmet Pasha before his guilt had been thus regularly established, but it also seems to me clear that, having been established, the sooner the punishment followed the sentence the greater the effect likely to be produced by it.

It appears that the French are anxious to attack the Druses, with or without the Turks; and I gather from the French Ambassador he would have the leading Druses shot without trial or inquiry, which I cannot but think would be unjust. It also appears to me but reasonable to wait until Fuad and the French General can combine their movements; and that the cutting of a few mulberry-trees being cut down in the vicinity of the French camp is not a sufficient reason to break one of the essential conditions of the Convention, which enjoined a concert between the French Commander and the Turkish Commissioner.

I am, however, persuaded that, though there may be some talk upon the matter, Count Beaufort is too sensible a man to undertake any rash or hazardous proceeding, that might not only compromise the safety of his army, but the engagements of his Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 185.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell — (Received October 6.)

No. 20

My Lord,

Damascus, September 20, 1860

I MUST apologise to your Lordship for having lately discontinued my reports on passing events. I have been for some days so severely taxed that I have been unable to write.

On Saturday, the 8th instant, a short time before Fuad Pasha's departure for Beyrout, Achmet Agha, the ex-Mushir, Ali Bey, Commander of the troops in the Christian quarter of Damascus at the time of the outbreak, Osman Bey, Colonel at Hasbeya, and Mohammed Ali Bey, the

Bimbashi of Rasheya, were shot in the barrack square, the public not being admitted.

If it had not been for Lord Dufferin's arrival here, the execution of Achmet Agha might possibly have been delayed for some time further, as there did not seem much desire on the part of Fuad Pasha to hasten the execution of this man, who, had he done his duty, could easily have prevented the Damascus massacres.

I know little of what has been doing here since Fuad Pasha's departure; many fresh houses have been searched, in which plunder has been discovered, and some further arrests have been made.

All the Christians are now removed from the Castle into the houses in different Turkish quarters.

Yesterday morning at daybreak, nine persons found guilty of murder, were discovered by the inhabitants hanging in different parts of the city, among them was the murderer of the Rev. William Graham.

The Christians have by no means recovered confidence, and I understand that the general desire of the poor is to get away. They are often kept from their doors by their doors being assailed by stones, and although, as the guards are made aware of these attacks, they seize the assailants, yet the Christians experience great alarm, for it is usually where only one man or so resides among a number of women that these assaults are made.

The soldiers do not show a ready disposition to protect the Christians, and the latter seem quite afraid in the presence of a Muslim. I learn that some of these speak kindly to their Christian neighbours and even assist them, but in general, they are full of hatred and repugnance, and are doing all in their power to do wrong.

It is very difficult to restore a feeling of good-will and tranquillity to the Christians, and it is not probable that it can ever be re-established, especially where the losses of wives, children, and relatives have been great, and have occurred under painful circumstances.

The local authorities continue to supply a little money and bread, but the supply will not suffice when the cold and damp weather arrives, and warmer bedding and clothing must then be added.

Already sickness is extending, and there being no medical assistance for the sufferers, a great mortality may be anticipated. In short, the prospect of the approaching winter is sufficiently gloomy, and dearth of bread will, I fear, be added to the other causes of suffering.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No. 186.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell — (Received October 6.)

No. 21

My Lord,

Damascus, September 20, 1860

IT appears from what one hears from Beyrout, that an attack is being made on the Druses. It is reported that the Turkish authorities, they say two battalions and two guns for Hasbeya, whilst the Pasha (General Kimey) is reported to have directed his steps, and an extra battalion to join Mustafa Pasha, in the Hauran. This is all I know at present. The Druses are themselves in great apprehension of the Turkish authorities, and are endeavouring to discover the intentions of the Turkish authorities in their regard.

The threatened outbreaks at Akka and Latakia show that the spirit of fanaticism is still as strong as ever, and that probably nothing but the occupation of Syria for a time by European troops will crush it out. It might be feared that if in one point it were to raise its head, and the local government be too weak to put it down, a new outbreak would follow.

throughout Syria, and even beyond; for I do not think the Porte has sufficient troops at its command, and sufficiently energetic officers, to suppress a general outburst of fanaticism, to which the Mussulman population everywhere seem greatly disposed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

No. 167

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 5.)

(No. 9)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a narrative I have requested Mr. Robson to draw up for your Lordship's information of the circumstances under which the massacres of Damascus have occurred.

Mr. Robson is an Irish Presbyterian Missionary. He is a person of sober judgment and great intelligence. He has been a resident at Damascus for eighteen years, he speaks Arabic perfectly, and is naturally in a position to speak with very considerable authority on everything connected with the country.

His narrative, which I have already had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, will form a trustworthy and connected history of the deplorable events which have deluged this province with human blood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOY.

Inclosure in No. 167

FROM the commencement of the war between the Christians and the Druses in Lebanon, the Christians of Damascus were in the greatest alarm, for their Moslem fellow-citizens indulged constantly in very threatening and very insulting language towards them. Whenever they went into the bazars or streets in the Moslem quarter of the city, men and boys applied offensive and degrading epithets to them and their religion, cursed them, and often spoke of a rising against them. The repeated successes of the Druses increased the insolence of the one party and the terror of the other. The murders of the Christians in Kinakir, known in the city on the 11th of June, the massacres in Hasheya and Rasheya, the outrages committed by the Moslems and Druses in villages in every direction in the surrounding country, and the sight of the wretched fugitives who flocked to the city for safety and food, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000, excited and emboldened the Moslems, and intensified the terrors of the Christians.

The impression began to prevail among all sects and classes that the Moslems themselves desired and intended the destruction of the Christians. They were retained in the city only by the impossibility of escaping to any safe place. The fall of Zahleh and the massacre in Deir-el-Kamar, added to the exultation of the Moslems, and rendered the panic of the Christians extreme and universal.

During all this time the Moslems became more assured and threatening, the insults heaped on the Christians increased, and alarming; while the Christians became more terrified, subdued, and cowering. They seemed to yield up at once all the rights and liberties which they had gained during the last twenty-seven years. They did not venture to ride any animal in the city, to make any insult, or complain of any injury; they abstained from demanding payment of debts or enforcing claims against Moslems, they submitted to impositions, and sometimes to assaults. To avoid the abuse to

which they were exposed they ceased to frequent the cafes, the walks in the gardens, and other places of public resort, and almost abandoned their shops and business in the city. Few of them hoped that the approaching feast of the Kurban Beiram would pass without an attack on their quarter, and during the four days of the feast they confined themselves almost entirely to their houses and their own quarter.

The festival began on the 29th of June. On that day troops were stationed in the Christian quarter, and gave some encouragement to them. They knew that the Imperial troops had been present at all the massacres of their brethren in the mountains, and that some of the officers and many of the men sent to their quarter had been themselves at those of Hasheya and Rasheya, and the more they talked of these circumstances and reflected on them, the greater became their anxiety and their distrust of the soldiers.

Beiram passed over, and they breathed a little more freely; but the feeling of the Moslems did not become less insolent and hostile to Christians and Christianity were as much insulted as before, great anxiety and terror were still felt.

However, by Monday, 9th July, as nothing serious had happened in the city, and as there had been no further massacres elsewhere, the Moslems gradually persuaded themselves that the danger which had threatened them so much and so long was nearly over.

It appears that some Moslems took pains to reassure them. On the previous evening the now infamous Mustafa Bey-el-Hawasly called on several of the principal Christians, as Hanna Frej, Antoine Shamy, and others, to persuade them that there was no longer any reason to be alarmed, and that they might go to sleep with their doors open, and he would guarantee their perfect safety. On the 9th July, therefore, the poor Christians congratulated one another that they had escaped, and they generally returned, after a long intermission, to their usual occupations. The government clerks went to the Seraglio; the shopkeepers resumed their business, the tradesmen went to their work; the children were sent

On that day the Pasha ordered two young Moslems to be put in iron masks or insulting Christians, and about 2 o'clock p.m. they were sent to sweep the streets. Immediately, as if this had been a preconcerted signal, the people in the principal bazars began to shut their shops, call on the religion of Mahomed, curse infidels, excite one another to arm and attack the Christians, and run together to the Christian quarter. Almost at the same moment the mob began to collect, arm, and run from the streets adjacent to the Christian quarter, the Shagar, a suburb on the south of the city, the Medan, a large suburb on the south-west, and a mile and a-half to two miles from the Christian quarter, and from Salehyeh, a large suburban village two miles off. They encouraged and excited one another, calling on their religion and Prophet, by imprecations on the infidels, and by crying, "Arm, arm! kill, plunder, burn, the time of slaughter has arrived, the time of slaughter has arisen!" and by similar expressions.

The women also stimulated the men by their cries and curses, and their prayers for success and victory. At first they were afraid of the troops, and avoided the places where they were stationed, but they soon found that they had nothing to fear from them. The Bashu-Bozouks of Salim Agha-el-Muhaneh, Mustafa Bey-el-Hawasly, and others, the Kurdish Irregulars under Mohammed Saud Agha, and the Zaptieh or police, were among the earliest and the most active in the work of murder and plunder. Many of the Bashu-Bozouks, as those under Hawasly, had been specially enrolled to preserve the peace of the city during the excitement. The people of the city were gradually joined during Monday evening and Tuesday by Druses from the Medan and from Jernabeh, a Druse village two miles from the city, and by Moslem peasants from several of the surrounding villages. But no Druse Chief nor any regular Druse force from a distance took part in the affair.

The mob, with the exception of the Bashu-Bozouks, were very ill armed. Only a few had muskets, some had pistols, some had swords, a great number had battle-axes or daggers, but the great majority had

clubs or sticks. Perhaps not more than one in twenty had a gun, and many of the guns were of little value.

If the Bashî Bozouks and Zaptiehs had done their duty the insurrection would have been put down at once; if they had only abstained from interfering no great effort would have been necessary to quell the mob. As it was the troops, if they had acted with any vigour, would probably have encountered little opposition even from the Bashî-Bozouks.

The Christians made no defence. It is said that a Greek fired some shots on the mob, and that shots were fired from two houses by natives. With these exceptions no resistance was offered to the murderers. The Christians were almost without arms. A few young men had fowling-pieces, and some few had pistols, but there was perhaps not a sword or axe among them.

The Russian Consulate, in the centre of the Christian quarter, was one of the first houses attacked, plundered, and set on fire. His dragoman was killed. Two of his servants escaped by hiding in a cellar, where, though the house was burned over them, they remained four days without food or drink. Among the houses first broken into were those of the Dutch and Belgian Vice-Consul, the United States Vice-Consul, and Mr. Frazer, an American missionary. The first of these had escaped with his family before the house was attacked. Mr. Frazer and his family had gone from the city before the outbreak. The American Vice-Consul was very severely wounded, and escaped with great difficulty. His two eldest sons were not in the house, his whole family were scattered, and it was several days before they were reunited. The houses of the richer Christians were all early assaulted; the mob being attracted by the prospect of rich plunder. Then the houses adjoining them were attacked, and so the plundering, murder, conflagration and ruin spread more and more. The Greek Church and Patriarchate afforded plunder of great value in church ornament and plate, the rich dresses of the clergy, the patriarch's plate, and the money in the treasury.

It was guarded by soldiers on the day of the outbreak till after sunset, when it was broken into, rifled and burned, and a large number of persons were murdered in it.

The course of proceeding was generally the same. The mob broke the door of the house with axes, rushed in, sought first for the men, murdered any they could find with clubs, sticks, axes, daggers, swords, and using sometimes fire-arms also. Then they plundered the house of furniture, clothes, stores of food, the materials of trades, and everything in it, searching carefully for money or valuables which might be concealed, and threatening and terrifying the women and children to make them tell where the men were, and if anything was hidden. They searched the women lest they might have ornaments or money concealed in their clothes, and they generally took away any articles of dress of any value which the women or children happened to have on. They very generally seized the young girls and the younger women in the house, and often took them off and kept them for a time. Finally the house was set on fire.

The better armed, the more respectable, and the more bold and violent of the murderers generally appropriated to themselves the more valuable articles in the house, and then left it for another. But they were followed by successive parties of the lower rabble, the unarmed, the poor, the weak, the women, and even children, and they stripped the house of all that remained. Not only the contents of the house, but doors, windows, window-shutters, and the panelling on the walls, were carried off. Even firewood, charcoal, the marble of the floors, and the timber of the roofs, were in many cases taken away. Besides what men, women, and children carried away, camels, horses, mules, and donkeys were employed to remove plunder.

At the moment of the outbreak a great number of merchants, shopkeepers, Government clerks, the clerks of the Moslem merchants, and some tradesmen, as stone-cutters and masons, were at their business in the Moslem part of the city. When the mob began to collect a part of these attempted to reach their houses, some with a feeble hope of assisting their

and some because they knew of no other place of safety: some

succeeded in getting to their homes, and some were killed in the streets. Another part fled to the English, French, and Prussian Consulates, to the house of the Emir Abd-el-Kader, or to the houses of Moslem partners or acquaintances, often, in their terror and despair, forcing themselves into houses where they were little welcome. Others concealed themselves in the khans in which or near to which they happened to be at the moment, and they were generally conducted to the old citadel next day by the troops. Had all the men been in the Christian quarter and in their own homes, as they were during the Bozram, the slaughter of the Christians would have been greater than it was, perhaps much greater.

Of the men who were in the houses or in the Christian quarter so as to be able to reach the churches, to the Austrian Consulate, or to the houses of their richer neighbours; but none of these places afforded safety. Many hid in closets, necessaries, or cellars, or on the roofs of the houses, and they were almost all discovered and most of them murdered. A number of them went down into the wells, and though they were not killed, their situation was difficult, unpleasant, and dangerous.

of such a retreat. A few escaped by passing over the roofs from house to house, and hiding at last among the ruins of houses already plundered and burned. A few got out of the city, but of these the peasants afterwards killed some and compelled others to become Moslems. Every possible expedient for concealment or flight was adopted. A few disguised themselves as women, but they were generally detected. A few also took off their outer clothes, assumed the appearance of natives, and went off carrying furniture as if they were plunderers. Some fled from one Moslem house to another by day and by night, and though many perished in doing so, a good many finally reached a place of safety. In such perplexity, terror, and danger, and amid such scenes of plunder, outrage, and fire, did those saved make their escape. To the fears which every one had for himself was added anxiety about the fate of his family and friends. Of the 2,000 families of Damascenes involved in the massacre hardly one family escaped all together and reached a place of safety without being separated. Generally one member of the family did not know what had happened to the others, and days passed before the survivors all appeared.

From about 2 o'clock p.m. on the 9th of July, the plundering and burning of houses, the murders, and the outrages committed on women, went on incessantly till about two hours after sunset. During most of that time several thousands of rioters were actively engaged. The most valuable part of the plunder was secured and the rioters were very numerous in the Christian quarter during the night, but many remained, and the work of destruction never entirely ceased. The fire was by that time extensively spread, and several hundred houses must have been in flames. At daylight next morning the Moslems returned to the Christian quarter in as great numbers as on the previous afternoon, and the plundering, burning, and murder went on throughout the day, diminishing, however, towards the evening, because little remained to be attacked. On this day almost all of the shops of the Christians, the principal bazaars were broken open and plundered. As the day was nothing left to the Christians but the stones and fragments of the timber of burning houses, and a few houses and rooms which the flames had not yet reached, and there remained no Christians in the quarter except those who were effectually concealed in the wells or amid the ruins of the houses.

On Wednesday morning a false and very improbable report was spread, that some Christians had fled from a Moslem's house on Monday in the street, and killed two of them. The object of this report was soon evident from what followed. A mob of Moslems from Salehieh brought, it is said, by Sheikh Abdullah-el-Halby, under pretence of putting out the fire, commenced a new and very horrid work, in which others soon joined them. They went round the different quarters in which Christians had taken refuge, demanded that they should be given up, and either killed them as soon as they appeared in the street, and dragged their bodies to

the Christian quarter, or first conducted them alive to the ruins, and killed them there. The number massacred in this brutal and shocking way, after their property and houses were destroyed, and after that they had hoped that the bitterness of death was passed, it is impossible to ascertain with any exactness, unless the Government were to institute a *bona fide* and rigid investigation in the districts of the city which were the scenes of these horrible murders. But it is certain that several hundred of those who vainly hoped that they had found a refuge, perished on that day, and that very few of those in private houses escaped, except such as consented to embrace Mahometanism.

After that day, Wednesday, the 11th July, there were only a few murders, because no Christians remained within reach of the murderers. Doors, timber, and marble were carried off from the ruins, but not to any great extent. The fire continued till the beginning of the following week, when it almost ceased for want of materials, though for some ten days longer it was partially maintained by setting on fire any portions of houses which here and there remained. The houses in Damascus, and especially the poor houses, owing to the way in which they are built, do not readily burn. Accidental fires are very rare, and almost all originate in the establishments of cooks or bakers—seldom in private houses. As a perfect calm during the massacre, the fire would have gone without spreading far if it had not been constantly kept up by setting fire to additional houses.

The work of the plunderers was complete. Nothing to be found in the Christian quarter was left if it seemed worth carrying away. Many had concealed some of their more valuable effects under the floors or in secret recesses, closets, presses, or holes in the wall, or by throwing them into wells; most of what was thrown into wells was preserved, but almost everything else was discovered and taken away. The shops in the bazaar were plundered, but the khana were not attacked, and the property which Christians had in them was not disturbed. The Consulates of England, France, and Prussia, owing to their situation in the Moslem quarter, to their being guarded, and to other special circumstances, were not plundered. Besides these, a house in the Moslem quarter in which an Englishman lived, escaped.

About 1,500 houses were robbed; one private and unguarded house was left untouched. Some 200 houses adjacent to or among Moslem houses were plundered and greatly injured, but not burned. All the rest of the quarter, to the number of 1,200 or 1,300 houses, with all the churches, schools, convents, workshops, and khana, is now heaps of ruins. In many places, in pulling down walls and cutting down ornamental trees, there are traces of laborious efforts to destroy even what the fire spared. The lowest and perhaps the most accurate estimate of the loss of property is 1,500,000. To this might well be added the loss resulting from the compulsory idleness of the whole Christian population while the settlement of affairs is pending.

The number of persons murdered will never be exactly ascertained. Of hundreds, it is only known that they disappeared. The survivors are so scattered, and so occupied with other cares and anxieties, that it would be almost impossible to make an accurate list of the missing. An estimate may be made of the number of males in Damascus on the day of the massacre, and of the probable proportion which the murdered bore to the survivors. The number of Christian males resident in the city were about 8,000 to 9,000, and of refugees from the surrounding country from 2,000 to 3,000. Thus the whole number of males would be between 10,000 and 12,000 and of this one-third may be deducted for children under fourteen years of age. Of the remaining 7,500 to 8,000, probably more than a third, or about 3,000, were murdered. This is the lowest estimate yet given but it is perhaps within a few hundreds of the truth.

But it is difficult to speak with confidence, for there was great diversity in the fate of families and sects. The proportion of murders was among the members of the Greek Church than among those of other sects, for their houses were exposed to the first attack of the

mob. Many families did not lose a member; many lost every adult male. In the house next to the Russian Consulate on the north, the father and son were killed, the mother and daughter were spared, but the house, as usual, plundered and burned. Four brothers who lived together

in the same house, the two elder were murdered, the two younger escaped. Two men lived in one house, one went down into the well and was saved, the other hid on the roof, and was killed. In another house, where four unmarried working men lived, two of them were killed, and the other two were badly wounded and left for dead. In the Protestant Church four men and several women took refuge. One of the men was disguised as a woman and escaped from the church, but was wounded in the street; the other three concealed themselves, but were discovered, and two of them were killed. Some thirty men were murdered in the house of a Greek priest. In the house of a working man, who was in Beyrout at the time, eleven of his neighbours were killed in the presence of his wife. In the premises of the Greek Church and Patriarchate there were several hundred refugees from Rasheya, and many Christians from the adjoining houses. The mob broke in after sunset of the first day of the massacre, and the slaughter, both of citizens and strangers, was great. There was a large number of the refugees in houses connected with the Armenian convent, and there also a great number were murdered. In the streets and houses near the house of Mustafa Bey el-Hawakly, a

great number of them were killed. The Lazarists were saved by the Emir Abdel-kader. About thirty ministers of religion, including the Franciscan and a Protestant missionary, were killed. Of the native priests only five or six escaped.

It was not out of pity that the murderers spared the children. Had it been so they would, probably, not have butchered old feeble men as helpless as children. It is a doctrine of Mahometanism, founded on a

belief that every child is from the devil, and that it is the duty of the Moslem to kill every child of that race. Several children who have been restored to their parents were circumcised.

Unlike the Druses, who generally respected the women, the Mahometans of Damascus acted most brutally towards them. The number of young girls, and of married women and mothers, abused by them, was, perhaps, greater than that of the men murdered. A great number were taken to houses in the town, or to the villages, and even to remote villages, and were kept, some for days and some for weeks, before they were allowed to return to their families. There was great diversity in the treatment to which those taken away were subjected.

Hundreds professed Mahometanism, during the massacre, in the hope of saving their lives, but hardly any of them were spared by the mob. Many, however, of those who found a precarious refuge in the houses of Moslems, were spared. Some Mahometans to avoid being killed or delivered up to the mob, were spared. Most of these involuntary apostates were only inspired with a greater dread and abhorrence of the persecutors and their religion, and took the first opportunity of leaving Damascus to seek a place where they might venture to abjure their forced conversion.

Only a very few remain in the city and seem disposed to adhere to their new profession. In the villages of the surrounding country also a considerable number have been forced to abjure Christianity and embrace Mahometanism.

It is manifest that the design of the rioters was to exterminate the adult male population, take possession of the women and compel them to apostatise, bring up the children as Mahometans, and destroy the Christian quarter utterly and for ever.

The mob believed that all this was sanctioned by the views of the officers of Government, the chief men of the city, and the heads of religion, and that it was permitted, if not required, by their religion. As long as

Jews and Christians submit to the Moslem authorities, and pay their taxes, they are entitled to protection for their lives, their women, their children, and their property, even if they resist or rebel against the Sovereign. Recent authorities teach that a Frank, even if not submit to the authority of the Moslem Sovereign, nor paying the taxes imposed on infidels, yet, if allowed to live peaceably among Moslems for a time, becomes thereby virtually entitled to protection; and it is unlawful contrary to the Mahometan religion to kill him, or seize his property, or take away his wife or children. Yet, in opposition to these principles, the Mahometans of Damascus had come to believe that the Christians, by taking advantage of the privileges and liberties conceded to them during the last thirty years, had placed them in a state of disobedience and rebellion, and forfeited their right to security and protection; and that was, therefore, lawful to kill and rob them, and carry off their women and children.

This belief that what they did was according to their law and religion, and agreeable to the wishes of their superiors, palliates, so far, the monstrous crime of the mob, but casts a weightier responsibility and guilt on the influential teachers and guides who disseminated such ideas among the common people, and on the Government, which did nothing to correct the erroneous impressions as to its views and designs, which were widely circulated and believed.

The Emir Abd-el-Kader did his utmost, from the commencement of the excitement, to inculcate right views; and it is said that one Sheik earnestly adopted a similar course. But it is not known that the Mufti or Sheik Abdullah el-Haleby, the most venerated of the Ulema, or any others of that body, or of the influential people, assisted them. Rumour ascribes to them a very different course of conduct.

On the day of the outbreak, Colonel Ali Bey was in command of the troops in the Christian quarter, and actually refused to act against the mob. Another officer, Colonel Saïb Ziky, without orders, made some of the troops fire on the rioters, and he also fired a gun, once or oftener. One or two persons were killed, and some wounded. When the troops fired, the mob fell back, and not the slightest symptom of resistance to the troops was shown.

This partial and feeble effort soon ceased. After sunset the troops were collected in one place, and remained till 1 or 2 o'clock on Tuesday morning, when they marched to the barracks. Not a sentinel was left in the Christian quarter. On subsequent days, a few of the troops were employed to conduct some Christians from khans and other hiding-places to the citadel.

No. 144

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 8.

(No. 14)

My Lord,

Reynold, September 23, 1960.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon the progress of affairs in this country.

I have, &c

DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 138

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Newport, September 21, 1860.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that since the publication of the notice alluded to in my despatch of the 13th instant, summoning the Drouse Chiefs to appear by a certain day before His Excellency Fınd Pasha to answer for their conduct, repeated applica-

have been made, in an indirect manner, by Said Bey Jumblat, the most important of the Druse Magnates, to Mr. Moore and myself, urging us to afford him some assurance of safety, should he surrender to take his trial.

To all applications of this nature Mr. Moore and myself have agreed to give an absolute refusal.

We have felt that the only assurance we could give would be, that justice should be done, and that his safety must depend upon his

It is probable, however, that if a message of this description were sent to him, he would misinterpret it into a cautious intimation that he might count upon English influence to secure his acquittal.

Before the fall of Zakhich, Mr. Moore enjoined Sand Rev. on behalf of English Government, to interfere, and to prevent the effusion of more Russian blood. There is little doubt but that, had he chosen, he might have prevented the catastrophe. He turned a deaf ear to all Russian appeals, and the place was lost.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Moore and myself have agreed to refuse to have any communications with him whatever, and to leave it to his own discretion whether to surrender or to fly.

L. J. FARRIN AND CLAYTON E.

Inclosure 2 in No. 128.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beirut, September 27, 1860

I HAVE the honor to inform your Excellency that yesterday twelve
Brave Chiefs came in from the mountains. I beg to subjoin a list of their

M... ..
S... ..
S... ..
K... ..

his morning I was paying a visit to Fend Pasha in his tent, when a man came and whispered something in his ear. His Excellency turned round, and informed me that Said Bey Jumblat was waiting outside in

The other Druse Chiefs, since their arrival, have been merely kept under a kind of surveillance.

His Excellency intimated to me that now he intended to summon before the Council, at which he himself would preside, and that they would be decided to secure their persons.

his I am informed has been subsequently done, and all those I have named are now under confinement in the Serai)

I have not been able to ascertain before what tribunal the accused are to be arraigned, nor am I aware whether the European Communities will be in a position to secure their respective cases an impartial

The contemplation of the circumstances under which these accused of complicity in the late disturbances—whether at Damascus or in the Lebanon—are tried, gives rise to many painful reflections. It seems impossible to constitute a tribunal, composed of subjects of the Porte, capable of inspiring with confidence either the accuser or accused.

When those designated for trial by public opinion are declared guilty, the disagreeable conviction forces itself upon one, that though the verdict may be just, its relation to the crime is almost accidental. The Turkish authorities are aware that Europe requires satisfaction for what has occurred, that a certain amount of punishment must take place, and that the reputation of the Porte must be cleansed in the blood of the

The trial is a political exigency; the plaintiff feels that it is rather a poetic propitiation that has been made than that the ends of justice have been satisfied.

prudence.

In the case of the Druse Chiefs it is particularly necessary that those impartially, but the intelligence to discriminate sagaciously.

freedom of opinion necessary to deal with the cases brought before them.

I do not know whether the Commission will consider itself empowered to interfere. It would, however, be fortunate if its wisdom could discover a remedy for this crying evil.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOYE

Incluse 3 in No 188

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Deyrout, September 23, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that during the past

enough to favour me with a somewhat detailed exposition of the plan he more than once his Excellency has condescended to ask my private opinion on various points connected with it.

As I had the honour to inform your Excellency in my despatch of the 13th instant, Foad Pasha has already commenced operations by

to come

As soon as the given days of grace shall have expired, his Excellency

been considered presumptive evidence of their guilt

the Lohani by 3000 troops under General Kniety, Sayda having been selected as the base of his operations.

A corresponding movement will be made by a portion of the Damascus

Rayheya, under the western slopes of Mount Hermon, while the Arab tribes I have mentioned in the despatch already alluded to, will lay along who may attempt to escape towards the Lethjah.

thrust of a French army for military distinction. He stated that in the

the situation with out any aid whatever, in which opinion he is confirmed by General Kniety, that above all things he wished to give to his progress

to the barbarous expedient of inflicting an indiscriminate chastisement

an equal degree by each individual member of

In conclusion, his Excellency stated that, in order to escape from

that, instead of acting in concert with him in the mountain against

persisting to act independently of his orders, I should be prepared on the part of Great Britain to enter a protest against his disobedience.

In reply I stated to his Excellency that I had been especially instructed by my Government that no official relations subsisted between the Commission and the French General, still less therefore, between any individual member of it and that officer. That, therefore, any interference upon my part was out of the question; that officially I was no more aware of the presence of M. de Beaufort and his army in Syria than I was of the corps of Albanians or Egyptians who might be serving

lency's orders, that His Majesty the Sultan with the exercise of the supreme executive authority in Syria; that, therefore, it seemed to me clear it was competent for his Excellency to make whatever arrangements respecting the employment of the French force sent to his assistance he might consider most

was directed to act in concert with him, and to

with himself. Not content, however, with this reply, his Excellency was pleased to press for my private opinion on the general situation of affairs, and appealed to me for an answer as to a personal fr

With considerable diffidence I proceeded to state to his Exce

make the experiment, I feared M. de Beaufort would receive it with extreme disfavour, that he might even allege that it placed him in a

disastrous to himself and his Government; that his Excellency had not

quarrel on such doubtful grounds; that the refugee Christians would be instructed to decline returning to their homes, except under the guardianship of a French force, that M. de Beaufort would seize the pretext to

out of his hands would render his position every day more

On the other hand, I admitted there was but a choice of

determination. That it was certainly to be expected that M. de Beaufort,

and render it necessary to carry with fire and sword a country which

responsibility and strategical exigencies as a pretext for withdrawing himself entirely from under his Excellency's control. That I entirely

holding an assize, rather than of a conqueror claiming vengeance; that, after all, it was to be remembered that, however atrocious might have been the massacres committed by the Druses, all were not equally culpable; that in slaying unarmed men they were but acting in accordance with a barbarous custom, uninterruptedly practised throughout the country since the time of Moses, and often indulged in by the Christians whenever an opportunity occurred. That in consequence of the feudal system under which they lived the followers of the Chiefs were scarcely responsible for the excesses they committed at the instigation of their masters, that upon slung the authors of the massacres a distinction ought to be drawn between the principal and his instruments, that while the offences of the one could not be visited with too great severity the requirements of justice could be satisfied by a more lenient sentence on the great bulk of the

With a view to secure these objects

I ventured to urge his

did refuse compliance with his proposal, to leave

the most important portion of the Lebanon, in taking possession of the most fertile portions of the Chiefs, and in establishing himself in the heart of the Druse districts, in order to prove to secular demonstration the independence of foreign aid. His Excellency and his troops once firmly established, the Christians might be invited to follow. In the event of their refusal to come, except under the shadow of an arm flag M. de Beaufort might be requested to assist in re-conducting and settling them in their homes.

If all this could happen be effected without opposition, if a collision could be prevented between the Druses and the French soldiers, M. de Beaufort would have no excuse for acting as if he were in an enemy's camp and the great danger of admitting his co-operation would be avoided.

The difficulty would then be how to occupy the attention of his disaffected soldiery. To effect this, I ventured to suggest that, if Fuad Pasha made his own troops give the example, it might not be impossible to urge the French General to allow his men to mount the Maronite and their ruined homes, which without such assistance

in the winter time, the Porte undertaking to remunerate

Such an occupation would not be ungenial to the

and any occupation for his men in the absence of a foe in a good friend

Weeks would roll on, the process of the settlement of the country would be gradually going on with, the Commission would be devising measures for its future tranquility, and his Excellency would have time by the vigour of his acts to insure the submission of the whole province, and to convince Europe that, when properly exercised, the authority of the Porte could be successfully asserted without the intervention of foreign aid.

In adopting this plan, however, it was desirable his Excellency should clearly determine beforehand the limits beyond which he thought it inexpedient the movement of the French army should extend; these limits were attained, for no consideration ought they to be transgressed. Having yielded to General de Beaufort as great a latitude of action as it was possible to concede consistently with the interests of the Porte, he was in a position to exercise, in the most absolute manner, the supreme control with which he was invested, and any want of firmness in this respect would amount to a great dereliction of duty. Should he assert, however, in a becoming manner, his authority, it was not likely M. de Beaufort would venture to dispute it or run the risk of putting himself so completely in the wrong. At all events, if a rupture should occur, an event most earnestly to be deprecated, it would be under circumstances more likely to engage on the side of his Excellency the sympathies of Europe, than if it had arisen from a suspicious attempt to sequester the French General and his army within the walls of Beirut. At the same time, his Excellency must always remember that the independence of his position entirely depended on the success and rapidity of his military movements, on the

impartiality with which he administered justice, on the wisdom of his dispositions, and, in fact, on his pursuing such a course as would convince the Governments of Europe he was sincere in his desire to adopt the policy

approve, and sufficiently powerful to carry it into execution

In conclusion, I ventured to warn his Excellency of one very great risk which I foresaw might arise. Every day it was becoming more probable that the French were desirous of putting the Maronites into sole possession of the Mountain. In the accomplishment of this object, the sword of the soldier might become a useful ally to the pen of the diplomatist. Weeks before the Commission might have entered upon the consideration of that part of the question, M. de Beaufort, unless kept very tightly in hand, might have purposely brought about a collision between the soldiers and the Druses, and alleging some trifling insult to his flag, might have driven the whole nation headlong out of the Lebanon. Their expulsion would then have become a *fait accompli*, and the surrender of their territory to the Maronites a more plausible and less difficult than ever.

Whether or no such an arrangement may eventually prove acceptable to the five Powers, it certainly was not one so evidently in the interest of Turkey as that it should be decided in so imprudent a manner, and it more seemed to me a danger against which his Excellency should guard.

Such is the substance of the communications which have passed between Fuad Pasha and myself during the last few days. I do not know whether the views I have ventured to submit to his consideration will meet with your Excellency's approbation. It was only at Fuad Pasha's earnest solicitation that I took upon myself to hazard them. In placing

before him I made him clearly understand that I had received no authority whatever from my Government to hold such language, that your Excellency might very possibly take quite a different view of the situation, that he must consider my opinions as merely emanating from a private individual, whose expressions were dictated simply by sentiments of personal regard for himself, and a most earnest desire for the regeneration of the Turkish Empire. At the same time, should I have been fortunate

have prof

and Her Ma

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant

In conclusion I beg to assure your Excellency that in forming an opinion as to the share to be assigned to the French army in the military occupation of the Lebanon, I have not allowed myself to be at all influenced by any feeling of international jealousy. Had the European contingent been British I should have equally recommended that it should be kept in the

When the European Powers agreed to the intervention of a Turkish army, it was still uncertain whether a Turkish army could be

the Turkish Government was not to be deceived by the crimes of those who have deluged this province with blood. Subsequent events have proved that the Sultan's troops may be safely used as an engine for subduing opposition, and there is reason to hope that the Sultan's Representative has convinced himself of the necessity of affording Europe the satisfaction she demands.

With a view to the future tranquility of the country it is certainly expedient to uphold in the eyes of its Syrian subjects the prestige of the Porte, to convince them that the punishments descending upon them are inflicted by a Government from within the range of whose observation they cannot withdraw, and by a hand they are capable of identifying rather than in consequence of the presence of a foreign force, which to their imperfect ideas would seem to be the representative of a mere transient authority. One other important consideration may be alleged in support of this view. If the Turkish Empire is to endure it is necessary to restore the confidence of the Christians in the troops of the Sultan.

This confidence has been destroyed by the prominent part taken in the late massacres by the Turkish soldiery at the instigation of their chiefs. At the same time that the Government is attempting to disavow all connivance — the guilt of its subordinates, it is desirable that the army should endeavour to prove itself to have been but an irresponsible instrument in their hands. Though perhaps not very likely to insure the restoration of confidence in its sincerity, some progress might be made towards it by the Turkish army leading the way in re-conducting the victims of the late outrages to their homes.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 158

Notification.

CONFORMEMENT à la volonté de Sa Majesté le Sultan la justice devant être exercée par un jugement impartial à l'égard de ceux qui ont trahi dans les événements regrettables qui ont eu lieu dernièrement dans le Mont Liban, une sommation générale a été adressée à tous les Chefs des Druses et Chrétiens de la Montagne afin qu'une enquête fût exercée et un jugement fût porté sur la source et les circonstances particulières qui ont amené cette guerre civile. Par cette sommation il a été déclaré que ceux qui ne seraient pas avertis de présence à Beyrouth dans le délai fixé seraient considérés comme ayant avoué et reconnu leur propre culpabilité, et qu'en conséquence ils seraient passibles des peines prévues par la loi.

Plusieurs Chefs Druses ne se sont pas rendus à cet appel. Or, quelques uns d'entre eux sont accusés d'être auteurs ou provocateurs de soulèvements, quelques autres comme étant complices de crimes et délits civils, et la plupart de ces Sheiks se sont déclarés accusés par devant l'autorité impériale et le droit civil comme auteurs et provocateurs de soulèvements, et coupables de crimes et délits civils, que comme ayant méconnu tous les devoirs que leur imposait leur qualité de Mokataji chargés de maintenir la tranquillité publique.

Tous ceux qui dans les Etats du Sultan exercent une population contre l'autre et provoquent des meurtres, ainsi que ceux qui y participent par des crimes ou délits civils, étant passibles des peines portées dans le Code Pénal, et les Chefs Druses ci-dessus mentionnés s'étant constitués coupables d'eux-mêmes par leur refus de se rendre à l'appel qui leur a été fait, la Mission Plénipotentiaire et Extraordinaire chargée de pacifier la Syrie arrête ce qui suit :

1. Les grades et les titres des Chefs susdits sont abolis.
2. Leur charge de Mokataji et les autres fonctions officielles qu'ils occupent sont éliminées.
3. Tous leurs biens, meubles et immeubles sont séquestrés par l'Etat jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit disposé plus tard conformément aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

1. Le degré de culpabilité des accusés et la peine dont ils seraient passibles seront établis et arrêtés par le Tribunal Extraordinaire institué à Beyrouth, qui instruit le procès de ces individus et sera par conséquent l'exécution des sentences ainsi prononcées sera au fur et à mesure que les condamnés tomberont entre les mains de la justice ; il est cependant réservé aux condamnés le droit de venir en justice se justifier devant le Tribunal.

Inclosure 5 in No. 158

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, September 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, during the course of a visit I had the pleasure of paying this afternoon to the French General, M. de Beaufort, that officer was good enough to enter, with some detail, into his future intentions.

In accordance with the plan indicated in my last despatch dated the 14th instant, his Excellency Fuad Pasha and General Kiney had a certain number of Turkish troops. The expedition will then march, with the greatest dispatch, into the interior.

A few days later, M. de Beaufort tells me, a concerted movement will be made by a column of 3,000 French troops in the direction of Deir-el-Kamar.

The Christian refugees will be invited to return to their homes, and the pacification of the Lebanon will be commenced.

In reply to this information, I permitted myself to congratulate M. de Beaufort on this prospect of exchanging the disagreeable neighbourhood of Beyrouth for the healthy atmosphere of the Mountain, which could not fail to be beneficial to his troops.

The General then began to speak with considerable bitterness of the proposal of Fuad Pasha to fetter him to the Beyrouth road, saying that when the paper containing the proposition was handed to him, he tore it in two in the face of the gentleman who brought it. Such a position, he added, would have made me the laughing-stock of the Pasha persisted in forcing it upon me, I should

I have received from the Pasha's own hands whenever I have expressed my own opinion.

M. de Beaufort then proceeded again to enlarge, as he had already done, on a conversation the substance of which I have already transmitted to your Excellency in my despatch of the 8th instant, on his moderation and his desire to sacrifice his own reputation and the seal of his troops to the exigencies of the situation.

I ventured to observe, in return, that such sentiments did him the greatest credit; that I quite understood how irksome he must find his position, that I sympathized with his disappointment, and that, in regard to his army, he need not fear I should share the feeling of jealousy in

presence of Great Britain quite as much as I should have done had it ever my opinions were required respecting any matters connected with the French force, I should give the same reply as I should have done had it been a British contingent under a British General.

I then proceeded to state that I had heard from Fuad Pasha it was due to his progress in the Mountains a judicial rather than a military character, that I hoped such an intention met with the Pasha's approbation, and that he did not intend to fall headlong, with sword, upon an unresisting population.

No," replied the General, "of course not, let us punish 'les grands coupables,' for the mass of the people, 'indemnisés.' At the same time, perhaps, it may be necessary to make, here and there, not an attack but a 'poussée'."

This last expression, I feared, seemed pregnant with a very sinister meaning. I contented myself at the time with replying that I hoped not and took my leave.

It has occurred to me, however, that I might take advantage of the friendly relations which, I am happy to say, exist between M. de Beaufort and myself, to write him a private letter before he starts for the Mountain, alluding to the deplorable consequences which might result should the

stain of his soldiers lead him into creating a war which a true appreciation of justice rather deprecates than requires.

In conclusion, I may observe that, had Fud Pasha persisted in relegating the French army to the Beyrout road, it is certain M. de Beaufort would have put his threat into execution. I am equally persuaded, however, that, even had it been advisable to encourage Fud Pasha to hold out, his extreme dread of the French would have induced him ultimately to give way.

I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a Notification issued by his Excellency Fud Pasha, for the purpose of inducing the uncompromised Druse natives to remain in their villages. I hear that the whole nation is struck with terror. The execution of Achmet Pasha and his field-officers has had, I believe, a greater effect in the Mountain than even at Damascus, where the Syrian population naturally looks with indifference on the misfortunes of their Turkish masters.

A report has arrived, this evening, that 200 Druses have been already killed in endeavouring to force a passage through the line of Turkish troops stationed to intercept their retreat to the Hauran.

I have, &c.
(signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

P.S.—I take advantage of a delay in the post to transmit to your Excellency copy of the private and confidential letter above alluded to, which I have since addressed to M. de Beaufort.

D AND C

Inclosure 6 in No. 188

Translation

IT has been understood that a portion of the Druses inhabiting the villages have given way to terror, in the apprehension that they were about to meet with punishment on the part of the authorities, without exception or distinction, and are therefore thinking of leaving their homes and dispersing. It is true that, in consequence of the late painful events which have occurred in Mount Lebanon, punishment will be inflicted on those who caused these disturbances, and are accused of personal participation in crime; and that these will be punished, after trial, in proportion to the magnitude of their crimes, according to justice: but this circumstance should not compel all the inhabitants to quit their homes, as nothing will happen to a single individual in contravention to justice and equity, and those who conducted themselves well during the disturbances, and protected the Christians, who are their fellow-countrymen, and served the Government and the cause of humanity, will be duly rewarded. Therefore they should occupy themselves with their business and avocations, relying on the justice of the Imperial Government.

We have consequently issued this Notification from the office of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and of the Special Extraordinary Commission for the Affairs of Syria, in order that all may know that which precedes.

Dated this 3rd Rebe-evod, 1277

Inclosure 7 in No. 188

Lord Dufferin to General Beaufort

My dear General,

Beyrout, September 24, 1860

I HEAR you are going to start for the Mountain this evening, and as I may not have the pleasure of waiting upon you before you go, perhaps I may be permitted to submit to your consideration a few words relative to the conversation I had the pleasure of having with you yesterday. In doing so I feel that my only excuse for venturing to address you

is your extreme goodness in talking to me with such frankness on more plans.

As I have already had the honour of telling you, the news of your approaching movement on Heir-el-Kamar gave me the very greatest satisfaction. It seemed to me to be most expedient that the army which represents, as you yourself most justly observe, the military aid supplied by Europe to the Sultan at this important crisis, should assist in receding to their homes the victims of the late outrages. It is possible that they would have even hesitated to return except beneath the guardianship of your flag. To encourage their confidence; to provide for their security; to superintend the work of reparation which is, I trust, about to be inaugurated by the Porte, though, perhaps, less pregnant with renown than a brilliant feat of arms, will at all events be in harmony with the traditions of chivalrous beneficence by which France has from

known, moreover, that I am quite free from what I shall venture to call distrust which I believe

some of my countrymen in the Mountain of Syria by your army. I am well aware of the importance of the Majesty the Emperor to my Government on this head, and I will not front you by repeating that I place the most perfect confidence in them.

But even supposing we had never received the Emperor's words, moment's reflection must convince any one that it is at Paris or London that the question, if it ever should arise, must eventually be settled, and that the presence of 6,000 or 7,000 troops of either nation in this country cannot materially affect the result.

In considering, therefore, any plan relative to the distribution of the force under your command, I have made and shall make it a matter of conscience to forget that it is not a British army under a British

When, therefore, his Excellency Fud Pasha announced to me that he had requested you to take part with him in his progress through the Mountain, I expressed my most unfeigned satisfaction, and this satisfaction has been only confirmed by what passed between us yesterday. I have already acquainted my Government with the justice and moderation of your views, and assured them there was no danger that any mis-timed desire for distinction, or any temptation to satisfy the popular expectation in France, would induce you to complicate by any violence the difficulties which already so efficiently embarrass.

When I informed you that Fud Pasha had confided to me his desire to give to his circuit through the Mountain the character of a judicial investigation, and that I had approved of his intention, it gave me the greatest pleasure to find that you were also of opinion that provided the Chiefs and instigators of the late atrocities were punished with due severity, it would not be advisable to visit the bulk of the people with blood and sword. The more I have reflected on this principle, the more

the tenants are the responsible instruments in their hands. For ages of atrocity unknown to civilized nations. The practice has been well as by Druses; what occurred at Zahlé

ten occurred before, when the excuse I admit, however, assumes almost invisible proportions when offered in relation to massacres on the scale of those which have been lately perpetrated, more especially when preferred on behalf of the Chiefs who instigated, or of the leaders who superintended them: but as regard the mass of the population it must be admitted to be valid.

I order these circumstances, it seems to me that it might be a deplorable event should any accidental collision between the troops under your command and the Druses lead to the establishment of what is called in this country "vendetta," a blood-feud. War, if it

would be the result, and a slaughter of the Druse population, which must be indiscriminate. Should accident make any distinction, it would perhaps be in favour of the higher classes, who would have better opportunities of providing for their safety.

I would venture, therefore, most earnestly to hope that neither enthusiasm of your troops nor the just indignation of their officers in events which may counteract your own moderate and by giving to Fuad Pasha's progress through the Moun-
tor of a conqueror dealing vengeance rather than that of the an's representative distributing impartial justice.

In making these remarks it is not necessary I should disclaim the undue partiality to the Druses which is sometimes attributed to my countrymen. I should disdain to be the apologist of cold-blooded murderers. Moreover, you are already aware of my sentiments in this respect. I am as anxious as any one to see such punishment inflicted as shall for ever prevent the recurrence of similar calamities. I think that the whole nation should be made sensible of the detestation in which such crimes are held by Europe. But I cannot but think that to effect this object it will be better to adopt so terrible and responsible a duty to the sword of rather than to the bayonet of the soldiery, to invest our vengeance with the awful character of a discriminating retribution rather than that of a passionate reprisal, which if carried too far may acquire some resemblance to the crimes we seek to chastise.

In conclusion I must beg you ten thousand pardons for thus trespassing on your attention. It is your own kindness in so frankly exposing to me your sentiments which must plead my excuse. If I seem to show an undue solicitude in this matter you must attribute it to the fact that having taken upon myself the responsibility of publicly applauding the announcement of the march of a French force into the Lebanon, I am naturally anxious to guard against the only unhappy consequence which may result from its interference.

Under any circumstances I trust you will consider this as merely a private and confidential communication, possessing no more force or value than that which may be claimed for it in right of the greater or less justice of the observations which it contains.

Wishing you every success in the discharge of your mission of justice and humanity, believe me, &c.

(Signed)

DUFFERIN AND CLANFORD

N. 181

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell, — Received October 6

(No. 8)

My Lord,

Damascus September 21, 1860

HER Majesty's Commissioner, Lord Dufferin, having been present at Damascus during the execution of Achmet Pasha and the three field officers implicated at Hasbeya, Rasheya, and Damascus, I did a report on that occasion in deference to his Lordship's expressed wish of doing so. The effect of these executions on the public mind here was not at all perceptible. I regret to state that this now appears to have been very slight indeed, a result which I principally attribute to their having taken place in an inclosed yard, and, so far as regarded the inhabitants, in a manner entirely private.

On the 21st August, the day following the first executions, I had personally represented to his Excellency Fuad Pasha the necessity for greater publicity on all future occasions, with a view of producing the most serious impression possible on the population: a representation which I had the honour to bring under your Lordship's notice in my report of the 2nd August. This course, which seemed so imperatively demanded by the exceptional nature of the case, has not, however, been adopted, and the evil effects of a contrary one are now to be found in the tales current among some Moslems, to the effect that Achmet Pasha was not re-

shot on that occasion, but, after a certain pantomime, accompanied Fuad Pasha's party the same night to Beyrout, tales which however incredible in themselves, yet indicate the doubt left in the minds of some by such a mode of proceeding, and the consequent failure, as regards those individuals at least, of the effect intended to be produced.

Since the departure of Fuad Pasha for Beyrout on the 24th instant there has been little show of vigour on the part of the local authorities. Within the last five days, however, renewed action is being taken. Conscripta with a few convicts have been forwarded to Constanta. During the last two days 200 additional convicts have been levied, making in all nearly 2,000 taken up to the present time. Exemption has been granted to those who choose to pay 20,000 piastres (180/ sterling) for the privilege of this privilege.

all men being taken in their room. The system is one liable to much abuse in the hands of unscrupulous employes.

On the 15th instant nine persons were hanged, criminals long since condemned as murderers, but for some unexplained reason reserved until now. They were all of the lower class, and may be designated as follows — three Druses, two Kurds, two Cossacks (Janissaries) of the Prussian Consulate, one man from Hamah, and a barber of Damascus, the latter stating that he was the murderer of the Rev. William — a Protestant Missionary of Damascus. It is stated on request that in however, as it was only made after condemnation for other crimes, and there is reason to suspect that the condemnation was intended to screen the supposed murderer, for whom search is now being made. Of these nine culprits only five belonged to the city itself, so that, together with about forty of the fifty-six hanged on the 20th August, not above fifty of the ordinary inhabitants of the city have yet been executed for murder. The others condemned belonged either to the police force or irregular troops, and with very few exceptions were executed not for murder but for pilage with arms in hand. Yet in a quarter of the city, where some 500 persons are calculated to have been engaged in the massacre, only about ten have been executed. The Christians insist there ought to be no difficulty in discovering the guilty if the Chiefs of the quarters Mukhtars be

want of sufficient evidence; indeed, the great high and low, appears hitherto to have escaped punishment, nor can I learn that any adequate steps are being taken to discover or secure them. The criminal process, slow during Fuad Pasha's presence here, seems as if about to cease entirely now. The necessity for a stern and signal action is nearly as great as ever, in consequence of the dilatory and inefficient mode in which the investigation has been conducted, and I feel constrained to say that I have no hope of effectual steps being taken for the prompt administration of justice, and the consequent re-establishment of confidence and security, until some influential European element be added, directly or indirectly, to the Ottoman Commission hitherto charged with these duties.

Christians, under 5,000 in number, have now entirely and are sheltered in the empty houses provided for by the Government. I have within the last three days visited a large proportion of them, and regret to say that their from being what could be desired. Disease, chiefly fever and ague, prevails extensively. Steps are being taken to provide for their most pressing wants from the funds placed at Mr. Grant's disposal by the Syrian Relief Committee, but they are yet much stricken and inclined to despair. They say those who are struck with the disease are full of intense hatred and treachery, and they fear a renewal of war or any similar disturbing influence arising from the movement of troops from the city, although an ample garrison yet remains, and desire to get away, without caring where. In their simple and affecting language they add, "Our hearts are burned up, we are strangers in the place of our birth, why should we stay? Let us go."

I have visited them personally, encouraging and assuring them of safety but have not yet succeeded in restoring their confidence, this can only be effected by time, and by vigorous retributive and protective measures on the part of the Local Government.

My dispositions preparatory to operations against the Druses, should such prove necessary, are now being made. About 2,000 men, including Irregulars, have been sent into the H. with 300 Koordish Cavalry and two guns, are leaving the city to-day for Haabeya, accompanied by the Berniskier Heam Pasha. My original intention had been to join the force in the field, particularly if accompanied by Excellency Faud Pasha, but in view of the probable absence of Mr Grant from Damascus, I propose to consult with Lord Dufferin before quitting my present station.

I have &c
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 1

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

My Lord,

Paris, October 8, 1860

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of the 14th ultimo, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve of the Reports upon the affairs of Syria, Nos. 8 and 9, which you addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 13th and 14th of September.

I am, &c
J. RUSSELL

No. 101

Despatch to Lord J. Russell — Received October 10

No. 1,305

My Lord,

Paris, October 8, 1860

I HAVE again inquired of M. Thouvenel whether it is thought that any reinforcements will be required in Syria. His Excellency replied that nothing had come from General Beaufort which would lead him to expect that a demand of the kind would be made. Much, he thought, would depend on the success of the expedition into the Lebanon. Of course if it met with serious resistance, reinforcements of the French troops would become necessary.

M. Thouvenel, however, said that General Beaufort had asked that his force should be kept up to its full effective strength, and that the sick, of which there were many, should be replaced. Under this excuse, the French force might be augmented very considerably without attracting notice, and it would be desirable, perhaps, to call the attention of Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria, and of Her Majesty's Consul at Beyrout, to the possible increase of the French army under the pretext of providing for casualties.

I have &c
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 192

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 11)

(No. 11. Secret and Confidential)

My Lord,

Beyrout, September 29, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of my despatch of this day's date, marked Secret and Confidential, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, relative to the steps taken to procure the recovery of bedding carried off by the Druses, and respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the Turkish authorities in administering the government of the province.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEROYE

Inclosure in No. 192

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beyrout, September 29, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on Tuesday evening, the 25th instant, the Rev. Dr. Thompson, a leading member of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, came to me for the purpose of making a very strong representation on the terrible mortality which must be expected to take place among the refugee Christian population if no steps were taken to recover the bedding, of which, together with everything else, they have been despoiled by the Druses. It would seem that in consequence of the peculiar nature of the climate, which is subject in autumn and winter time to rapid changes of temperature, a sufficient amount of clothing and night covering is one of the greatest necessities of life to the inhabitants of the Lebanon. No matter how destitute a family may be in other respects they will be sure to be abundantly supplied in this particular. It is proved of this they cannot exist. Unfortunately bedding in the quantity with which it will be impossible for the Relief Committee to supply. Food, clothes, money, they can give; but as to bedding, neither the material of which it is made, nor the hands to make it, are to be had. And if it is not procured, and that very speedily, the people will perish. Nights are becoming rapidly colder, and already the women and children are crying out for covering.

Under these circumstances Dr. Thompson came to me to inquire whether I could not induce Faud Pasha to insist upon the Druses immediately surrendering all the property of this description which they had carried off, to the amount of at least 40,000 beds and coverlets.

On the morning of the day on which Dr. Thompson made me this important communication Abro Kfendi, the gentleman whom Faud Pasha has appointed to represent him during his absence from Beyrout, had informed me that he was entirely destitute of funds, that he had vainly endeavoured to effect a loan, and that unless money was forthcoming within eight-and-forty hours he should be obliged to stop the daily rations which the Government was serving out to the refugees. Could not my influence induce the English merchants to receive his proposals more favourably? I replied that a loan was not an affair of influence, but of security, and that any interference on my part would be simply useless.

At the same time I very much fear that if the Government is compelled to stop the supply of daily rations to the refugees the consequences will be disastrous. Not only will several thousand fresh applicants be thrown upon the lists of the Relief Committee, but such an act of inhumanity and want of faith, however unwillingly committed, would at once destroy the slender confidence in the intentions of the Government which Faud Pasha's conduct is in some slight degree restoring, and the prospect of even a temporary relief of the suffering is thus lost. Unhappily the only securities which can be made available

for a loan upon the spot are the Custom-house dues, but it is quite uncertain whether these have not been already secretly mortgaged at Constantinople. The Ottoman Bank and the English merchants here are inexorable. Unless, therefore, something is done at once, the catastrophe cannot be prevented. Under these circumstances I have ventured upon a step of which I trust your Excellency will not disapprove. I have offered to place my private credit at the disposal of Fuad Pasha, and to supply him at once with the sum of 5,000*l* on the understanding that in addition to the doubtful securities he has to offer, he pledges me his personal honour for the repayment of the debt within a given time. To this transaction I have affixed but one condition, for the due fulfilment of which I have also required Fuad Pasha's word of honour, viz., that within a certain time 40,000 beds and coverlets shall be placed at the disposal of five hundred three native Christians and two Europeans, selected by my friend, the name of the Relief Committee, who shall repair to five hundred *Lebanon*, and distribute the recovered property to their

thus relieving, and at the same time taking advantage of the necessities of Fuad Pasha, their daily rations are continued to the refugees, the scandal and distress that would result from a break-down in the Government system of relief is prevented, and the lives of hundreds of women and children who would have died from want of covering are saved. The only inconvenience that could possibly attend it would arise from it becoming known that I myself was concerned in it. Against this contingency I have taken every precaution. My name will not appear in any way mixed up with the transaction. The pecuniary part of the business will be done through the Ottoman Bank, whose manager is a personal friend of my own, and the restoration of the bedding will proceed under the superintendence of the Anglo-American Relief Committee.

In conclusion, I must beg your Excellency to observe that, had I waited to bring this subject under the consideration of the Commission, much precious time would have been lost, as the Commission is not even yet officially constituted. The beds would probably have been partly destroyed, or plundered, by the French soldiery, or concealed by the Syrian Druses, while, at the same time, their recovery would have been undertaken by Fuad Pasha with far less alacrity than at present, when it has become a point of honour with him to restore them.

I would further venture to remark that, in undertaking these pecuniary liabilities, I am anxious it should be understood by your Excellency and by Her Majesty's Government, that I have simply indulged on my own responsibility, a charitable sentiment. I neither expect, nor should I desire, to be relieved of any of the chances which may be the result of what I am afraid may justly be considered a commercial imprudence. If I have brought the subject at all under your Excellency's attention, it is simply because I think it my duty to keep you informed of every circumstance, however trifling, which may help your Excellency to arrive at a correct appreciation of the successive phases which the Syrian question is assuming; and the only grace for which I could venture to apply on the present occasion would be, that your Excellency would favour me with an assurance that, in acting as I have done, I have not had the misfortune to meet your Excellency's disapproval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No 193

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 10,

No. 12

My Lord,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch dated yesterday, which I have addressed to Her Majesty

Ambassador at the Porte respecting the first meeting of the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No 193.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, September 28, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the first meeting of the Commission took place on Wednesday, the 26th instant, at 2 o'clock at the house of M. Novikow, the Russian Commissioner.

A note was drawn up, signed, and sent to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, announcing the arrival of the Commissioners, and inviting his Excellency to permit us to have the advantage of commencing our proceedings under his auspices.

A copy of this note I have the honour to inclose.

No other business of importance was transacted at this meeting except that an agreement was come to to take into our immediate consideration the condition of the Christian population at Damascus.

I have the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter I have addressed to Consul Grant relative to this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No 193

Collective Note addressed by the European Commissioners to Fuad Pasha

Le Ministre, Beirut, le 26 Septembre, 1860.

NOUS Soussignés, Commissaires de l'Autriche, de la France, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, et de la Russie, nous trouvant réunis à Beyrouth, avons l'honneur d'en donner avis à votre Excellence, afin qu'elle veuille bien prendre les dispositions nécessaires pour se mettre, aussitôt que possible, en rapport avec nous.

Une communication reçue de nos Missions respectives à Constantinople nous a informée de la participation que votre Excellence devait prendre à nos travaux, et de la qualité de Président qui lui était dévolue toutes les fois qu'elle assisterait aux séances de la Commission. Nous sommes prêts à nous rendre à la convocation qu'elle voudra bien adresser en la dite qualité, et nous nous félicitons d'une circonstance qui nous paraît être la meilleure garantie du succès de l'œuvre à laquelle seront consacrés nos efforts communs.

Dans le cas où votre Excellence ne pourrait pas se rendre à Beyrouth en ce moment, elle jugerait sans doute à propos de nous en informer, et de déléguer la personne qui serait chargée par elle de venir négocier avec nous aux conditions stipulées à Constantinople entre la Porte Ottomane et les Représentants des Puissances intéressées.

Nous Soussignés, &c.
(Signed) WECKBECKER.
L. BECLARD
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE
REBELLES
NOVIKOW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 193.

Lord Dufferin to Consul Brant

Sir,

Beirut, September 27, 1860.

I BEG to inform you that at the meeting of the European Commissioners, which took place for the first time yesterday, I ventured to suggest that each member should request the Consul of his nation at Damascus to furnish him with a report on the present state of that city, both as regards its sanitary condition and the general prospects of the Christian population.

This proposal having been agreed to, I have to request that you would be good enough to forward to me, at your earliest convenience, such information on the above points as you may think it desirable to submit to the consideration of the Commissioners, together with any suggestion you may have to make as to what still remains to be done by the authorities, in order to arrest the progress of disease, and restore the moral confidence of the Christian portion of the inhabitants.

It would be desirable that, before writing anything on the subject you might be good enough to consult the other members of the Commission. If possible, your report may be identical with theirs. Perhaps, even, it would be better still to send a joint report.

Major Fraser has written me word that a dreadful stench proceeds from the bodies which lie beneath the ruins of the Christian quarter.

An attempt to dig them out and bury them properly would only increase the danger of pestilence. The best remedy would be to level the walls which are now standing, and so cover the whole area with a thick layer of earth.

The Christians certainly might object to this, as likely to impede the recovery of any treasure they may have concealed, but such a consideration must give way before the paramount necessity of taking precautions against the spread of infection.

I am, &c
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 194

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 13)

My Lord,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of my despatch of this day's date which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, requesting the disarmament and ultimate pacification of this province.

I have, &c
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure in No. 194.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I TRUST your Excellency will forgive me if I venture from time to time so far to anticipate the future as to draw your Excellency's attention to various questions connected with the settlement of this province which the deliberations of the Commission will be likely hereafter to evolve.

By so doing I shall be able to approach the discussion to which they will give rise, with the great advantage of knowing your Excellency's impressions in regard to them.

One of the most important and most pressing subjects to which we shall have to give our attention will be the disarmament of the inhabitants

of the Mountain. It seems to me, that such a precaution ought to be one of the first to be adopted. Yet by whom is it to be put into execution? If the duty were to be delegated to the Turkish soldiery, it would be inadequately accomplished. If the assistance of the French army were requested, the Druses would be disarmed under circumstances likely to give rise to inconveniences already sufficiently dwelt upon in my previous despatches, while the Maronites would be probably visited with a very

Again, another subject, apparently less pressing, yet in reality requiring an immediate attention, is that which has relation to the future security of the Christians, after Koud Pasha and the French army shall have returned home. It might be said, that it will be time enough to consider this part of the question when the Commissioners shall have formulated their scheme for the future government of the country, but the truth is, that the character of that scheme itself will be greatly affected by the nature of the authority intrusted with the task of superintending its application. A plan that in the abstract might be the one best calculated to promote the general interests of the inhabitants might be rejected as impracticable if it were destined to be carried out under the auspices of a feeble executive, while another of a more questionable character might be preferred simply on account of its negative qualities.

I confess that during the last few weeks I have conceived an opinion, which every day is confirming, that all our ingenuity will not be able to devise a plan subtle enough to harmonise, under any government whatever, discordant elements of which society in Syria is composed, unless we are allowed to leave behind us the means of maintaining an interval of quiet, during which our workmanship may have time to cement and acquire necessary consistency to enable it to stand alone.

I will content myself in the present despatch with drawing the attention of your Excellency to these two questions.

In considering them, perhaps it may occur to your Excellency, that the first difficulty might be mitigated by the presence of three or four thousand English troops, while an occupation of the country for a few years by a joint European force might be a happy solution of the second.

I confess that such an opinion would coincide completely with my own impressions. I believe that English troops would have far less difficulty in dealing with the Druses than those of any other country.

The disarmament of the Druse nation, with their assistance, would become a far more favourable operation than if carried on under the auspices of the French, whose interference may finally lead to the extermination of the nation, while their presence would at once deprive the present armed intervention of that character of partizanship which it now

With regard to the permanent occupation of the country, I am afraid it will be impossible to do without it. I am afraid confidence even will not return until it is known that it has been decided upon by Europe. Already the Christians are foreboding the dangers of the future, and are everywhere inquiring, "What will become of us when Europe relaxes her hold on the tiger's throat?"

Unless some guarantee of this kind is held out to them for the future, it is possible they will leave the country. This observation, however, applies more to the Damascenes than to the natives of the Mountain.

Trusting that your Excellency will forgive me for having ventured thus abruptly to bring these two important points under your consideration, I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 11.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of my despatch of this day's date, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, detailing some of the chief events of the past week.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 195

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that two columns of French troops, numbering about 2000 men each, under the immediate command of General de Beaufort, left Beirut on the morning of Tuesday the 25th inst.

On the 28th instant, intelligence reached us that one of these columns had arrived at Deir-el-Kamar.

I regret to be obliged to add, that some acts of great atrocity have been perpetrated on the march by certain Christians who accompanied the troops.

At Ain Anb, about four hours from Beirut, an old blind Druse of 80 years of age has been savagely murdered.

At a village called Bahethin, a little beyond, a young Druse of 25 was shot.

The most savage act of violence, however, they have yet committed, was the murder of an unfortunate Druse woman, close to the French camp. Some boys followed her, shouting out to the troops: "A Druse woman! A Druse woman!" at the same time throwing stones at her until she fell down insensible. A Maronite woman then joined the party, and, calling vengeance on the head of the Druses, took his sword from one of the French soldiers who was quietly looking on, and cut off her head.

The excuse urged for these acts of wickedness will be, that the Druses fired on the troops. I have reason to believe that this was not the case.

Having acquainted M. Bédard with these deplorable facts, he expressed the greatest indignation, and promised to write to the General requesting him to punish the perpetrators of such crimes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

P.S. — I may mention that, on the 23rd and 24th instants, 828 Zouaves and 400 horses arrived at Beirut.

It may be calculated that about 8,000 French troops of all nations are now in Syria.

D AND C

No. 196

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 14.)

(No. 640.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, October 1, 1860.

I HAD this day a public audience of the Sultan, by appointment, & delivered to him Her Majesty's letter.

He appealed to me as to the horror with which he had heard of the scenes in Syria, and of his desire that all persons found guilty with

respect to that affair should be duly punished; and I told him that the measures taken by Foad Pasha had been approved by Her Majesty's Ambassador, and would, I thought, be equally approved by Her Majesty's Government.

His Imperial Majesty asked after the health of the Queen, and I took my leave.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. L. BULWER

No. 196

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 16.)

No. 15.)

My Lord,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that I have just received authentic intelligence of the murder of twenty more Druses by the Maronites that accompany the French army.

I propose immediately bringing this subject under the notice of my colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 197

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 11.)

No. 16.)

My Lord,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

WITH reference to my previous despatch No. 15 of this day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a note which I have felt it to be my duty to address to his Excellency Foad Pasha respecting the late atrocities inflicted upon the Druses by the Maronite followers of the French army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure in No. 197

Lord Dufferin to Foad Pasha.

Excellency,

Beirut, September 29, 1860.

I HAVE learnt, with feelings of horror and amazement, that several unarmed Druses, including a woman and a blind old man, have been murdered by the Maronites in the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kamar, and at other places.

It seems to me a deplorable circumstance that the return of order and the installation of justice in the Mountain should be inaugurated under such sinister auspices.

I cannot think that the intervention of the authority of the Porte and of European influence ought to become the signal for a renewal of the atrocities which have already deluged this country with blood. Instead of benefiting their co-religionists, the unhappy authors of these crimes will confuse the cause of justice, and irretrievably forfeit the sympathy their misfortunes have acquired for them. In the name of religion and of humanity, I have to entreat your Excellency to put a stop to such brutal excesses.

The urgency of the occasion must excuse my importance in drawing your Excellency's attention to this painful subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 11)

(No 26)

My Lord,

Damascus, September 27, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, copy of a despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, in reply to two circulars received from his Excellency

I have, &c
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure to No. 198.

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, September 28, 1860.

IN replying to your Excellency's despatch No. 8, Confidential, on the 20th August, I entered so fully into the subject of it that I did not leave much more to be said, but your Excellency's Circular of Aug. 21, to the Consuls, with its inclosure, dated 6th August, to the Consuls in the European Provinces, require a specific answer.

To some of the points on which your Excellency had required information, I had begun to prepare my reply, when I was seized with a severe bilious attack, occasioned by close confinement to the house, the extreme heat of the weather, and the great excitement I had undergone. I am only just recovering sufficiently to give attention to subjects which still excite the mind in an ordinary degree.

I so fully concur in the wisdom and justice of your Excellency's observations and instructions contained in the Circular of the 6th August, that it only requires me to say that they will be the guide of my conduct on all occasions.

The position of Syria is certainly different from that of other parts of Turkey, inasmuch as a war between the hostile sects of Maronites and Druses has been raging, and an outbreak of fanaticism has occurred of which recent ages do not afford a parallel.

The two cases, as your Excellency pointed out, in their origin were distinct, but they ultimately became blended together, and will probably be submitted to one treatment. The Porte has sent its ablest man, with ample support and unlimited powers, and his Excellency Fuad Pasha has used those powers efficiently, and has in some degree restored confidence. But a very inadequate idea must have been formed of the cruelties perpetrated by the Mahomedan fanatics, if it be supposed that the remembrance of such inexpressible horrors, such unexampled atrocities, could be effaced by the imperfect satisfaction likely to be given by the compensation made for material losses, but it is beyond the power of man to apply a remedy for the loss of husbands, wives, and children, by such indelible, such heinous cruelties.

It remains to be seen what compensation the Government will make for the ruin which has involved the whole Christian community. The plunder recovered is distributed to those Christians who apply for things they want; but an extravagant valuation is affixed. No indication is, however, given of the mode in which the account is to be settled. Influential people get the best things at fair prices, but the rates at which the almost worthless articles are offered to the poor unprotected persons are so enormous that although in the greatest want they decline to accept them.

The equitable conduct of those who provide over the distribution of the allowances accorded by the Government, and of the necessities of bedding and clothing, does not satisfy the poor people, but, on the contrary, makes them imagine they are unfairly treated, and despair of obtaining justice.

It is, I am well aware, the object of the Sultan's allies to sustain his government, but the means of doing this are not very obvious. As will establish the authority of the Porte I have no

doubt, but if afterwards the same mode of governing be continued by agents of the same stamp as formerly, no better result is probable.

I have, however, Reports on the state of this Pashalik, I have often seen the improvement of the administration, and for the better security of the inhabitants in their property and rights, but since the outbreak matters are so changed that it is not merely the introduction of improvements that will re-establish the Government on a solid basis; a complete change of system is required, which must be the result of the Commission.

It is considered by many not to have been prompt enough in its action, and thus to have diminished the effect which would have been produced by a prompt punishment would have struck a blow which would have made a permanent impression, engendered rather a feeling of hostility towards the Christians, and a feeling of animosity towards the Christians.

There is also a strong feeling that the Ulama have been too leniently dealt with. Fuad Pasha says he cannot get positive evidence against those who are in arrest, but most people think the evidence would have sufficed to have hanged any other persons. The Sheikh Abdallah el Halebee, the Mufti, and Ghuznee Effendi, are believed to have pushed on the Mahomedans to the excesses they committed. The first in particular is known to have been the chief instigator in the murder of the Christians. A common report I hear that evidence enough of guilt has been obtained that this man's residence was full of plunder, but was not searched. He was arrested in his house by Moslem women waiting the execution of their husbands, and charging him with having caused their late by his counsels.

Everybody believes that sufficient evidence could be found if it be wanted, and that to allow these men to escape the punishment of death will be a great wrong, and do more harm than the executions have done good.

There is no doubt that Mahomedan fanaticism has been the occasion of all the troubles, and that to crush it is the best chance of future security. One great means would be to prevent the Mecca caravan from assembling at Damascus as the point of departure, and from its being made the point of separation on the return of the pilgrims. This is not necessary since the sea is open, and steam affords a quicker and less dangerous mode of reaching Mecca than the overland route. The change would have the additional advantage of saving a very heavy annual expense to the Pashalik, supposed to be upwards of 40,000*l*.

This year, on their return, the pilgrims were not allowed to come into the city in a body, with the usual ceremonies, but were ordered to return to their homes from their camp outside the gates.

The Hadj from Damascus once prematurely abolished, fanaticism would gradually diminish, and perhaps die out. I mentioned the subject to Fuad Pasha, and he seemed to think the suggestion a good one. It would be desirable to reorganize the Grand Council, to select—not members of the Ulama—but men of business habits, and to pay them for the time they devoted to their work: they hitherto have paid themselves by keeping back from the Treasury large balances, and by taking bribes from applicants for justice to obtain decisions in their favour. Commissioners are now employed in examining claims of the Treasury against many of the members of the late Grand Council, and the aggregate of the balances is said to amount to a very considerable sum.

Further suggestions do not occur to me at the present moment, but should any strike me I will not fail to bring them to your Excellency's attention.

After Fend Paasha has re-established the Sultan's authority, a strong, honest, impartial Administration must replace that which has been so long bringing on the ruin of the country, and of which the massacres have been the natural consummation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No. 190

Sir M. Montefiore to Lord J. Russell.— Received October 16.

My Lord, East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, October 16, 1860
WITH painful reluctance I submit to your Lordship the accompanying translation of a letter from the Heads of the Jewish community at Damascus.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Jewish body of that city is guiltless of any participation in the recent outbreak, and I venture to believe that your Lordship requires no argument to satisfy your mind on this point.

May I entreat your Lordship, as heretofore, to exercise the powerful influence of Her Majesty's Government to protect and save the Jews of Damascus from the perils to which they are so imminently exposed? As the affair is urgent, I venture personally to attend your Lordship with this letter and its inclosure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MOSES MONTEFIORE.

Inclosure in No. 190

The Heads of the Jewish Community at Damascus to Sir M. Montefiore

Damascus, 7th Tishri, 5631 September 23, 1860

To Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., our benefactor and deliverer, whom God long preserve, &c. &c.

WE commence by praying to God to grant you many years of prosperity, in which you may find grace in the sign of many kings, rulers, and princes, in whose days may Israel be saved, and Judah dwell in safety!

We had the honour to address you a letter in the course of last month, in which we spoke of the enmity of the Christians towards the Jews in Damascus, which has risen up in addition to all former hatred. Now a great, bitter, and intense jealousy fills their hearts, by reason that they have been murdered, plundered, and maltreated, whereas the children of Israel were left unharmed.

Our hearts were then moved by the apprehension lest, by reason of this bitter hatred and jealousy, false accusations should be brought against us. We therefore besought you to aid us by obtaining instructions from the English Government to the Consuls, Generals, and Commanders who come to Syria, also from the Turkish Government to his Highness Fend Paasha, that he shall stand by us, and not be ready to receive malicious reports against the Jews, for his Excellency is a just and upright.

Now we have to inform you that since the commencement of the month of Elul (August) the Christians have been plotting against us and setting up false accusations against us; many have been thrown into prison and wrongly accused of having participated in the massacre. The Christians are believed in their statements when they say "so and so killed some one," that person is immediately brought before the Tribunal. Testimony of the idle men among the Turks is not received, when they declare that the accused was in their house during the tumult. Even the evidence of Christians is not received when they bear witness to the Jews having been

hidden with themselves, and not parted from each other during the whole time of the outbreak. Even should the accuser himself testify anything in favour of an accused Israelite, it is not attended to. A woman accused a certain Jew, who she thought had killed her husband; she was asked to swear according to her own faith that the accused was the man, she refused to swear, and she asked the Jew to swear by the law of Moses that he had not done it, so that he might go free. But the tribunal would not accept thereof. Even the testimony of our Chief Rabbi has been rejected. The Jews still are in prison, and one has since died in his dungeon from the effects of terror.

Oh, Sir! consider, only for a moment, how innocent and pious Jews, without sin, are being thrown into prison with murderers; and how all testimony and proof that they may bring forward will not aid them in their deliverance. We know not, therefore, what is to become of the people of Israel when the Christians see there is no hope for them, but their false accusations are listened to from the judgment seat; but to the voice of Israel there is none to give ear, or to reply—none to pity or to

Those who rose against the Christians and killed them are not judged according to the ordinary laws of the land, nor is evidence taken in the manner, but there is established what is termed an "extraordinary

Now it appears that it is intended to judge the Jews also by this tribunal, and to condemn them to death upon the mere word of the Christians. This is, indeed, a great and bitter sorrow. How is it possible to compare the condition of the Jews with that of those who rise up against the Christians? Were the Jews themselves during that time of fear and danger? Surely there was "but

Most of the Jews hid themselves in the houses of respectable Turks, in cellars, and in caves, and in company with Christians. Is it possible to suppose that one who was in momentary fear for his own life should rise up to kill another? Reason and common sense testify against it. God forbid that such a thought could enter into the mind of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England, or her Government, for whose prosperity, honour, and glory we, the congregation of Damascus, have prayed these twenty years.

In this trouble do we lay our supplications before her, beseeching her to have pity and compassion upon poor afflicted Israel in Damascus, who only desire her aid and support and all-powerful influence, so that the captive Jews may have a fair trial before the ordinary tribunals, in accordance with the well known custom of the country. For Israel, both young and old, are wholly guiltless in this matter, and free from the crime of shedding blood.

Truly, this is a time of great trouble and distress; for every Israelite dwelling in Damascus is in great dread lest he should be falsely accused. For there is none to say unto the Christians, Why do ye thus? It has been openly declared by some of them that they will grant Israel neither peace nor rest. Even already have they begun to conspire against us, the most honourable, and esteemed of our community—the well known Jacob Aboulaffa, and Solomon Farhi, son of Isaac Hyam Farhi of whose hospitality you partook on your visit to Damascus, a youth 14 years of age, an only son of his father's house. A certain Christian declared that his father was killed between the two houses of the above-named parties. Were not the Lord on our side, what would become of us? The accused being under French protection, the French and Greek Consuls prevented this case being brought before the tribunal, but had it heard before the two Consuls. The Lord brought innocence to light.

And on what was the whole accusation based? If a man was found in the highway at the time of the rising of the mob, when all the streets of the Christians, as well as the streets of the Jews and Turks which are near each other, were filled with the slain, was it in the power of man to prevent a murder being committed before his own house? Would the ruffians have had any regard? Who should tell them not to

murder all who stood in their way? Were the Jews, then, secure of their own lives?

Wherefore, we beseech you to have compassion upon us, to hear our prayer, and to exert yourself to obtain the influence of the English Government, as well as that of the French and Turkish, with His Highness Fuad Pasha, who is an upright Judge; and that instructions may be sent to the English Consul in Damascus, so that the Jews may not be confounded with those who rose up in rebellion, and not be judged in the same tribunal.

You are our father! Hasten to help us! As you have been our former deliverer, so save us now, and be the instrument of terminating our endless troubles.

Attached are the signatures of the Rabbins, the Elders, and most worthy of the Congregation of Damascus, who anxiously await your

Signed) HYAM ROMANO.
DAVID HARPI.
MENACHEM FARCHI.
JACOB HALEVI.
JACOB PERETZ.
RAPHAEL HALEVI.
NATHAN.
ARON JACOB.

No. 200

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

No. 558,
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1860.

WITH reference to what your Excellency said to the Sultan respecting the measures of Fuad Pasha in Syria, as reported in your despatch No. 610 of the 1st instant, I have to inform you that the steps taken by Fuad Pasha are approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 201

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 16.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1860.

I HAVE to inform your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held and the opinions which you expressed to Fuad Pasha upon Syrian affairs, as reported in your despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople of the 23rd ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 202

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 16.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1860.

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government approve of the language which you held and the opinions which you expressed to that officer, as reported in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 21st September.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 203

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

No. 77
My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1860.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch No. 15 of the 29th September, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve of your intention to bring under the notice of your colleagues the fact of the murder of Druses by the Maronites who accompany the French army.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 204

Consul Grant to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 19.)

(No. 30.)
My Lord,

Damascus, October 5, 1860.

I REGRET that I cannot report any improvement in affairs here. Since Fuad Pasha's departure matters have been slowly deteriorating, and they are beginning to look serious from the incompetency of the Vali Pasha, the effects of which become more apparent every day. I have been informed that his Excellency is in great alarm from the report that the Druses are assembling all the men they can in the Hauran, of their own people, of Kurds, of those who have escaped from Damascus to avoid the punishment of their crimes, and all the Arabs and vagabonds who are willing to join them in an attack on the city. It is pretended that they will be able to collect between 7,000 and 8,000 men. How far these reports can be credited I cannot judge; no doubt they are greatly exaggerated, but they have created alarm throughout the country, which the behaviour of the Pasha tends to augment. A Governor of his character would be a misfortune at any time, but at such a moment he is a bar to every hope of improvement and the certain precursor of evil.

Since Fuad Pasha quitted Damascus, his own people have changed their conduct. They refuse to obey the Vali, considering themselves as amenable only to their own Chief, and it is generally asserted that, without a present, they will not do any act of justice.

In the matter of the recruits for the army a great deal has been extorted from persons who had no right to have paid anything, but who without paying could not obtain their rights. People unfit for military service from physical defects are continually harassed by being called up frequently to the Serai, and kept in suspense until they paid something to obtain a certificate, and through the same means others are exempted from performing duties which may be legitimately required.

In short, various practices are revived which were set aside while Fuad Pasha was here. In the distribution to the Christians of the returned plunder certain favoured persons are allowed to select what they

know that poor people are given articles inferior in quality or condition to those they have lost, while an exorbitant valuation is put upon them, and on

the what has usually been practised to give satisfaction or promise of a better system; it occasions, therefore, people to look on the future gloomily, and prevents the return of confidence in the Government.

There is a great deal of sickness among the soldiers who are not yet seasoned to the climate, and indulge in the inordinate use of fruit. There are about 1,000 in hospital. About 2,400 conscripts have been taken for the army, and 200 more are required to complete the demand of the Government. They say that about 500 have volunteered, so that when the affair is complete, 3,500 will have been taken from the city.

Between 80 and 90 I am told have paid to the treasury 20,000 piastres each for exemption, although 300 tickets of exemption have been issued the rest have got off by means of presents which are supposed not to have entered the chest of the treasury, but the pockets of those who are forced over the enrolment.

The want of money to the Christians is much in arrears—many have not received theirs for twenty days; this want of exactitude occasions great suffering among them. The excuse is that the public chest is empty, and it is possible that this may be the real cause.

The presence of Fud Pasha is much required here, and probably as much so at Beyrout. His Excellency is going about among the Druses of the Lebanon, although I cannot obtain any certain knowledge of his movements nor of his acts. I do not hear of any collision between the Druses and the Turkish troops.

The French division under General Beaufort is at or in the neighbourhood of Zaaleh, but their movements and position are not exactly known. In fact, we are overwhelmed with reports of all kinds, but we get no information that we can depend upon, nor do the authorities seem better informed, or if they are they plead ignorance.

Yesterday Mussulman houses inhabited by Christians were marked with crosses; this spread alarm among them, and many of the principal are preparing to depart at once. Khaled Pasha was present a great part of the night, and the Chiefs of the different quarters were assembled, and ordered to discover the authors of these new insults and marks of ill-will towards the Christians, but I cannot learn that any of the offenders were discovered.

I see now pretty much the same state of affairs as existed before the outbreak. A Vali with neither energy nor courage, possessed with imaginary fears of what may happen, but without the foresight or ability to take measures to apply a remedy. I see a soldiery whose hearts are not in their duty, a population of fanatics, cowed certainly, but sighing for revenge on the Christians. I see the chief instigators of the massacre. In truth it is true, but uncondemned, and who for the disgrace they have incurred on their account must be more excited against the infidels than before. Under such circumstances, were Fud Pasha to be recalled from Syria, what but a worse calamity than we have already witnessed could be reasonably anticipated?

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No. 207

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 19.)

(No. 17.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, October 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte upon various matters connected with my mission.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 to No. 203.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, October 1, 1860.

I TRUST that your Excellency will not consider it presumption on my part if, with reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, I venture to draw your attention to some further considerations which may be of

in favour of a British force being sent to assist in the temporary occupation of this country.

As your Excellency will have perceived by my despatch of the 14th ultimo, Fud Pasha has interdicted General de Beaufort from extending his operations beyond the Lebanon, or conducting his army into the Hauran. After due and impartial deliberation, I have come to the conclusion that in so doing his Excellency has exercised a sound discretion.

In the first place, I am decidedly of opinion that for the present the measures incident to the settlement of the Mountain will be more than sufficient to occupy all the attention and all the military resources of the Government; and that it would be out of the question for Fud Pasha to absent himself on a distant expedition at a time when it will require all his energy and intelligence to restore order, and make arrangements to save from certain death by cold and starvation the 50,000 subjects of his Majesty who are at present utterly destitute.

On the other hand, to allow General de Beaufort to undertake the campaign by himself would I fear, be very imprudent. Pursued to their uttermost strongholds by the French, whom they regard as their deadly enemies, the Druses would probably engage in a desperate and hopeless resistance; an enormous amount of unnecessary bloodshed would be the consequence, and, inasmuch as but a small proportion of the Hauran Druses took part in the late atrocities, the heaviest proportion of the punishment would fall on that section of the nation which least deserved it.

On the other hand, I am certainly disposed to consider that it desirable a European force should show itself in that district which has come to be considered as a kind of unapproachable Atlantis, to which all the ruffians of the land can fly from justice. Fear is the only motive through which any of these tribes can be permanently influenced, and

retire at pleasure, the difficulty of controlling them will be much

Moreover, though accompanied but by a portion of his people it was from the Hauran that the most bloodthirsty of all the Druse Chiefs issued. It was by Hauran Druses that the massacres at Haxosyn and Khasosyn were perpetrated, and it is to the Hauran that the most guilty of the Lebanon Chiefs have fled.

In the circumstances it seems to me that the work of retribution should be held over as an award of justice be held over. Should it, however, be thought expedient, as I trust it will be, to adopt this suggestion, it ought to be carried into execution on the same principle as that which has been applied to the Mountain.

Fud Pasha ought to appear in the capacity of a judge rather than that of a conqueror, and, above all things, care ought to be taken to avoid rendering the Druses desperate and driving them into a war. This danger can only be obviated in one way. If Fud Pasha went alone with a Turkish force either he would sustain a reverse which would be fatal or he would endeavour to conjure opposition by a leniency which would only bring the authority of the Porte into greater contempt than ever. He must, therefore, be supported by a foreign force, but if that force were the French the chances of obviating war would be reduced to a minimum. When I inform your Excellency that in order to enlist as private soldiers

of the ranks of M. de Beaufort's soldiery, the Hauran Druses would necessarily be most sanguinary. All the disadvantages, however, which attend an expedition undertaken by Turkish troops alone or accompanied by a French corps d'armée would be obviated if an English force was also allowed to take the field.

Such a circumstance would at once convince the Druses that Fud Pasha did not intend to exterminate their race, that their cause was not desperate, and that it was in the interest of the great majority of the

action to allow their country to be occupied without opposition, and the course of justice to have free way; while at the same time the presence of an English General would serve to control the independence and curb the excesses of the French.

To these considerations two more may be added. I venture to think it a matter of essential importance that the Druse nation should be made to comprehend that the English Government is prepared to take as willing a share in the punishment of their crimes as that of any other European power, and that the European army has to vindicate the cause of humanity.

The object I am afraid can only be secured by England taking an obvious part in the exaction of the retribution which is about to be required. Furthermore, I confess though I doubt not that even with the small force under his command M. de Beaufort might make himself ultimately master of the Ladjah, the natural citadel of the Hauran, yet the progress of his arms is not so certain to be unchecked but that it would become advisable that Europe, if she intervenes at all, should intervene with a force more decidedly irresistible.

In reference to the above considerations, which I venture with the greatest submission to place before your Excellency, I have the honour to enclose two most admirable documents, one a memorandum drawn up with the greatest care and ability by Colonel Burnaby, at present attached by the War Office to M. de Beaufort's corps d'armee, on the general equipment most suitable to any expeditionary force that might come to Syria, and the other a memorandum by Mr. Graham on the climate and geographical features of the Hauran.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANKBOYE

Enclosure 2 in No. 203

Memorandum by Lieutenant Colonel Burnaby

I PROPOSE in the following memoranda to endeavour in such a manner to describe the topography of Syria, the great variety of its temperature, its resources, and its means of transport, so that those persons having the direction of the expedition may be enabled to form some idea of what are the chief requirements to be provided, without which considerable inconvenience and delay would arise.

1. A general description of the country.

The Topography of Syria.

As to the topography of that portion of Syria which has been the scene of the late disturbances, and over which the present operations are likely to extend, a good notion will be obtained of the difficulty of the country, and how the mountains and their gorges are delineated. The best map of the country is that published by Van de Welle, all others, with the exception of a map, on a small scale, which accompanies Murray's Handbook to Syria, are incorrect in position and deficient in the names of places.

It will be seen that between the Mediterranean Sea and the Lebanon Range, which runs twenty miles parallel to it, numberless lateral spurs run out, extending in bold headlands; the gorges and ravines between each are equally numerous, besides being deep and steep. Among these run the many streams which carry their waters to the sea.

Bridges exist at all points over which the beaten paths lay, but during the rains many of these streams are impassable.

Beyond the Lebanon, the summits of which vary from 5,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, is the valley of the Bekaa, with the stream of the Litani, averaging twenty feet in width.

This valley, which is about six miles wide, is, in many places,

marshy (the reeds growing in which, forming the covering of the habitations of this country, have been lately destroyed by fire by the Druses, to prevent the Christians recovering their sacred places). Parallel, again, to the Lebanon runs the Anti-Lebanon, with the Jebel-es-Sheikh to its south, which is no less than 9,376 feet above the level of the sea.

Further inland beyond extends that vast tract of country which, although flat, is rocky, and difficult of quick passage. On it is built the town of Damascus. It comprises the countries known as the Jedur, the Jaolan, the Ladjah, and the Hauran, all of which are little inhabited on account of the Arabs having gradually encroached themselves and prevented others from inhabiting it.

Such is the country that it would be required to traverse by the beaten rugged paths which, by Europeans, would be called but sheep-

These average ten inches in breadth, and, as the hill sides are almost vertical in places, the footing presents a dangerous appearance. It would be impossible for an army to pass along many of these paths without the assistance of the Engineers and their tools to widen and remove the blocks of stone which impede the way.

A detachment of Engineers with six mules, laden with twelve shovels and twenty-six pickaxes on each, precede the French troops in their marches on the Lebanon.

From careful observations I have taken of the irregularities of the ground, I compute that the distance actually trodden over from two points which from each other are ten miles, averages sixteen miles, and

at the same fatigue incurred in climbing and descending the steep paths over that distance would have enabled a man to have marched on good roads, under a similar temperature, one-third further, or twenty-four miles.

Too great attention cannot therefore be taken that the feet of the men are appropriately provided with shoes to encounter such fatigue, and that the amount carried by the soldier be as small as possible.

The shoes worn by the soldiers of the French expedition now in Syria come below the ankle, and are similar in shape to those worn in Koglun by such as are engaged in active games and by pedestrians, where great activity of the foot is required. A canvas garter covers a portion of the shoe, and extends halfway below the knee; it is provided with two rows of buttons, one of which is used when the garter is worn tight to the leg, below the trousers; the other is used when the trousers is buttoned over by the garter, so as to raise it, and thus form a knickerbocker. The shoes are not blacked, which colour seems to attract the rays of the sun more than the natural colour of the leather, which is kept moist with grease.

Every French soldier is provided with two pairs of canvas garters and one pair of leather garters, and two pairs of shoes; he never wears socks.

It is considered that much greater freedom is given to the movement of the ankle by the adoption of this mode of shoeing.

The Temperature and Climate of Syria

I now come to the temperature and climate of Syria; the greatest dissimilarity prevails, owing to the great differences of elevation and aspect. Two climates at the same time are present, which, in traversing the country, have to be met. One is hot, such as that found in the depressions of the plains and along the coast; the other, among the altitudes of the mountains, is comparatively cold. The nights are only cold. The range of the thermometer is great; sometimes descending below zero and rising above 100° Fahrenheit. Such is the climate of the country: one day the parching sun of the plain has to be encountered, and the next day one has to provide against the cold of the mountain-pass. Too great attention cannot therefore be paid to the clothing of the troops.

To provide for cold or heat separately is no difficult task, but to provide for both at once and at the same time, being obliged to have

regard to the weight and its mode of carriage by the soldier, is matter requiring some foresight.

I herewith annex a complete enumeration of the articles carried by the soldiers of the expeditionary force now campaigning in Syria, and which, after daily observation, I find have been selected with great attention to the exigencies of the country and its climates; nothing seems to be wanting, and nothing superfluous.

The rains which fall in Syria have specially to be considered and provided for. The first rains fall from about the 6th of November, and continue fifteen days; the second, or regular rains, begin to fall in January, and continue till the end of April.

The means of Transport in Syria

The next point to be considered is the means of transport over a country presenting such difficulties of passage.

Transport in Syria is solely effected by beasts of burden, which consist of mules, camels, and donkeys.

The best mules, I am informed by a merchant of Shumlane, will carry as much as 375 lbs., but on an average they will carry 300 lbs.; thus, however, in without reckoning the corn which, on long inland marches through a devastated country, would have to be carried by the animal.

A camel will carry about the same quantity as a mule (if less) that is to say, a good mule will carry more than a good camel.

A donkey will carry 200 lbs.

Syria, in its prosperous state, found it difficult to supply the allied armies during the Crimean campaign, and suffered on account of this abstraction; to-day there is an unusual scarcity of these animals, inasmuch as the Druses have taken with them all theirs, as well as all or most of those that belonged to the Christians, as a means of transporting their material and their families towards the Hauran.

Camels are not numerous.

The French, who went forward to make the necessary arrangements for the arrival of their troops and their sojourn in the country, at once made provision for their means of transport. In addition to their admirable Mule-transport Corps, two squadrons of which, 300 strong, they brought with them, they at once made arrangements for the hiring of a large number of mules at the rate of 2s. 8d. a-day, which sum includes the forage for the beast and the wages and food of the driver, one of which attends to every two mules. Only a very limited number, in the vicinity, could now be obtained. It would be extremely difficult to obtain 100 average-conditioned mules, and these even could not be procured at the above rate.

I have considered what steps could, under the existing circumstances, be taken to provide transport, if required. It would be best to avoid the necessity of purchasing mules, which would be a great trouble to provide their forage and pack-saddles, besides having to feed and ration their drivers.

I am of opinion that 1,000 mules could be hired with facility, from the coast, and also from the interior. By visiting these places, or even by a competent person from Beyrout communicating with the Consuls, contracts could be entered into with the different Muleteer Sheikhs by which the hire of mules could be effected. The cost of their transport would have, of course, to be paid.

In the spring of the year, at Jerusalem, any number of mules, almost, can be procured, after they have brought down the pilgrims from Armenia and Russia. The latter are waited for at Samsoon, whether the Armenian muleteers go for that purpose. A great portion of these numerous pilgrims, after the performance of their religious duties, return home by sea, and thus the greater portion of the mules that brought them thence are available.

A force of 1,000 men would require 1,000 mules, if the bell-tents (to be used by the men; should the *tentes d'abri* be used, a less quantity

A military operation would, chiefly, have to be in the Hauran, which is six days from Beyrout, and four days from Hephah. It would be necessary to establish inland depôts of provisions, which would enable a portion of the mules to be used between the depôt and the seaport, and the other portion between the depôt and the troops.

After the commencement of operations, I recommend, as places of depôt, Nawa and El Mezrah; but on the subject of accommodation in the parts of Syria I am alluding to, I shall give a lengthened account in a Memorandum on the subject.

In the hiring of mules and the obtaining of storehouses considerable foresight will be necessary in the beginning, so as to prevent the French from previously possessing themselves or competing for the same. They have already taken many precautions, and if they thought that another European force was about to arrive they would take further steps, and, from the fact of their already having a footing in the land, might probably derive greater advantages, unless prompt and cautious measures were taken.

The Resources of Syria

As to the resources of Syria, such as would be of use for a military occupation, little or nothing can be obtained. In the portion over which the occupation would extend, nothing has been considered but the grain of the mulberry-tree and vine, and these have only been got to grow by forming terraces on the hill-sides. The plains are uncultivated, for the most part, and are only fed upon by the flocks of goats which come down there for that purpose from the mountains. The little barley and corn that is raised and there is grown does not suffice the population, who have to provide themselves with additional supplies from the seaport towns. Barley, flour, and straw can, however, be obtained from the fertile plains of Antioch, Hama, and Hamah, which are exported from Iskanderoun in large vessels, and from Suweidieh in smaller ones. Not a blade of grain grows over the land. With the exception of fuel, in the form of wood, nothing but the above-named articles can be obtained.

Merchants have latterly been importing to Beyrout large supplies of barley, which they dispose of to the muleteers as they return and go up to the troops with their loads.

The French troops have supplied themselves with all their requirements from France, and have already more landed than will supply the troops for some months.

In the shipment of provisions, which, on landing, have to be carried inland on beasts of burden, it is of all things important that the packages, barrels, or cases in which they are packed be of a convenient size for being so transported, and that their weight does not exceed 125 lbs. each, so that two can be strung on a mule.

The coffee used by the French troops is already noted.

Following are the daily rations of a French soldier in these parts. I am unable to put them into English corresponding weights and comparative tables with the French.

16 grammes coffee, 21 grammes sugar, 60 grammes rice; 250 grammes salt, 250 grammes meat and 10 grammes pork (salt), or 300 grammes meat, 750 grammes bread, 25 centilitres of wine, or 6 centilitres 25 measures of brandy.

Every ten men are formed into a mess, and use the utensils specified in the annexed list of a French soldier's campaign equipment.

I have endeavoured in the foregoing to give a general view of the resources of Syria when it is important should be considered in the case of a British force to this country.

Well equipped in some things as the English army may be, it is not the daily habit of a camp life, as the French army has in Algeria, where it seems to have taught itself, under nearly a similar climate to Syria, the use of all those things which constitute its comfort.

Signed

EDWIN S. BURNARD

Beyrout, October 5, 1860

For the French Government

The following is a complete list of what is carried by the French soldier in Syria.

The Clothing worn by the Soldier.—A forage cap and peak; a white curtain of cotton, with two strings to tie in front; this protects the back of head and nape of the neck. A merino neck-handkerchief; a flannel vest; a pair of flannel drawers, a cotton shirt; a shell jacket, or a long coat, double-breasted, coming below the knee, the flaps of which button back to allow freedom of movement on the march. Neither of these garments button tightly. Two cloth loops at the side exist by which the sword and ammunition waist-belt is supported, which enables a portion of its weight to be thrown from the waist. A pair of loose cloth trousers, plaited in folds into their waistband, which allows freedom of the hips. A woollen scarf about two feet wide, which being folded lengthwise in four, is wound three times round the waist. A pair of buff-coloured shoes. No stockings, but a canvas gaiter with two rows of buttons; one row under the trouser close to the leg, the other to allow the trousers to be worn inside, and thus be raised to fall over the gaiter, and give freedom to the knee as a knickerbocker.

Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition.—A rifle and sling, a very broad waistbelt, supported by two loops on the coat; a sword bayonet supported by a frog to the belt, with steel scabbard, a pouch, in which is carried more than fourteen cartridges, the remaining forty-six being carried in a bag.

A cow-hide, is furnished with straps towards the bottom of its side, to enable a *tente d'abri*, or a blanket which is folded lengthwise, to be fastened round sides, as well as the top of the knapsack. The straps that are at the back are of extreme length to allow the large tin cooking utensils, or even a good-sized faggot of wood, to be carried at the back.

The Contents of the Knapsack.—One flannel vest; one pair flannel drawers; one cotton shirt; one pair canvas gaiters; one pair buff shoes; one pot of grease; forty-six cartridges; one spoon (knife carried in packet); one nipple-wrench and picker; one brush; one piece of soap; no towel, but two or three pocket-handkerchiefs, one pair canvas trousers. Space remains for such provisions as coffee, salt, sugar, and rice, which are carried in small cotton bags.

On the Knapsack is attached.—A *tente d'abri*, its buttons so adjusted that four will form a complete tent, or any number of pieces buttoned together will form a large awning; or that if one is folded in two and buttoned, it can be stuffed with straw and make a mattress. A pole in two pieces; two tent-pegs; a piece of whip-cord, which fastens the pole and pegs together when carried, and which acts as a stay to the tent when pitched. A brass-tin and cover; a blanket, which forms a hood when the shell-jacket is worn, or a great-coat with a hood when the long coat is worn.

Cooking Utensils and Provisions, divided and carried amongst every ten Men.—The bulon, or tin water-can; the marmite, or meat-kettle, the cover of which forms a frying-pan; the gamelle, or a large black tin basin, used for frying and baking; a coffee-grinder; an iron soup balle; a long cotton bag, capable of containing eight days' rations of coffee for ten men; ditto for sugar; ditto for rice; ditto for salt. Bread and biscuit seldom carried for more than three days by the soldier, each naturally carrying his own.

The Water-bottle and Drinking-cup.—A tin water-bottle, worn at the side, and a tin drinking-cup. The cloth which, if wetted, by exposure to the sun evaporates, and causes the water to cool. A tin drinking-cup.

(Signed)

EDWYN S. BURNABY.

Lieutenant-Colonel

Sept 1860

THE plain of the Hauran is about 2,400 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. It forms a portion of that great plateau which stretches almost without interruption from the Jordan Valley eastwards to the Euphrates. On this glorious plain, which if cultivated might produce corn enough to make it the granary of the whole world, scarcely a stone is to be found except in certain districts where the red sandstone formation is cut by a jet of basalt. The most remarkable instances of these interruptions of the plain are in the Leshjah and Sidah, both volcanic formations—volcanic islands I should rather call them, which rise abruptly from the plain, and with a jagged and definite outline stand alone and

province of Arabia. These basaltic islands are cast into fissures so broad and so long that one may follow them up for miles before they can be crossed, while in some places the hard rocks hang like walls on either side of you. The Leshjah is about thirty miles in length, that is, from north to south, and a mean of sixteen miles in breadth, that is, from east to west.

Again of this is the Jebel Hauran, a chain of mountains which really forms the eastern limit of the Hauran; in fact, the eastern barrier of the Hauran country. The highest peak in this chain is 5,000 feet high, and in winter the summit is covered with snow. I have said that the climate is of course cold but always dry when the winter winds blow, the climate is of course cold but always dry and healthy, and with proper precaution would not be found too cold. In winter, snow falls on the plain, but rarely lies, and I doubt if the thermometer is often as low as 25° Fahrenheit, but I have never been in the Hauran in winter, nor has any European that I know of, and I judge chiefly from analogy by comparing it with the climate of Damascus, which cannot be much different. I have been enabled, however, to ascertain a good deal about the climate of the Hauran from the Arabs of the Desert who frequent that region and they have assured me that there is not very much rain in the winter and the climate is not very cold; and their testimony is good. On the whole, I suppose the climate of the Hauran in winter to be nearly the same as that of the Plain of Damascus, which never is very trying.

The ancient cities which still remain almost unruined would afford excellent shelter to the troops in winter during the heaviest rains, when they would be most exposed in tents, and wood and brushwood is to be found in great quantities, both in the Leshjah and in the oak forest on the Jebel Hauran. On the whole for a winter campaign, with proper provision against rain and cold, the Hauran would be as healthy a country as any in the East, and the facilities of transport from the sea would enable the troops, if they were sent there to be supplied with all kinds of stores with the greatest facility. It should, however, be carefully kept in mind that in sending them to the plain of the Desert of Syria, they are not going to a Sahara, but, until March, to a bracing and windy climate, where warm things will be absolutely necessary. If they be well clothed, I expect the winter will not only be tolerable, but, I trust,

I believe that the mean number of rainy days in winter amounts to twenty, nor are all of these days of incessant rain.

There are several springs in the mountains, but of course in winter there would be no scarcity of water, since the tanks which abound in all that district catch the water from the early November rains, and thus lasts a long time.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, October 1, 1860.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 11th ultimo, I have the satisfaction to state that I have good reason to believe that with one exception, every woman or child abducted by the Moslems of Damascus during the late disturbances have been restored to their friends. After instituting the most searching inquiries among the various Christian sects in that city, I can discover but one individual to be missing—a little girl named Warleh, the daughter of a certain Hannah-el-Sheikh, a Maronite, from Deir-el-Kamar, who has himself unfortunately perished at the time of the outbreak. This child was a servant in the Christian named Makhlouf-Sommale. When the massacre began she fled to the mountains, but has never been seen since.

The principal priest of the Greek Catholics and some persons of that Communion think it possible that some of their women may remain included in villages near Damascus, but as they cannot give the name of any missing individual it is to be trusted that the conjecture is unfounded.

The lady to whom I alluded in my despatch of the 8th ultimo has also been good enough to make the most diligent inquiries among her Muslim friends and she is satisfied that in consequence of the severe penalties denounced by Fuad Pasha against this species of crime, all those who had carried off Christian women or children have long since given them up.

It is certainly possible that a family may have so utterly perished as that none of the elder members of it have survived to claim those whose youth or beauty may have preserved them from sharing the fate of their relations; but as far as I have been able to ascertain, so extreme a calamity can have scarcely overtaken any one.

Having, therefore, caused inquiry to be made of the head of each individual family at Damascus whether any member of it who is not known to have perished in the massacre may be still missing, and being unable to discover the name of but one person, I think I may be justified in assuring your Excellency that but one individual, if she indeed survives, is still in the power of the Moslems. In consequence of the fruitless endeavours by her relations and the Consuls, I am afraid the recovery of this poor little creature will be impossible.

But one other consideration may detain me. I make this announcement to your Excellency, another may have sought to conceal a loss which they could never be replaced, except by discovering the dishonour it entailed.

A similar method of investigation is being applied to the refugees at present at Beyrout, I only hope to be followed by the same results.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 6 to No. 203

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, October

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Mr. Abram Elendi called upon me, for the purpose of communicating to me had just received from his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

According to the terms of this document it would appear that Pasha, on quitting Sayda, marched, unopposed, across the Lebanon the Plain of the Bekaa, the majority of the Druze nation having deter-

mined to remain submissively in their villages, and await the award of the Government.

On arriving at Hasbeya, his Excellency made some ineffectual attempts to surround and make prisoners of a considerable body of refugee Druze Sheikhs and their adherents, who had taken refuge among the gorges and fortresses of Jebel-el-Sheikh; but having ascertained that these persons had eluded his grasp, and crossed over to the eastern side of the Mountain, Fuad Pasha contented himself with leaving the matter in the hands of the Seraskier of Damascus, and the officers in command of the troops at Saïda, while he himself returned to the Lebanon.

There is little doubt but that, in consequence of the inefficient disposition of their troops by the Turkish Commanders, all those fugitives will probably succeed in slipping to the Hauran. Indeed, so ineffectual have been the endeavours made to intercept them, that it might not be an unreasonable conjecture to suppose that the fugitives will be able to find their way to the Hauran.

On his return, Fuad Pasha met the French General at Jubb Jemm in the Bekaa, to which place the French column had descended, having come from Beyrout in a direction parallel to the Turkish advance from Saïda.

He informed M. de Beaufort that adequate means had been already taken to prevent the Druze rebels at Hauran from moving in arms along the eastern slopes of Jebel-el-Sheikh, Fuad Pasha invited M. de Beaufort to reascend the Lebanon with him—a proposition the French General has, I understand, very unwillingly complied with, and is at this moment in the neighbourhood of Zahleh, Fuad Pasha having fixed his own headquarters at Makhlarah.

I am happy to be able to state that both at Zahleh and at Deir-el-Kamar the French troops are doing their utmost to assist the Christian inhabitants to rebuild their ruined houses.

Yours faithfully,
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, October 7, 1860

I REGRET to have to inform your Excellency that I have received two indisputable confirmations of the statement I had the honour of conveying to you in my despatch to Lord John Russell of the 29th relative to the atrocities committed by certain of the Christians against the French column on its march to Deir-el-Kamar and the Bekaa.

The following is an authentic list of unarmed and inoffensive persons who it is certain, have been wantonly murdered. Many other deeds of a similar nature are said to have taken place, but I have confined myself to mentioning those only in proof of which trustworthy evidence has been adduced. Unprejudiced persons seem to think that about twenty persons have been killed in this abominable manner.

September 27.—An old Druze woman who had applied to a French officer for protection, which was refused her, first stoned by Christian troops, and finally killed by a Christian woman.

The perpetrator of this act of atrocity had followed a French regiment to whom she attached herself from Beyrout. It gives me pain to be obliged to add that, far from being punished for her crime, she is still encouraged by the officers and men to accompany the regiment with whom she lives.

September 29.—A man murdered; his body brought into the French camp. A Druze woman at the village of Nabrokh cruelly set upon and

outraged by a number of men. If she survives the injuries she has sustained, which is doubtful, it will be solely owing to the interposition of Colonel Burnaby, who arrived on the spot just as a man was about to thrust her through with his yataghan.

At the same place a Druse woman had already been killed before Colonel Burnaby could interfere, that officer having only arrived in time to prevent her murderers from thrusting a stake up her body in a manner so indecent as it was barbarous.

On this occasion, a Christian man who had attempted to defend this woman was also murdered.

A Druse killed at the village of Keferaya, in the presence of the French troops.

In addition to this list of murders, I might enumerate many instances of rape, pillage, and wanton destruction of property by the Christians, and by the French troops, but such disorders, I am afraid, are but too table a consequence of the march of an ill-disposed army through a

Nowhere did either the French or Turkish troops encounter the slightest opposition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYNE.

P.S.—Immediately after receiving information of the above deplorable events, Lord Dufferin communicated with M. Bédard three different times, and urged upon him the propriety of his inviting M. de Beaufort to take the most stringent measures to put an end to these atrocities, to punish their authors, and furthermore to issue a notification, or an order of the

ensuring safety to all Druses remaining unarmed in their villages. As to the women and children, M. Bédard was good enough to inform me that the General had not paid any great attention to this matter. Lord Dufferin also requested Mr. Noel Moore to proceed to Mukhiarah, the present head-quarters of his Excellency, urging him to take some steps towards putting an end to the continuation of these barbarities.

An exaggerated rumour that the French have put to death all the men and children has reached the Haurân, and will render the difficulty of dealing with the Druse refugees more

Mr. Meade has just returned from Deir el-Kamar, to which place he had gone on the 3rd instant. He learned at Ateich, where an American mission is established, that on the 27th ultimo ten Druses were murdered at the small village of Kefer Katra, about a mile from the line of march to Deir el-Kamar, in the valley of the Hamûr.

The murderers were Christian inhabitants of that place, having been heard to boast that they had shot nine Christians through the head.

Mr. Meade was furnished by the American Missionary with the names of the murdered men. He also stated that the only Druse saved was the chief man of the village, named Hamûd Mubînâd, who was spared in consideration of his having been the means of preserving the life of an active Maronite partisan of Deir el-Kamar, named Gheddâr Bek.

In consequence of indisposition, Lord Dufferin has requested Mr. Meade to subjoin the above postscript.
(Signed) ROBERT H. MEADE.

No. 200.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

No. 18

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 20, 1860

WITH reference to your Lordship's report to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 20th of September, and to your despatch to me No. 15 of the

same date, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government feel the indignation at the murders committed by Maronite followers of the French army.

French Commander should arrest the murderers and send them to be tried at Beyrout.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 207

Count Cavour to the Marquis d'Azeglio.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by the Marquis d'Azeglio, October 1.)

Turin, le 13 Octobre, 1860.
VOUS avez par vos communications précédentes l'attitude du Roi a cru devoir prendre dans la question de la

Lorsqu'au mois d'août dernier, à l'annonce des massacres qui ensanglantèrent les régions chrétiennes de ce pays, les Puissances se réunirent en Conférence à Paris pour aviser aux moyens de mettre fin à ces déordres affreux et d'en empêcher le renouvellement, nous avons réclaté de prendre part aux accords qui devaient avoir lieu.

Nous avons constaté qu'il était consacré par l'Article VII du Traité du 30 Mars, 1856, qui en soumettant la Sublime Porte aux avantages du droit public et du concert européen, contient l'engagement formel des Puissances signataires de garantir, en commun, l'indépendance et l'intégrité territoriale de l'Empire Ottoman.

La vertu de cette disposition, l'assentiment de la Sardaigne à l'occupation d'une partie du territoire Ottoman était indispensable à la légalité des mesures qui devaient être prises en commun.

Aussi nous a-t-on fait remarquer plutôt comme un doute que comme une véritable objection que la question de la Syrie, telle qu'elle venait d'être posée, se rattachait aux arrangements de 1843, arrangements auxquels nous ne pouvions nous rattacher, et que dès lors on pouvait croire que les Puissances agissaient en cette occasion moins en vertu du Traité de 1856 qu'en conséquence d'accords antérieurs.

Il nous a été facile de démontrer que la question ne pouvait être influencée qu'elle devait exercer sur la situation de la Turquie et les relations entre les différents Etats de l'Europe.

Nous aurions même pu ajouter que nous revenant sur les conclusions de 1856 qui ont trait au Mont Liban, le Traité de 1856, en introduisant un droit nouveau envers la Turquie, a modifié explicitement toutes les Conventions particulières qui seraient contraires ou non conformes à ce droit général et permanent.

Néanmoins nous ne pouvions ignorer que les obstacles qui s'opposaient pour le moment à l'accomplissement de nos demandes étaient dûs surtout aux efforts de l'Autriche pour nous exclure des accords. Il nous a fallu, pour la vie de milliers de chrétiens qui couraient les plus grands dangers, nous agiter d'apporter un remède prompt et efficace. La question d'humanité primait la question de droit. Nous avons cru ne devoir pas insister davantage, et nous aurions pu être cause de quelques retards dans les décisions de la Conférence de Paris, et tout retard aurait pu entraîner les conséquences les plus funestes. Nous avons donc préféré suspendre pour le moment l'exercice de notre droit, mais nous avons en même temps fait nos réserves auprès des Cabinets amis et alliés.

De son côté la Sublime Porte dans le courant du mois de Juin ayant confié à son Altesse le Grand Visir Kuprial Pacha la mission de visiter les différentes provinces de l'Empire pour s'enquérir du sort des populations chrétiennes, s'étant empressée de donner connaissance officielle de cette

meaux aux Représentants des Puissances signataires du Traité de Paris résidents à Constantinople.

La Légation de Sa Majesté n'ayant pas reçu cette communication, le Ministre du Roi demanda des explications, et alors des doutes furent exprimés verbalement par la poste sur la légitimité de nos réclames.

J'ai donné ordre immédiatement à M. le Général Durando de répondre catégoriquement aux observations qu'on venait de déduire, et de protester d'avance et formellement contre toute interprétation restrictive de nos droits.

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre copie de la note que le Ministre de Sa Majesté a adressé dans ce but à son Excellence Safvet Effendi le 22 Septembre dernier, et je vous prie d'en donner lecture et d'en laisser copie à son Excellence le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Agroez, &
(Signé) C. CAVOUR

Incluse in No. 207

General Durando to Safvet Effendi

Septembre, 1860

Les doutes exprimés verbalement par votre Excellence, par son Altesse Vali Pacha et par son Excellence Fuad Pacha, sur la légitimité des réclamations consignées dans ma note du 27 Juin relative à l'enquête de son Altesse Kuprili Pacha, et le retard mis par votre Excellence à y répondre catégoriquement, me placent dans la nécessité de me prévaloir de la réserve expressément faite de traiter au fond la question dans le cas où elle fut soulevée.

Or cette question peut être formulée de la manière suivante :

1. Le Traité de Paris de 1856 a-t-il entendu que le règlement des conditions des Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman fût complètement en dehors de l'action diplomatique des Puissances signataires ?

2. La Sublime Porte est-elle fondée en droit lorsqu'elle refuse à la Sardaigne cette ingérence qui lui revient au moins titre qu'aux autres Puissances signataires du Traité ?

Voici les dispositions de l'Article IX. —

"Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan dans sa constante sollicitude pour le bien être de ses sujets ayant octroyé un firman qui en améliorant leur sort sans distinction de religion ni de races, consacre ses généreuses intentions envers les populations Chrétiennes de son Empire, et voulant donner un nouveau témoignage de ses sentiments à cet égard, a résolu de communiquer aux Puissances Contractantes le dit firman spontanément émané de sa volonté souveraine. Les Puissances Contractantes constatent la haute valeur de cette communication. Il est bien entendu qu'elle ne saurait, en aucun cas, donner aux dites Puissances le droit de s'immiscer, soit collectivement, soit séparément, dans les rapports de Sa Majesté le Sultan avec ses sujets, ou dans l'administration de son Empire."

Quelle est la signification de cette communication faite aux Puissances avec tant de solennité ? Est-elle une simple formalité ? Est-elle une notification superflue d'un événement déjà très connu ? Cette supposition n'est pas admissible, elle blesse la dignité des Puissances qui reçoivent cette communication, aussi celle de la Sublime Porte elle-même qui en prit l'initiative. Elle est avant tout une reconnaissance et une autre signification. Sans doute elle ne saurait donner aux Puissances le droit de s'immiscer dans les rapports particuliers et journaliers de Sa Majesté le Sultan avec ses sujets, car les Puissances qui s'étaient opposées aux exigences de la Russie tendant à obtenir la protection exclusive des Chrétiens de l'Empire, ne seraient mises en contradiction avec elles-mêmes par cette substitution collective, qui dans le fait n'aurait pas été autre chose que l'annulation de la souveraineté du Sultan sur une population

de 12,000,000 de ses sujets. Le Traité de Paris a évité cet écueil mais tout en s'interdisant cette ingérence permanente et journalière entre le Sultan et ses sujets, il a réservé la haute surveillance, non sur les Chrétiens pris comme individus, mais sur les Chrétiens pris comme

des Chrétiens de l'Empire considérés collectivement, et dans un sens politique, et dont les conditions générales intéressent au plus haut les Puissances de l'Europe.

La Turquie d'une part, en donnant connaissance à l'Europe de ses dispositions bienveillantes envers les Chrétiens de l'Empire et en y joignant grandes et solennelles promesses, contractant en même temps le devoir, non seulement de remplir ses engagements, mais de mettre les Puissances à même d'apprécier les moyens qu'elle emploierait pour atteindre ce but, et le résultat qu'elle en obtiendrait.

C'est sans doute en partant de ce point de vue que la Sublime Porte avec une parfaite opportunité, ordonna l'enquête sur le sort des Chrétiens confiée à son Altesse le Grand Visir, et qu'elle s'empressa de communiquer de cet acte important aux Puissances signataires par sa note circulaire du 2 Juin. Les Puissances signataires au sein du Congrès de Paris, et la Sublime Porte ont acquis le droit de lui rappeler ses engagements.

Et c'est également en se plaçant au même point de vue que le Cabinet de St. Pétersbourg n'hésita point, au mois d'Avril dernier à signaler aux Puissances l'état dangereux des Chrétiens de l'Empire, comme un élément de graves perturbations et d'éventualités désastreuses qu'il était urgent de détourner. Voilà à mon avis le caractère et la portée de la disposition présentée.

L'Article IX par conséquent fixe les droits et les devoirs réciproques des Puissances signataires du Traité de Paris, et une mesure de surveillance et de contrôle

interprété de tout autre manière, serait une disposition vide de sens et peu digne de la place importante qu'elle occupe dans le Traité de Paris. Ce droit de surveillance et de contrôle attribué par le Traité de Paris aux Puissances signataires qui, à mon avis, ressort très clairement du contenu et de la portée de l'Article IX, est mis hors de contestation et pleinement consacré par l'Article VII, qui résume en peu de mots tout l'esprit du Traité. Selon ses dispositions, "la Sublime Porte est admise aux avantages de la garantie collective des Puissances signataires, et elle a le droit de réclamer la garantie collective des Puissances signataires pour les Chrétiens de son Empire. En conséquence tout acte de nature à y apporter atteinte, est contraire à l'intérêt général."

Voici la condition de garantie collective.

Or cette condition, en même temps qu'elle impose aux Etats signataires des devoirs et des charges, elle leur confère également des droits. L'Etat garanti. Si le Gouvernement Ottoman vient à provoquer par des mesures désastreuses l'esprit de révolte parmi les populations Chrétiennes, les Etats garants ont le droit de l'avertir du danger qu'il court, et de lui indiquer les moyens de prévenir les éventualités dont les conséquences pèseraient tout autant sur la Turquie que sur eux mêmes. Ce ne serait pas s'immiscer dans les rapports individuels des sujets Chrétiens avec le Sultan, ce à quoi s'oppose la disposition de l'Article IX du Traité ; ce ne serait qu'exercer une ingérence inséparable de toute garantie, telle que le droit de rémontrance, dans le cas où l'Etat garanti viendrait par sa faute à compromettre l'intégrité de son indépendance politique et territoriale, qui forme l'objet de la garantie.

La Sublime Porte dans le fait n'a jamais contesté aux Puissances garantes cette haute surveillance, cette espèce de contrôle, non seulement pour ce qui a trait aux Chrétiens, mais souvent même pour ce qui touche à l'administration intérieure de l'Empire. Je pourrais citer plusieurs exemples de cette surveillance et de ce contrôle.

et compromettre son crédit financier à l'extérieur, fissent simultanément des vives remontrances à cet égard.

La Sublime Porte, dans cette circonstance, où se trouvait en jeu non seulement son administration intérieure, mais, on pourrait dire aussi, l'honneur personnel du Sultan, n'hésita pas à donner des explications satisfaisantes à tous les Représentants, y compris celui de la Sardaigne. Après une considération si évidente de ses droits pourrait-on lui contester celui de participer aux actes qui ont trait à la grande question des Chrétiens de l'Empire ?

La Sublime Porte ne s'est-elle point prévaluée des dispositions de l'Article IX, pour se dispenser de toute explication concernant une question si délicate et qui touchait en quelque sorte à l'honneur d'un conjoint de Sa Majesté le Sultan ?

Évidemment c'est que la condition de garantie consignée à l'Article VII, en faveur des Puissances garantes un droit de contrôle, dont on n'a pu à le constater, n'ont fait et ne doivent faire qu'un usage très modéré.

On peut nous objecter : si la Sardaigne avait les droits qu'elle réclame, pour s'ingérer dans la question des Chrétiens, pourquoi ne les a-t-elle pas fait prévaloir dans les conférences des cinq Puissances principales de l'Europe tenues à St Pétersbourg au mois d'Avril dernier ? Pourquoi, si récemment n'a-t-elle point pris part aux conférences qui ont réglé l'annexion du 4 Août, l'occupation armée de la Syrie ?

Le Roi n'a pas manqué en temps opportun de faire valoir ses réclamations. Je pourrais ajouter que la Turquie ne saurait invoquer ses antécédents ayant trait à une autre Puissance dont la manière de voir et de juger la portée du Traité de Paris pourrait différer de celle de la Sardaigne et de la Turquie.

En appréciation, à mon avis, erronée du Cabinet de St Pétersbourg peut servir d'une manière absolue de règle à la conduite d'une autre Puissance, beaucoup moins à la Turquie, dont les rapports avec la Sardaigne lors des événements qui donnèrent lieu au Traité de Paris ont été d'une nature toute particulière.

Chaque Etat doit remplir ses engagements indépendamment des appréciations des autres Etats, quand même ils seraient liés par les mêmes stipulations, car chaque Etat a des devoirs spéciaux à remplir dans l'ordre moral autant que dans l'ordre politique. Cela pour ce qui touche aux conférences de St Pétersbourg.

Pour ce qui a trait à l'occupation de la Syrie, événement qui se rattache directement aux dispositions et aux garanties stipulées dans l'Article VII précité, nul doute que l'assentiment de la Sardaigne à un tel événement, tel que l'occupation d'une partie du territoire par des troupes étrangères, ne fût une condition indispensable pour sa pleine validité légale.

La question n'est pas seulement locale, comme on a voulu l'entendre, et comme le serait une simple rectification de frontières, ou tout autre acte de ce genre, sur lesquels la Sardaigne ne demande pas l'exercice rigoureux de son droit.

Cette occupation étrangère est une question d'intérêt général. Quant aux accords et aux Conventions antérieures relatives aux Druses et aux Maronites qu'on pourrait invoquer pour demander l'exclusion de la Sardaigne, je me borne à remarquer que le Traité de Paris n'étant qu'un acte général et permanent, auquel doivent se co-ordonner et selon lequel doivent se modifier les Conventions antérieures en tout ce qui pourrait contrevenir à ses dispositions fondamentales. Si l'Égypte se soulevait et menaçait, comme en 1839, l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman, on ne pourrait pas contester à la Sardaigne le droit de prendre part aux délibérations diplomatiques sous prétexte qu'elle n'est pas intervenue aux conférences

de 1840 ? D'ailleurs cette occupation n'a point été motivée uniquement par la guerre avilie entre les Druses et les Maronites, mais elle l'est spécialement par suite des épouvantables catastrophes de Damas. La population n'a pas été le sujet des Conventions de 1845, qui concernaient exclusivement le Mont Liban. L'enquête Européenne qui va s'ouvrir incessamment en Syrie, et la révision de la Convention de 1845, qui suivra nécessairement, ne peuvent aucunement rester enfermées dans les limites du Mont Liban, mais elles doivent pourvoir à la sécurité des Chrétiens dans toute la Syrie.

Je pourrais de mon côté demander à la Porte, pourquoi lorsqu'il s'agit d'un acte aussi grave que celui de l'occupation du territoire Ottoman par une armée étrangère et pour lequel l'assentiment unanime des Puissances garantes est nécessaire, elle ne s'est point prévaluée de l'Article IX ?

La Sardaigne ne m'en plaindra pas. Je présume que son Excellence Ahmed Vefik Pacha a été inspiré dans cette occasion par les mêmes sentiments d'humanité que le Gouvernement du Roi mon auguste Souverain a lui-même éprouvés. Dans un moment où le seul retard de vingt jours pouvait coûter la vie à des milliers de Chrétiens, la Sardaigne, tout en faisant ses réserves pour l'avenir, crainte que ses réclamations puissent soulever quelques objections et donner lieu à quelque retard à la conclusion des négociations, a préféré suspendre pour le moment l'exercice de ses droits devant la gravité des circonstances et l'imminence d'éventuels malheurs.

Je ne doute point que l'Europe aura nous tenir compte de notre situation et de notre réserve, qui n'est point une abdication, et saura la nature des sentiments qui ont dicté notre conduite.

Encore une dernière objection. Les traditions et les usages diplomatiques ont réservé exclusivement aux cinq Grandes Puissances l'examen des questions d'un intérêt général Européen, voilà, dit-on, pourquoi la Sardaigne n'a point été appelée à prendre part aux Conférences tenues au mois d'Avril à St Pétersbourg au sujet de la condition des sujets Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman. Voilà aussi pourquoi la Sublime Porte ne se croit point obligée de faire droit aux remontrances de la Légation de Sardaigne.

En fait, on a vu l'Autriche le Grand Vicaire au sujet ; voilà, enfin, pourquoi la Sardaigne n'a pas été invitée à prendre part aux délibérations qui ont précédé la signature des Protocoles de Paris du 4 Août, pour régler l'occupation de la Syrie. Ces arguments peuvent à mon avis expliquer mais non justifier la conduite de la Sublime Porte. Quelle que soit l'importance qu'on veuille encore attacher aux vieilles traditions et usages diplomatiques, ceux-ci ne sauraient avoir plus de valeur que les lois écrites. Les Conventions internationales et le droit des gens ont remplacé les traditions et sur les usages. L'exemple d'un grand pays signataire du Traité de Vienne de 1815, et qui, à notre grande joie, reprend aujourd'hui dans l'opinion générale sa place historique, bien qu'encore repoussé dans les Protocoles de la diplomatie, nous apprend qu'il est fort imprudent de laisser établir de mauvais précédents et ouvrir l'accès à l'établissement d'un principe dangereux, c'est-à-dire, à la prescription en fait de droit international, théorie toute nouvelle que nous ne saurions admettre.

À part ces considérations, posées dans un ordre général d'idées, on peut demander si la Turquie a le droit d'invoquer à son appui les traditions diplomatiques et de s'en faire une arme contre la Sardaigne.

Assurément non. La Turquie n'a été admise à jouir des avantages des droits et des usages antécédents, auxquels elle a toujours été étrangère.

Nous croyons que c'est uniquement sous l'influence des souvenirs de la guerre de 1839-1840 que la Turquie doit régler désormais sa conduite envers elle, et que dans le Traité de Paris seulement et non ailleurs elle doit puiser le système de ses rapports diplomatiques envers son ancienne alliée.

J'ai eu l'honneur, M. le Ministre, de vous exposer jusqu'ici les considérations qui ont inspiré ma note du 27 Juin, lorsque je me plaignais d'avoir été exclu des notifications officielles faites aux autres Puissances co-signataires du Traité de Paris, et de l'absence sur les conditions générales des Chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman, j'espère que V. M. aura pu les apprécier.

Enfin, sous des auspices si favorables, le Gouvernement Ottoman, le Sultan, le Souverain, je dois formellement protester d'avance contre l'interprétation restrictive que le Gouvernement Ottoman ferait à l'avenir des dispositions du Traité de Paris sur cette matière, et je fais à cet égard les plus amples et les plus formelles réserves.

Tout en formulant cette déclaration je ne cesse d'ajouter que je n'ai autre chose en vue que de sauvegarder les intérêts de la France. Mes efforts tendent uniquement à fixer d'une manière claire et précise le sens et la portée du Traité de Paris, et éviter ainsi tout sujet de malentendu et de désaccord entre la Sardaigne et la Sublime Porte, avec laquelle nous n'avons jamais cessé de maintenir les meilleurs rapports et dont l'affaiblissement nous causerait un préjudice dans nos intérêts et dans nos devoirs.

Je suis, &c.

No. 208

Lord Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 21.)

(No. 1342.)

My Lord,

It would appear, from M. Thouverel's letter, that General Beaufort is not satisfied with the conduct of the Turkish troops, and accuses him of conniving at the escape of some of the Turkish troops by the injudicious disposal of the Turkish troops sent to intercept them.

I took this opportunity of mentioning to M. Thouverel that I had been informed that the Maronites with the French army had committed some acts of atrocity towards the Druses. M. Thouverel replied that he feared that acts of that nature were still perpetrated by the Maronites and Druses, though General Beaufort declared in his correspondence that the extent of them had been much exaggerated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 209

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received October 23.)

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice Admiral Martin, dated the 7th instant, reporting the arrangements he has made for assembling a squadron at Corfu, and for leaving a force of frigates and smaller vessels on the coast of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. G. ROMAINE

Inclosure in No. 209

Vice-Admiral Martin to the Secretary to the Admiralty

My Lord,

"Marlborough," at Beyrout, October 7, 1860

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ultimo, directing me to proceed with a squadron to Corfu, and to the coast of Syria a sufficient number of frigates and smaller vessels.

2. These orders will be carried out in the following manner:

Directly the arrangements incidental to the changes etc. etc. I shall put to sea in my flag-ship with the ships named in the margin, sending them to Corfu. I shall call at Suda Bay, Candia, from which place I propose taking the "Exmouth" to join the squadron to be assembled at Corfu. The "Scourge," on arrival at Malta from Gibraltar will be sent to Candia. And as I am instructed that the force to be drawn to Corfu should be as large as may be practicable, I sent orders to Malta for the "London," "Cesar," "James Watt," and "Orion," to join my flag, so that the squadron will consist of the following ships:

"London," "Cesar," "James Watt," "Orion," "Melpomene," despatch vessels "Assurance" and "Alacrity."

3. The squadron that will be left on the coast of Syria will consist of the ships named in the margin.

The senior officer, with three ships, will make St. George's Bay (Beyrout), his head quarters after the 10th November, and the remaining three vessels will be stationed at the other ports, and quarters, which points the whole of the ports will be frequently visited, as I hope it will be unnecessary for the vessels to lie at the open roadsteads of the coast.

4. The instructions for the senior officer, as conveyed in your letter of the 24th ultimo, will be strictly followed, and I shall take care to keep the coast of Syria well supplied with British subjects and interests.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. F. MARTIN

No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 25.)

(No. 18.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, October 12, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received information upon which I can rely, that General de Beaufort has written home for reinforcements.

I have, &c.
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 211

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 25.)

No. 19.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, October 12, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of the *procès-verbaux* of the first and second séances of the Syrian Commission, held on the 5th and 9th instant respectively.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Interpreted (on the way from Aleppo).

*Protocol of the First Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout,
October 5, 1860.*

CE JOURD'HUI, cinq Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, à deux heures de l'après-midi, M. de Weekbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche; M. Beclard, Commissaire de France; Lord Bullern, Commissaire de Grande-Bretagne; M. Reliques, Commissaire de Prusse; M. NAKOW, Consul de Russie; M. de Plendi, Délégué de son Excellence F. de P. de Coblenz, Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, se sont réunis chez le Commissaire Français à l'effet de se constituer en Commission conformément à leurs instructions respectives dans le but, (1), de rechercher l'origine et les causes des événements dont la Syrie a été la théâtre, de déterminer la part prise par les chefs de l'insurrection, ainsi que celle des Agents de l'Autriche, de provoquer la punition des coupables, (2), d'apprécier l'étendue des calamités qui ont frappé les populations chrétiennes et de combiner les moyens propres à soulager et à indemniser les victimes, (3), et de semblables calamités et d'assurer l'ordre et la tranquillité en Syrie en indiquant les modifications qu'il conviendrait d'apporter à l'organisation actuelle de la Montagne.

La présidence appartenante de droit à Finaï Pacha par suite d'un contrat avec les Représentants des cinq Grandes Puissances à Constantinople, il a été décidé à l'unanimité que, en l'absence du Plénipotentiaire

Enfin, le lendemain a été occupé par M. de Weicken
qui a déclaré la séance ouverte. Le Président
a lu les instructions, qui sont trouvées identiques à celles des autres
Commissaires. Il invite la Commission à porter tout d'abord son atten-
tion sur le premier des points énoncés dans les dites instructions, à savoir,
la recherche de l'origine et des causes des événements. Des documents en
un nombre étant adressé de tous côtés à chacun des Commissaires, et
comme ils ne diffèrent pas les uns des autres, il propose
un seul dépôt pour éviter la perte de temps qui résulterait
d'un travail multiple de ce genre.

Le Comuniste Proletario propose de continuer la marche suivie jusqu'à présent par Fucil Pachá en végétant la production des produits-vergences déjà dirigés par les soins des Comunistes Locales.

Le Commissaire Français, en répondant à la proposition du P^e, a dit que plusieurs établissements religieux, tels que ceux des Lazaristes, et de Père du Terre Sainte, ayant eu à souffrir des réformes, les documents relatifs à ce sujet sont exclusivement de sa compétence et ne peuvent faire partie des archives de la Commission.

Le Commissaire Russe ajoute qu'il en est de même des pièces qui
pourraient lui être adressées concernant la ruine du Vice-Consulat de
Russie à Tuman, le meurtre du drogman Russe, et les faits qui s'y
rattachent.

Le Commissaire Pradal a ainsi été convenu d'adresser des lettres aux communes précitées aux certains points déterminés.

Le Commissaire de France donne lecture d'une note rédigée sur ce sujet et dont copie se trouve annexée au présent procès-verbal. La copie de la dite note est également remise par lui à Aïre Efendi, qui déclare, à cette occasion, n'avoir pas reçu encore les instructions dont il doit être muni par Fındı Pacha, s'engageant d'ailleurs à transmettre à Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la pièce en question.

que comme une séance préparatoire, et qu'il n'accepte qu'à titre officieux les communications de MM. les Commissaires.

M. Berland demande si le Colonel Hosni Bek, membre du Tribunal chargé de juger Khurshid Pacha, est le même officier qui commandait la garnison de Bualbek.

Sur la réponse affirmative d'Abro Efendi, qui assure d'ailleurs n'avoir

ses connaissances des antécédents de Hosni Bek, le Commissaire Français a été en mesure d'apprécier et de faire saisir aux Juges les charges très graves à propos de sa conduite à Baïbek, que sa présence, dit-il, dans le sein du tribunal extraordinaire de Beyrouth est un moins

Il est également comment il se fait que le Colonel Nuri
n'a pas été mis en état d'arrestation. Sa participation au désastre
de Zablib motivait cependant cette mesure de rigueur à son égard

Abro Efendi répond, quant à Housh Bek, qu'il prendra les renseignements nécessaires, et quant à Nuri Bek que ce dernier se trouve à Beyrouth dans l'impossibilité de quitter la ville, et que cette circonstance rend superflu son emprisonnement préventif, que d'ailleurs il sera interrogé à son tour et puis s'il y a lieu. Abro Efendi ajoute qu'il recouvrera avec reconnaissance toutes les informations que MM. les Commissaires jugeront à propos de lui fournir sur les diverses pers. aux inculpées.

M. Beclard s'étonne qu'on ait une si féroce aversion pour Nuri Bek, vu que d'après lui la responsabilité des événements pèse également sur chacun des agents de l'autorité, qui tous lui paraissent être en état de suspicion.

Rumor demande des explications sur la faculté fautive

... le compte de sa conduite.

objets qu'il n'avait aucune connaissance des griefs élevés contre Shakin Pacha. M. Novikow lui adresse une autre interpellation relativement à Khurshid Pacha, dont le procès avance, tandis qu'il lui était revenu que le tribunal chargé de l'instruction n'a entendu aucun des témoins qui eussent pu l'éclaircir.

Abra Efendi répond que l'interrogatoire n'est
terminé, et que quant aux témoignages il
admette contre la première.

Le Commissaire Prusien pense que les Druses devraient être interrogés dans le cours de l'enquête sur les actes de Khurshid Pacha qui vont à leur connaissance. Abou Elendi ne refuse pas d'ordonner son manque d'importance. Le Commissaire Français envoie l'opinion répétée et d'après laquelle on ne serait borné à rappeler les Pacha sans faire comparaître aucun témoin. Si l'enquête est incomplète, bien que Khurshid Pacha ait été

procureur sur ses actes tous les délits

1. Je voudrais faire remarquer que tout procès criminel a ses deux faces bien distinctes — 1. l'instruction, 2. la défense de

A son avis, la Commission n'a pas le droit d'intervenir dans la première affaire qui ne regarde que le Gouvernement Ottoman et ne peut intervenir que dans la seconde.

Le droit d'intervention des
par une observation de
formellement reconnu à

français, et après lui plusieurs autres membres de l'Assemblée ont fait des observations sur le mode suivi par l'Assemblée pour la réparation des dommages soufferts par les

En suite des explications données par Abro Efendi que six Comités composés d'hommes spéciaux auxquels sont adjoints des gens de la Montagne, ont été chargés de se transporter sur les lieux chacun dans ses rations les plus urgentes. Ces Comités du dehors sont placés sous le contrôle d'une Commission Centrale de Secours présidée par Abro Efendi. Sur la vu de l'état dressé par les Comités les intéressés reçoivent la somme allouée comme strictement nécessaire pour rendre leur maison habitable, et l'emploi des fonds est l'objet d'une surveillance toute particulière.

On ne s'occupe pas pour le moment des maisons des Emirs, qui sont

les plus coûteuses, et en échange desquelles les propriétaires reçoivent provisoirement à Beyrouth des logements ainsi que des secours proportionnés à leurs besoins.

Il ne s'agit également aujourd'hui que d'assurer aux habitants une assistance momentanée à l'aide des sommes fournies par Sa Majesté le Sultan. Plus tard on s'occupera de la question des indemnités.

Sur la demande de Lord Dufferin, dont la motion subit divers modifications, il est décidé que la Commission se fera représenter par des délégués dans le sein des six Comités dont il vient d'être fait mention. Le mode de cette délégation est indiqué dans un paragraphe ajouté après coup, au troisième point de la note annexée au présent procès-verbal.

Le Commissaire Français critique la composition d'une sorte de tribunal secondaire dont les attributions ne lui paraissent pas clairement définies, que fonctionnent à côté et sous la dépendance du tribunal extraordinaire à Beyrouth. Abro Efendi donne quelques éclaircissements sur la mission confiée à ce prétendu tribunal, qui n'est chargé, à titre de limite d'instruction du Tribunal Extraordinaire, que de l'examen des crimes ou délits commis à la faveur des derniers événements par des individus obscurs. Un seul Chrétien, il est vrai, fait partie de ce tribunal, mais c'est aussi le seul capable qu'on ait pu trouver jusqu'à ce jour.

Le Commissaire Prussien s'élève contre cette assertion, et dit que le choix de cet unique juge Chrétien n'est pas même justifié par l'impartialité de son caractère. Une conversation s'engage entre les membres de la Commission à l'effet de savoir s'il y a lieu de rétribuer, et sur quels fonds, les délégués adjoints par elle aux six Comités de la Montagne.

Lord Dufferin propose de faire appel à la munificence des Gouvernements respectifs; cette proposition n'est pas adoptée.

Le Commissaire Français pense qu'on pourrait cependant se mettre en rapport avec le Comité Européen de secours établi à Beyrouth et agir de concert avec le Comité le meilleur emploi à faire des sommes qu'il aura à sa disposition. M. Béclard donne ensuite lecture d'une requête qui lui a été adressée par la famille Bedran Tabet de Deir-el-Kamar.

Cette famille se plaint de ce que le Tribunal de Beyrouth lui opposant un principe de la loi Musulmane, ait exigé la nomination d'un procureur légal pour représenter les orphelins mineurs. Il en résultait que jusqu'à leur majorité les dits mineurs seraient privés du droit de poursuivre les assassins de leurs parents.

Abro Efendi s'empresse de déclarer que le principe lui paraît inapplicable à Beyrouth, attendu qu'on ne l'a pas invoqué à Damas.

La séance est levée à cinq heures, et il est décidé que la séance suivante, fixée au Lundi, 8 Octobre, aura lieu chez le Commissaire Anglais, qui a offert de mettre un local spécial à la disposition de la Commission.

(Signé) WECKBECKER, Vice-Président.
L. BECLARD.
DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.
REHFUES.
NOVIKOW.
ABRO.

Annexe

1. Damas.—La Commission demande communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables ou accusés; cette communication doit lui servir à se former une opinion sur la question de savoir s'il y a lieu d'exercer de nouvelles poursuites.

La Commission est d'avis que le désarmement général de la population de Damas est une mesure d'urgence que le Gouvernement ne doit pas hésiter à prendre.

2. Beyrouth.—La Commission demande des éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khorshid Pacha et les autres autorités. Son droit d'intervention dans cette enquête est évident. La Commission est disposée à l'exercer dès à présent soit personnellement,

soit par ses Délégués. Même demande en ce qui concerne l'enquête projetée ou commencée contre les Druses.

3. Les Chrétiens.—Il importe de les faire rentrer chez eux le plus tôt possible. Pour cela il faut d'abord aviser à l'ensevelissement des cadavres et la reconstruction des maisons, puis subvenir aux besoins des nécessiteux, et pourvoir à la sécurité de tous.

L'administration locale ayant déjà chargé six Comités distincts de procéder dans les différentes localités à l'évaluation des dommages, la Commission est d'avis de désigner six personnes de son choix qui pourront être adjointes à chacun des six Comités, ou se réunir entre elles de façon à former un Comité distinct. Ces six personnes déléguées par la Commission exerceront un contrôle direct sur les actes des Comités auxquels elles seront adjointes.

4. Suppression provisoire de la Caimacamie Druse.—La Commission a besoin de quelques explications sur cette mesure dans le cas même où la nécessité en serait démontrée, attendu qu'aucun changement, même provisoire, dans l'organisation administrative du Liban ne saurait avoir lieu sans la participation ou l'acquiescement des Grandes Puissances.

Inclusure 2 in No. 211

Protocol of the Second Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth, October 9, 1860.

CEJOURD'HUI, neuf Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, les Commissaires des cinq Grandes Puissances, et Abro Efendi, délégué de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, se sont réunis à Beyrouth chez le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique. La séance est ouverte à deux heures de l'après-midi, sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker.

Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté, après avoir subi quelques modifications. Abro Efendi n'ayant pas reçu encore les instructions qui doivent lui être adressées par Fuad Pacha ne croit pas pouvoir signer ce procès-verbal; un débat s'engage à ce propos.

Le Commissaire Russe donne lecture des instructions que Fuad Pacha lui-même a dû recevoir de son Gouvernement et dont le texte définitif a été communiqué aux Représentants des Puissances intéressées. Sur l'observation qui lui est faite que sa signature ne doit avoir pour effet que de constater sa présence et l'exactitude du compte-rendu, Abro Efendi se décide à signer avec tous les Commissaires le procès-verbal de la première séance.

Il renouvelle à cette occasion la réserve déjà faite par lui et déclare que les informations qu'il a fournies ne sauraient, en l'absence d'instructions de la part de Fuad Pacha, avoir aucun caractère officiel.

Lord Dufferin interpelle Abro Efendi sur un fait des plus graves à la charge de Hasan Efendi Gouverneur de Haleb, et de Mustala Pacha, Commandant des troupes dans le village de Mânis.

Le premier aurait donné l'ordre de relâcher des prisonniers Druses, et le second, après s'être fait livrer ces prisonniers, les aurait mis en liberté.

Abro Efendi n'a aucune connaissance de cet incident, sur lequel il promet de faire des recherches.

Plusieurs des Commissaires prennent successivement la parole au sujet du droit d'intervention que possède la Commission, sans avoir pu obtenir encore la faculté de l'exercer pour ce qui regarde le procès de Khurshid Pacha, et celui des autres personnes traduites devant le tribunal extraordinaire de Beirût.

En ce qui concerne les témoignages qu'il importe de recueillir, M. de Weckbecker est d'avis que la Commission ne pouvant faire comparaître directement devant elle en l'absence de Fuad Pacha, les personnes qui offriraient de fournir des renseignements.

Il pense qu'en agissant ainsi la Commission outrepassait son droit. Cette opinion est combattue par les Commissaires de Prusse et de France. Alro Elendi aborde dans le sens du Commissaire Autrichien. La Commission doit éviter, dit-il, tout ce qui pourrait porter atteinte à l'autorité souveraine du Sultan et affaiblir son prestige. Le Gouvernement fait tout ce qu'il peut. Des actes de sévérité ont eu lieu à Damas. En ce moment Fuad Pacha est dans le Liban occupé à punir les coupables, et à soulager les Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Prussien revient au procès de Khurshid Pacha, sur lequel la Commission manque toujours d'éclaircissement.

M. Novikow regrette également que la Commission n'ait reçu du Gouvernement aucune communication, bien qu'elle ait manifesté le désir d'exercer son droit d'investigation sur la totalité des faits qui se sont

Ce droit, dit-il, a été confirmé par l'admission formelle de la Porte exprimée clairement dans les Extraordinaire, et la Commission oh elle en a formulé la seconde par écrit à son Pacha par l'entremise d'Abro Elendi.

Il lui fait observer qu'on doit d'abord laisser à Fuad Pacha le temps de répondre à la note dans laquelle les Commissaires lui ont fait part de leur intention.

Le Commissaire Français appuie la réclamation de M. de Rehfuos. Il attend avec impatience le moment où la Commission pourra intervenir dans l'affaire.

Le Délégué Ottoman s'étonne qu'on veuille entraver la liberté d'action de Fuad Pacha. M. de Rehfuos dit que les instructions des Commissaires leur prescrivent pas de commencer leurs travaux que lorsque Fuad Pacha aura terminé sa tâche.

Le Commissaire Français croit s'apercevoir que Fuad Pacha n'éprouve pas aussi vivement que les autres membres de la Commission le désir d'exercer une action commune, tandis que ceux-ci sont prêts à coopérer avec lui.

Abro Elendi ne partage pas cette opinion. Le Président propose à la Commission de se transporter à Mokhtarab.

M. Reclard n'est pas de cet avis. Il lui est échappé que Fuad Pacha est présent à Beirout, pour y prendre part aux travaux de la Commission. Il propose à la Commission d'aller rejoindre le Pacha. Dans son opinion les Commissaires des autres puissances ne se transporteront pas à Damas. Les nouvelles de la situation de cette ville lui paraissent fort graves. Par sa présence, la Commission parviendrait, non seulement à rassurer la population Chrétienne en intimidant les auteurs de troubles, mais à déterminer le châtiment des vrais coupables qui jusqu'à présent n'ont pas été atteints.

Il faut que la justice suspendue en quelque sorte depuis le départ de Fuad Pacha reprenne son cours. Toutefois la Commission ne devrait pas aller à Beirout avant d'avoir pris les mesures convenables pour imprimer la rigoureuse application de la loi contre Khurshid Pacha et ses complices.

M. Weckbecker est d'accord avec le proposant sur l'utilité d'un voyage à Damas, mais la Commission pourrait se rendre dans cette ville après être allée d'abord se concerter avec Fuad Pacha à Mokhtarab.

Le Commissaire Prussien dit qu'on ne pourra s'occuper du procès de Khurshid Pacha que lorsqu'on aura reçu la réponse du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman. Quant aux dangers qui peuvent menacer la population Chrétienne de Damas, il ne s'en rend pas bien compte.

M. Novikow s'en range à l'opinion de M. Reclard sur l'utilité d'un voyage de la Commission à Damas, tout en admettant la réserve indiquée par M. de Rehfuos, c'est-à-dire, qu'on ne doit aller à Damas qu'après avoir pris une part active à l'enquête judiciaire qui se poursuit

Le Commissaire Prussien pense que la crainte approuvée par les Musulmans doit être une cause de sécurité pour les Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Français croit aussi que pour les Musulmans de Damas, l'occupation Française serait une profanation, mais il tient grand compte des haines religieuses, qui sont plus profondes que jamais. Déjà on sait que les meneurs sont en relation avec les Druses du Haaran. En frappant la tête du complot, on pourrait arrêter le mouvement qui se prépare. Le Consul de France à Damas présente la situation comme s'étant modifiée dans un sens très favorable.

M. Reclard donne aussi lecture de quelques fragments d'une lettre du Général de Beaufort qui sembleraient prouver que la présence de Fuad Pacha et de ses troupes dans le sud des districts mixtes n'a produit qu'à ce jour aucun résultat sérieux. Les Druses ont pu gagner le Liban sans que les troupes turques aient pu les empêcher de le faire.

Ils manquent de tout pour venir à leur secours le plus tôt possible, soit au moyen des fonds que les Comités de Beyrouth ont même au moyen d'un emprunt. Il termine en annonçant la prochaine arrivée du Général de Beaufort, qui durant son séjour à Beyrouth, devra mettre en rapport avec les Commissaires.

M. de Weckbecker recommande pour venir en aide aux Chrétiens la formation d'un Comité Central de Secours. Cette proposition est généralement approuvée, même par Lord Dufferin, qui fait observer que le Comité Anglo-Américain n'est pas libre de se fonder dans le sein des autres Comités. Revenant sur quelques uns des points articulés par le Général de Beaufort, M. Reclard parle du séquestre mis sur les biens des Druses. Le séquestre s'applique aux biens des Chrétiens et des Druses.

M. de Rehfuos cite à l'appui du passage relatif aux Druses, un fait qui est venu à sa connaissance. C'est qu'ils rentrent de tous côtés dans le Liban, et que, partout où ils paraissent, les soldats Turcs les poursuivent.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que les derniers événements, qui dans les localités où il se trouvent les garnisons Turques. Il invoque sur ce point le témoignage de M. de Weckbecker, qui reconnaît l'exactitude de cette assertion. Abro Elendi croit pouvoir affirmer que les Druses qui rentrent dans le Liban sont en mesure de résister par la proclamation de Fuad Pacha. Lorsqu'ils trouvent des Chrétiens installés chez eux, ils les expulsent. Lord Dufferin sur la question de savoir quelle mesure Fuad Pacha a prise à Mokhtarab pour mettre la main sur les Druses coupables. Abro Elendi répond, les mesures sont en voie d'exécution. Fuad Pacha ne peut tout faire à la fois et la Commission doit attendre la communication des résultats obtenus avant d'émettre une opinion sur ses actes.

M. Reclard insiste sur la nécessité de transférer le siège de la Commission à Damas.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit qu'on peut par d'autres moyens rendre la sécurité à la population Chrétienne de Damas tandis qu'il est urgent d'intervenir dans les procès qui s'instruisent à Beirout.

Abro Elendi ne peut, dit-il, faire aucune communication relativement à ce procès avant d'y avoir été autorisé par ses instructions.

Le Président fait observer que la Commission ne peut agir que de concert avec Fuad Pacha.

Abro Elendi demande si les Commissaires peuvent intervenir pendant le cours de la procédure ou après l'achèvement du procès.

Il lui est répondu que dans le dernier cas les investigations les plus

souvent seraient illusoires. Sur l'insistance du Président, qui juge nécessaire pour la Commission de se rendre à Mokhtarah, afin d'entrer en rapport direct avec Fund Pacha, le Commissaire Prussien exprime l'opinion qu'après ce qui s'est passé, une telle démarche serait contraire à la dignité des Commissaires. Cette opinion est partagée par le Commissaire Français, mais combattue par Abu Elendi, qui trouve que la question d'humanité doit passer avant tout.

Le Commissaire Russe insiste sur la nécessité de sortir de l'inaction dans laquelle la Commission se trouve. Il veut qu'on intervienne sans retard dans l'enquête ouverte à Beirûr.

Tous les Commissaires reconnaissent qu'il y a lieu pour eux de se rendre à l'époque de ce voyage, tout en devant être prochaine, n'est pas définitivement arrêtée.

Le Commissaire Français dépose sur le bureau une requête des habitants Chrétiens du Haurân, qui se plaignent de l'affreuse situation à laquelle ils sont.

Il est décidé, sur la proposition du Président, que cette question sera examinée dans la séance suivante.

Il est également décidé que M. de Wockbecker se mettra en rapport avec les Présidents des Comités de Haurân, de Latak, et les invitera à se rendre dans le mois de novembre.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 212

Lord J. Russell to Consul Brant.

No. 211

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1860

I HAVE received from Sir Moses Montefiore the letter of which, and of the petition enclosed in it, I herewith transmit to you copies,* from which it would appear that the Christians at Damascus are endeavouring to raise an outcry against the Jews of that place as having taken part with the Mussulmans in the late atrocities committed upon the Christian population.

I have seen nothing in the correspondence of Her Majesty's servants in Syria to justify such an imputation, and, indeed, the communication from Sir Moses Montefiore was the first information on the subject which has reached me, and I need not say that, while it is impossible to believe that the charge brought against the Jews rests upon any foundation, the fact of its being made reflects little credit upon the Christians, who should have been taught by their own sufferings to refrain from all attempts to involve others equally innocent with themselves in the same misdeeds as those of which Damascus has lately been the theatre.

I have to instruct you to pay immediate attention to this matter, and to use your utmost endeavours to preserve the Jewish population of Damascus from becoming the victims of such monstrous calumny. You will state to the Governor of Damascus that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has been instructed to call the attention of the Porte to this charge against the Jews, and to require that they should be protected from wrong in consequence thereof, and you will warn the Governor that his conduct in this respect will be most closely scrutinized, and that Her Majesty's Government will use their utmost influence with the Porte to cause any harsh and unmerited treatment which may be inflicted on Jews by Turkish authorities to be visited on those authorities with the same severity as would be wrongs done to Christians.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 213.

Lord J. Russell to Consul-General Moore

No. 10

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1860

I TRANSMIT to you, under flying seal, a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Consul Brant respecting the apprehensions of the Jews of Damascus in consequence of their having been charged by the Christians with having taken part with the Mussulmans in the late massacres.*

You will forward my despatch to Mr. Brant, showing it in the first instance to Lord Dufferin, if he is still at Beyrout; and you will hold to Fund Pasha, and to any of the high Turkish authorities with whom you may be in communication, the same language on this subject as that which I have prescribed to Mr. Brant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 214

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 570)

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1860

I ACQUAINTED you, by my telegram of the 20th instant, with the apprehensions felt by the Jews at Damascus in consequence of the charges brought against them by the Christians of having instigated the late massacres, and I instructed you to call the attention of the Porte to the subject, and to direct Her Majesty's Consuls at Damascus and Beyrout to interpose for the protection of the Jews.

I have also, in your Excellency's information, copies of a letter from Sir Moses Montefiore and of the petition from the Jews enclosed in it, on which my telegram was founded, and also a copy of an instruction which I have addressed to Mr. Consul Brant.

Your Excellency will learn from these papers as well the details of the representation which has been made to Her Majesty's Government as the view that they have taken of it; and I have to instruct you to use every effort to induce the Porte to take the most effectual measures to preserve the Jews from becoming victims of the unfounded charges which have been brought against them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 215

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 576)

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1860

I HAVE received from Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus a despatch dated the 31st instant, identical with his No. 51 to your Excellency, and I have to call your attention to the state of things at that place, as reported by Mr. Brant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 216

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 19)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1860

HER Majesty's Government cannot but commend the humane and generous motives which led your Lordship to give your private security

to Fuad Pasha to enable him to raise 5,000*l.*, under the circumstances reported in your despatch No. 18 of the 29th of September to Sir Henry Bulwer; but I regret to state to you that they cannot relieve your Lordship from the pecuniary obligation which you have incurred.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

N 27

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 27.)

No. 669. Confidential.

My Lord,

Thessalonica, October 16, 1860

I have received a private letter I have received from Mr. Brant at he says of M. Outré that I should have to say of M. de Lavalette. The manner of both seems friendly and plausible, but neither the one nor the other inspires me with confidence.

I have &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure to No. 217

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer

I HAVE been favoured by your Excellency's despatch of the 11th of September. I have long since expressed my disapproval of the French Consul's flattery in a letter to your Lordship, and I am able to state that Lord John Russell has also expressed his approbation.

There has been too tender of great criminals, and too precise in obtaining evidence, which against such could not have been expected to be procured. To inculcate certain persons Mussulmans will not give decisive testimony.

I feel persuaded that Her Majesty's Commissioner will not fail to press his Excellency to execute justice, but the example will have lost a great deal of its salutary effect by delay.

Your Excellency will perceive that fanaticism is not yet crushed out, it is depressed, but only waits an opportunity again to raise its head, and to avenge what it considers the wrongs it has suffered. After all Fuad Pasha's doings, let there succeed a weak Administration, and the same scenes are more to be apprehended than they were before.

Outré is, in my opinion, a very difficult man to fathom; under the frank professions, I cannot feel that he is sincere. Looking at the persons who surround him, at the reports which seem to originate from the French followers, at the plausible explanations of very questionable pecuniary claims on the Turkish Government (which are universally regarded as unjust and exactions), and at the general feeling of all who are not of the French party, notwithstanding his own agreeable, plausible, and apparently frank bearing, as I said before, I cannot trust him. It must be remembered that his brother is First Dragoman to the French Embassy, that there existed the most intimate relations with M. Thouvenel, and that the same exist with the Marquis de Lavalette; that French Consuls have usually full and precise instructions how to act under such circumstances your Excellency will not be at a loss to appreciate the part he is likely to play in Syria better than I am.

Your Excellency inquires about Colonel O'Riley. He has been almost the greater part of the time since his return to Syria with Fuad Pasha, employed in conveying his Excellency's orders to Beyrout, in

other affairs of which I have no knowledge. He seems to entertain a high opinion of his Chief.

His Highness Abd-el-Kader has received the Medjidié from the Sultan, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, a pair of pistols from the President of the United States. He is about to receive a high decoration from Sardinia; while from the British Government he has only had a letter of thanks which I was directed to address to his Highness. I believe this has caused a feeling of disappointment. Could not something be done to remove this?

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

N 218

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 27.)

(No. 676.)

My Lord,

Thessalonica, October 16, 1860

AS some observations were made in Parliament and elsewhere in question of the part taken by Her Majesty's Ambassador as to the affairs of Syria, I have deemed it well, notwithstanding the flattering manner in which my conduct was alluded to at the time by Her Majesty's Government, to draw up and here transmit a brief account of the steps taken by me in relation to those affairs, so that if the publication of further despatches as to this subject takes place, I may, within as short a compass as possible, correct at once any misconceptions or misrepresentations.

When I was first appointed to this Embassy, the Earl of Malmesbury from Mr. Alison thereupon.* The pith of these despatches was, that our Consuls were too much in the habit of getting irretrievably into disputes with the local authorities and other foreign agents on frivolous grounds, thereby greatly embarrassing the conduct of affairs.

On my arrival at Constantinople, after some communication with Mr. Alison, I addressed an instruction to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Beyrout,† which was subsequently adopted by other foreign Governments as a model of the instructions they should themselves issue to their Consuls. But an understanding was also come to between the Governments, with the approbation of the British Government, to the effect that when the French and English Consuls had any disagreement, their differences should be referred to M. Thouvenel and

The object of these instructions was to provide (in case whatever dispute occurs between a Consul and a Pasha has ultimately to be referred to Constantinople) that all disputes of this nature should be referred to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople before they had reached a certain height; and on the same principle that before disputes between the French and English Consuls had become difficult of arrangement, the causes of them should be impartially investigated by their superior authority.

I may add that this instruction produced the best effect, and that from that time up to the present the English and French Consuls-General and Consuls have acted in tolerable accord.

On the 1st of January in the following year, I likewise gave a Consular circular instruction. This instruction prescribed the general line which Consuls should pursue in the ordinary course of affairs, but in the case of extraordinary circumstances, left the greatest latitude to the local Agents, making their own judgment the rule of their conduct.

In the beginning of the autumn of last year, I had cause to consider that the state of Syria was exceedingly unsatisfactory. I wrote to Fuad Pasha, consequently, in the strongest manner, on the complaints which

reached me, stating: "It is therefore with the most earnest and anxious desire to maintain the best interests of the Empire, as well as to protect those of Her Majesty's subjects, that I submit to the Porte the necessity of a more rigorous treatment towards all who violate their duty, without which the excellent intentions of the Sultan and his Ministers in these countries will be in vain."

And I required, about that time, the removal of Khorsud Pasha from Beyrout. I renewed this demand in another official note, dated September 1, and which is in your Lordship's hands. I also wrote to your Lordship expressing my desire to visit Syria myself, if it were

required by personal inspection, suggesting that if this was inconvenient Mr. Alison should be sent, and I also suggested the advisability of sending one or two ships of war to the coast of Syria, in order to support the remonstrances which we might deem it fit to make.† Your Lordship paid me the compliment of thinking that my presence could not be spared at Constantinople, but consented to the mission of Mr. Alison. Your Lordship thought at the same time, for reasons which, looking at the general state of European affairs at that moment, seemed to me highly judicious, it would not be expedient to disperse Her Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean without some immediate and pressing necessity.

Mr. Alison was consequently sent with the instructions of which your Lordship approved, and to which I here refer.

It is clear that during the mission of a person of the weight and ability of Mr. Alison, I did not like to take any decided steps of a general nature in Syrian affairs unless suggested by him, and in so far my correspondence with the Consuls could only be limited.

I should state, however, that directly Mr. Alison's Report reached me I communicated its substance verbally to the Grand Vizier and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and subsequently forwarded them a *Memorandum*, and pressed strongly upon both the necessity of adopting immediate and decisive steps for establishing the Sultan's authority, which seemed to be dangerously weak, and putting down the administrative abuses which appeared to prevail throughout the whole of one of the most important provinces of the Ottoman dominions. Here, indeed, is the place that I should observe, that when Mr. Alison went to Syria I strongly advised the Porte to send a Turkish Commissioner with extraordinary powers, so that the two might act together, and that such changes as could be made at once should be made without a moment's delay. Fuad Pasha agreed in the principle contained in my recommendation, but he observed, that if an Ottoman Commissioner was invested with the powers I described, and was sent contemporaneously with Mr. Alison, it would excite the jealousy of other Powers. However, he added, he would keep the idea in mind, and on the first favourable occasion it should be carried out.

On the return of Mr. Alison, therefore, I again pressed my former counsel upon the attention of the Porte, which promised me that it should be attended to, and I wrote informing your Lordship of this resolution.

Shortly after this the Turkish Ministry was disorganized by the dismissal of Aali Pasha, and then I brought the question of sending a High Commissioner to Syria before Kuprili Pasha.

He, like his predecessor, approved of the plan, but said there was some difficulty at that time in selecting a fitting person, in consequence of the differences that, owing to the recent change of Ministry, prevailed among the leading persons of the Empire, and which, shortly afterwards, led to Kuprili's overthrow.

Rushdi Pasha was Kuprili's successor, and I again brought before him my decided opinion as to the nomination in question, and the absolute necessity of taking urgent steps as to Syrian affairs. Rushdi Pasha's predecessor, agreed entirely with my view, but, like his predecessors, hesitated constantly as to the choice to be made; and it is worthy of remark, that as I had suggested Kuprili Pasha as a fitting

selection before his Highness was Grand Vizier, so I suggested it again when he went out of office.

My opinion now is that had Kuprili Pasha either of these times been sent to Syria, circumstances would not have arisen which we now deplore.

It is, however, to be said that the arguments used both by Aali and Rushdi Pasha against offering Kuprili the appointment were plausible, and, perhaps, just.

They deemed he would consider it rather as a pretext for getting rid of a rival than as a proposal for giving, under critical circumstances, a high important post to a functionary distinguished for his zeal and ability.

At last, in the beginning of April, thinking not only that the general affairs of the Empire were, in many respects, in a critical state, but that those of Syria especially required the promptest attention, I appointed an interview with Rushdi Pasha, at which I requested both Aali and Fuad to be present; and as Rushdi Pasha did not speak French with perfect fluency, and as I also wished to have a witness at my interview, I took Mr. Eugene Pisani, the head interpreter of the Embassy, with me to this interview.

On this occasion, after setting before the Grand Vizier many abuses which I conceived required immediate redress, and telling him plainly that when persons were appointed to high situations it was incumbent upon them to take upon themselves the responsibility attached thereto, I urged the three Turkish dignitaries who were present to act with more vigour and decision, and said that unless they increased their strength in Syria, and sent an able and capable man there at once, I throw upon them the whole responsibility of whatever might occur.

On the 20th of May, from one of the reports of Mr. L. Moore, then acting as head interpreter, I extract the following passage:—

"I went on to say that your Excellency had repeatedly drawn the attention of the Ministers to the state of things in Syria, but that, notwithstanding the solemn promises made to you to introduce reforms and establish a better system of government in that distracted country, as yet no steps have been taken in that sense, and that things continue in the same state to the detriment of the interests of all the parties."

Nor is this all: so strongly was I impressed with the necessity of keeping watch over Syrian affairs that, following up the suggestion which at the end of August I had made to your Lordship, I had made frequent visits to the coast of Syria, and had been admitted to the coast of Syria.

From a private letter written to me by the Admiral in the month of March I extract the following passage:—

I was deterred from sending a ship to the coast of Syria in the autumn by my instructions to take all my disposal vessels with me to Gibraltar; but the 'Cadmus,' which I had intended should have gone to Beyrout, has returned with me, and having been refitted I intended sending her there after the arrival of the *Eugenie* to communicate and co-operate with Mr. Moore, and remain on the coast until her provisions are nearly expended, which was to be about the month of July. It will be seen that there was a probability of a vessel being sent to the coast of Syria from about that period up to the month of July, and that this would have been effected by my advice. Subsequent circumstances, however, interfered with the arrangement, and it is to be observed that nothing is more difficult for an Admiral than to attend to the different calls that are made upon him—a consideration which must limit an Ambassador in his requests and in attempting to force them beyond certain bounds upon the Admiral, who generally exercises a sound discretion.

Some further correspondence, however, took place between me and the Admiral, from the time to which I allude to the month of June (June 8), when I telegraphed to him in the following terms:—

"Serious accounts, but possibly exaggerated, reach me from the Syrian coast.

"The French intend sending one ship or more there. If you can

* See in Sir H. Bulwer's No. 115 of August 24, 1859.

† See Sir H. Bulwer's No. 118 of August 24, 1859.

‡ Copies enclosed in Sir H. Bulwer's No. 127 of September 27, and No. 210 of October 10, 1859.

spare one send it there, it would certainly be desirable; and in such case I would recommend it should be a vessel of some importance.

As to my correspondence with Mr. Moore I have said that up to the departure of Mr. Alison's quitting Syria, that correspondence was necessarily carried on.

Your Lordship knows well enough that in correspondence in general, whether as to your Lordship with me, or as to mine with a Consul in the Ottoman Empire, only those despatches, as a general rule, are answered which require an answer, without which it would be impossible to get through the public business.

Mr. Moore's general instructions were sufficient for all ordinary cases, everything to him in extraordinary and unforeseen cases; which I intend, if you have an agent you can trust, is the only satisfactory course to adopt and thus it proved—for when unforeseen circumstances arose Mr. Moore was able to act, and did act, on his own judgment.

With regard to an Ambassador here is that the Ambassador, unless he disapproves the Consul's conduct, should carry out his views.

Not only was every ordinary precaution taken by me against neglect of Syrian affairs, a particular state of things existed at the Embassy, which rendered it next to impossible that any neglect could take place on my subject.

From the 19th October, 1859, to the month of March, Mr. Lionel Moore conducted under my orders the Consular correspondence relative to Syria, and diligently attended to the questions connected with it. This same duty fell on Mr. Alison on his return in March. Now Mr. Lionel Moore is in of Mr. Moore, Consul-General in Syria. Mr. Alison had just come from Syria, and been studying its affairs. The employment of these gentlemen, therefore, as described, furnished the best guarantee that nothing important could be overlooked; and, in fact, on casting my eye over the despatches from Syria I have seen that on each of them every step that was necessary was immediately taken upon them. Thus, up to the time when the disturbances in the Mountain occurred, everything that was possible to prevent those disturbances had been urged and suggested. When they broke out, I not only gave Mr. Moore every personal countenance and assistance in my power,—I immediately got the British Representatives to act with me in pressing to their Consular Agents to act in union with Her Majesty's Consul-General.

As to keeping your Lordship generally informed as to the state of Syria, you are perfectly aware of how much this was the case, and in order not to encumber my statement, I shall merely refer to the despatches marked in the margin.*

My general opinion at the first breaking out of the Mountain war was certainly that that war would be confined to the Mountain, and expend itself as such wars have generally done, not only in Mount Lebanon, but in all places where hostile and armed tribes are similarly placed towards each other within a limited circle.

The extraordinary means which, it is said, were taken to excite mutual alarm and animosity on the one side, and the extraordinary conduct of the Ottoman troops and their leaders on the other, carried matters beyond the bounds which under the usual course of circumstances could have been calculated upon.

All the events that occurred I do not pretend, then, to have anticipated, but that for which I claim credit is for having for some time past observed the general state of Syria, and the particular state of Mount Lebanon, and foreseen that unless some remedy was applied to each, great evils and great dangers would be the consequence; and for having also taken every step in my power to prevent those evils and dangers from occurring. I say that the Sultan and his Ministers have both done me the honor to acknowledge that had my advice been followed the calamities that we

* No. 207 September 19, 1859, No. 221, No. 260 November 22, 1859, No. 208, December 1859, No. 221 June 13, 1860, No. 266 July 2, 1860, No. 260 July 11, 1860, No. 405, July 16, 1860, No. 418, July 18, 1860.

have had to deplore would not have taken place, I feel that I have nothing more to add to this statement.

I have, &c.
Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 219

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell. — (Received October 27.)

(No. 681.)

My Lord,

Therapia, October 17, 1860

HAVING received from Lord Dufferin various despatches, numbered from No. 1 to No. 21, of which copies have been already forwarded to your Lordship, I have consigned my observations on their contents in a despatch transmitted herewith in copy for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 219

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Dufferin

Therapia, October 15, 1860

My Lord,

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatches from No. 1 to No. 21, both inclusive.

In the first place I should mention to you that the French Ambassador complained to me the other day of the collective note written by the Commissioners to Fuzul Pasha, deeming that it makes the Commission too dependent upon his attending its attings. I confess I could see nothing, in the communication referred to, to justify such complaint, and I understood from him this evening that that affair is at all events now arranged.

For my own part in this, as well as in all other matters, you seem to me to have acted with perfect judgment and propriety, and in such a manner as to merit Her Majesty's Government's approbation.

The cruelties which you signalize as having been committed by the Maronites manifest that it is neither the spirit of the Deceit nor of the Maronism which deserves peculiar reprobation; the one and the other evince a disposition which distinguishes the Maronite Christian but little from the Infidel.

The conduct of the Turks, and of the Government of the country, is from that of either Druses or Maronites. The Government of the country are indeed to be considered as constituting the Government of the country; they are bound, therefore, to preserve order and put down violence in whatever side it manifests itself, and Europe, which confided to them the government of Syria, has a right to exact from them the obligations which all government imposes.

The punishment of those Turkish functionaries who failed in their duties was thus a simple question on which no doubt could exist.

When, however, we come to look at the conduct of the Druses, other reflections present themselves, and all the circumstances which attach to their situation and belong to their character should be deliberately weighed. If it is really true that there was an intention on the part of the Maronites to attack the Druses, and that the Maronites thus commenced the war, I think it is not to be wholly put out of sight that if one barbarous people attack another, that other is likely to repel such attack in a barbarous manner; and that what passes amidst such people cannot be judged entirely in reference to the customs, manners, opinions, and civilization of the refined States of the west of Europe.

To continue; if we were to look to the condition of Syria generally, and especially to that of Mount Lebanon, there might be political reasons against allowing the French, who have always protected the Maronites, to establish the predominance of that tribe. It may even be said that the effect of this measure would extend itself generally throughout the East.

On the other hand, the cruelties committed by the Druses on a race professing the Christian faith, have certainly excited a strong feeling of indignation among the Christian States.

Were your Lordship to be affected too much, either by the political considerations to which I have in the first place alluded, or by the feelings so painfully excited of which I have spoken in the second, you might possibly be led away too far in one direction or the other from the simple ends of justice. What it seems to me you have to do is to keep your mind as free as possible, in the peculiar circumstances in which you are placed, from any other thought than that of doing what, taking all things into consideration, seems to you fair and right, and which, when first impressions die away, will be so esteemed; and I say this, because I think almost the only advantage that a person writing calmly at a distance can be of, to an able man on the spot, is to keep his mind fixed upon one or two leading principles which are to direct his conduct and keep it above the transitory accidental impressions of the scene or the hour.

There is, however, one question alluded to in your despatch on which I think myself bound to express a decided opinion, and that is, however which, as I have no power of giving you instructions, will of course be subordinate to the opinions you may receive from home. Your Lordship seems to favour the idea of a prolonged occupation by European troops. I can easily understand how such an idea may force itself upon your mind; but, as when a person is acting under a particular impression, it always more or less, and sometimes immensely, affects his general conduct, I cannot but express to you my conviction that a prolonged occupation of Syria by a large body of European troops would be likely to have the most serious consequences upon the general policy, and even upon the peace, of Europe. It will give an example which other military States will not be long without a reason for imitating, and little by little, the whole of the Turkish Empire will, in this way, fall under the dominion of those Powers which on any emergency can most easily dispose of a military force, without Great Britain being able to guard beforehand against the dangers which might arise from such a partition.

I confess, for my own part indeed, that I should be more disposed to set down deliberately, and parcel out, after some fixed plan, the Ottoman territory, than thus to allow it to lapse, accidentally and cursorily as it were, into those hands from which we might have the greatest interest to preserve it.

I will not say that if a plan for governing Syria were decided upon and that the presence of a very small European force, such as 10,000 men, formed of different nations, were judged expedient to give a moral force to the Ottoman authority, this might not be consented to without danger; but if you were to form your notions as to the general state of Syria on the idea that for some time to come it is to be under the control of an European army, you will have adopted a basis of which I should myself much doubt either the advantage or the feasibility.

I have thought it right to express to you frankly my own individual sentiments on this particular point, but they are accompanied by so much reason for the fact which has hitherto distinguished your conduct, and by so much reliance on the sound sense and judgment which I have always remarked in all your proceedings and correspondence, that I am sure you will take this exposition of my ideas as merely proceeding from the wish to avoid you any future embarrassments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No 219.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received October 31)

(Telegraphic.)

Thessalonica, October 26, 1860, 2 p.m.

It is said Jews in Syria bought a good deal of plundered property at very low prices and sent it to Constantinople. Mr. Meade insists that Ali Pasha will write immediately to Fund on the matter.

No. 220

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No 21.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 30, 1860.

IN consequence of the wish expressed by your Lordship that Colonel Burnaby should not extend his leave beyond the 1st of November, for a time in Syria, I consulted the General Commanding-in-chief on the subject; and His Royal Highness has informed me that under the circumstances he has no objection to Colonel Burnaby's leave being extended.

His Royal Highness has, however, called my attention to the fact that Colonel Burnaby is in Syria in no official capacity whatever, and is not authorized in any way to assume that he has any public duties to perform in that country; and your Lordship will take care, while calling Colonel Burnaby's attention to these facts, that no misapprehension prevails in the mind of the French General, or in any other quarter, as to Colonel Burnaby having no commission or authority whatever which should cause him to be regarded as an officer employed in Syria on public service.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No 221

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No 20.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1860

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, copies of a letter and enclosure from the Admiralty, showing the arrangements made by Vice-Admiral Martin with regard to the stationing of ships of war on the coast of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 222

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No 20.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1860

I HAVE to state to you that Her Majesty's Government approve of your Excellency's conduct in regard to the affairs of Syria, as detailed in your despatch No. 676 of the 16th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 223.

Mr. Meade to Mr. Hammond.—(Received November 1)

Dear Mr. Hammond,

Beirut, October 22, 1860

OWING to Lord Dufferin's temporary absence through indisposition, I transmit herewith to the Pasha of the Syrian Commission, copy of which has been sent to Constantinople to-day.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT H. MEADE.

*Protocol of the Third Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth,
October 11, 1860*

CE JOI REMPLI, Jeudi, onze Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, à deux heures de l'après-midi, la Commission Internationale, assistée d'Abro Effendi, Délégué Ottoman, s'est réunie à Beyrouth sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker, MM. Moore, Consul-Général de Sa Majesté Britannique, et le Comte de Perthuis, tous trois Présidents des Comités de Secours institués à Beyrouth, sont introduits. Le Commissaire Autrichien prenant la parole invite ces messieurs à se mettre en rapport avec la Commission, et sur leur adhésion il est décidé que les trois Présidents des Comités de Secours, auxquels s'adjointra M. de Weckbecker lui-même comme Président d'un Comité de formation, constitueront un Comité Directeur qui aura pour tâche l'impulsion, pour répartition et le emploi des sommes fournies par la charité publique. A la demande de M. Novikow, il est pareillement décidé qu'une place sera réservée dans le Comité Directeur au Président du Comité Russe qui doit être formé hors de l'arrivée des fonds recueillis en Russie.

MM. Moore, Canaris, et de Perthuis s'étant retirés, le Président déclare la séance ouverte. Il est donné lecture du procès-verbal, qui a reçu quelques modifications est signé par les Commissaires et par le Délégué Ottoman.

Le Commissaire Français donne communication de la requête adressée à la Commission Internationale par les Chrétiens du Haurân et dont l'examen avait été ajourné.

Lord Dufferin s'adressant à Abro Effendi demande s'il est vrai que le procès de Saïd Bey Jumblât soit déjà commencé.

Réponse affirmative d'Abro Effendi. Lord Dufferin dit qu'il a vu le procès de Saïd Bey Jumblât et qu'il a vu le Délégué Ottoman.

Le Délégué Ottoman dit qu'il a vu le procès de Saïd Bey Jumblât et qu'il a vu le Délégué Ottoman.

Le Délégué Ottoman dit qu'il a vu le procès de Saïd Bey Jumblât et qu'il a vu le Délégué Ottoman.

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Les membres de la Commission prennent tour à tour la parole et expriment unanimement l'opinion qu'ils ne font que réclamer l'exercice d'un droit incontestable en demandant à assister, personnellement ou par des délégués, aux audiences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth. La distinction établie par Fuad Pacha entre l'enquête générale, pour laquelle il reconnaît la compétence des Commissaires, et l'enquête judiciaire, dont il prétend les exclure, est combattue avec force par tous les orateurs. Tous maintiennent expressément leur droit et invitent Abro Effendi à provoquer de la part du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman une nouvelle décision plus conforme aux instructions identiques dont ils sont munis, comme à ses propres instructions. Cette discussion, qui remplit la majeure partie de la séance, n'est suspendue qu'à de rares intervalles, pendant l'un desquels Abro Effendi communique à la Commission une lettre de Fuad Pacha relative à un engagement qu'a eu lieu à Medjel Champa entre un parti de Druses et les troupes commandées par Mustapha Pacha. Dans cette rencontre, sur laquelle on manque encore des détails, les Druses ont été complètement battus. Fuad Pacha annonce également à Abro Effendi son départ pour Damas.

Le Délégué Ottoman s'efforce de soutenir l'opinion de Fuad Pacha sur le rôle assigné aux Commissaires, mais son argumentation ne peut prévaloir, et il déclare qu'il en réfèrera au Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte.

Tous les membres de la Commission déclarent de leur côté qu'ils ne peuvent exercer leur droit dans toute sa plénitude en assistant à l'enquête judiciaire partout où une pareille enquête est ouverte.

Cette enquête est pour eux un des éléments essentiels de l'enquête générale, à laquelle ils doivent se livrer. Sur leur invitation répétée Abro Effendi s'engage à transmettre à Fuad Pacha l'expression du vœu formellement émis par la Commission. La réponse à cette notification sera communiquée dans la séance suivante.

Le Commissaire Russe soumet à la Commission les renseignements qu'il a parvenus sur l'état précaire des Chrétiens du Haurân. Il fait observer d'abord que, pendant les massacres, les Sheikh Druses paraissent avoir généralement suivi le système de porter le meurtre et le pillage dans les districts voisins, tout en épargnant, plus ou moins, les Chrétiens de leurs propres districts, dans le but de s'en prévaloir après avoir obtenu leur grâce. Le même système a été suivi par le fameux Agand Ismail Attarah, Sheikh Druse du Haurân, qui a dirigé les massacres de Rasheya. Or d'après les informations parvenues à M. Novikow, ce Sheikh, ayant rendu quelques services aux Chrétiens des villages voisins de sa résidence de Noora, obligerait maintenant ces mêmes Chrétiens à intercéder en sa faveur auprès du Gouverneur menaçant de sa vengeance s'ils ne le faisaient pas. Les forces militaires dont il dispose depuis l'arrivée dans le Haurân des Druses émigrés du Liban et sa force connue rendraient l'exécution de ses menaces fatale aux Chrétiens de sa province.

La Commission décide que cet incident sera porté à la connaissance de Fuad Pacha.

La séance est levée à cinq heures trois quarts.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe I.

1. Damas.—La Commission demande communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables ou accusés. Cette communication doit lui servir à se former une opinion sur la question de savoir s'il y a lieu d'exercer de nouvelles poursuites. La Commission est d'avis que le désarmement

1. Damas.—On s'empresse de satisfaire la demande de la Commission concernant la communication des dossiers relatifs à la procédure suivie contre les coupables et les accusés. Fuad Pacha donnera, immédiatement, ordre au Tribunal Extraordinaire ainsi qu'au Conseil de Guerre qu'il avait institués d'office

général de la population de Damas est une mesure d'urgence que le Gouvernement ne doit pas hésiter à prendre.

2. Beyrouth. — La Commission demande des éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khurshid Pacha et les autres autorités. Son droit d'intervention dans cette enquête est évident, la Commission est disposée à l'exercer d'un à présent, ou personnellement, ou par des délégués.

Même demande en ce qui concerne l'enquête projetée ou commencée contre les Druses.

qu'ils communiquent à la Commission les dossiers de tous les procès.

Quant à l'avis de la Commission sur le désarmement de la population de Damas, cette mesure a été arrêtée par l'autorité dans le but de rendre stable la tranquillité de cette ville, mais d'autres mesures plus urgentes l'avaient obligée d'en ajourner l'exécution. Fuad Pacha déclare qu'au plus tôt que les circonstances lui permettront de retourner encore à Damas et de prendre ses dispositions, il mettra immédiatement en exécution cette mesure, déjà arrêtée en principe.

2. Beyrouth. — Le Tribunal Extraordinaire nommé d'office par Fuad Pacha, et qui siège à Beyrouth, sera chargé de donner à la Commission tous les éclaircissements sur la nature de l'enquête commencée contre Khurshid Pacha et les autres autorités.

On n'hésite pas à reconnaître la participation de la Commission à l'enquête mais les instructions de la Porte élaborées avec les Représentants des Puissances à Constantinople établissent une distinction entre l'enquête générale et les procès qui s'ensuivront contre les accusés sujets du Sultan. L'intervention de la Commission personnellement ou par délégation dans l'enquête, en participant aux travaux du tribunal qui est appelé à juger les accusés et à punir les coupables, changera les dispositions de ces instructions. Il faut conserver cette distinction entre l'enquête générale et la procédure de ceux qui seront accusés individuellement par suite de cette enquête même.

Le Pacha est d'avis que la Commission doit s'occuper d'une enquête sur les derniers événements du Liban, recueillir des informations sur la nature de la guerre civile qui a éclaté entre les Chrétiens et les Druses. Ce sera un procès entre les deux populations qui établira en premier lieu la cause de ces événements, la culpabilité générale, pour ainsi dire, des Druses et celle des autorités qui n'ont pas fait leurs devoirs. Cette enquête générale mettra la Commission à même de désigner à l'autorité d'autres individus qui ne sont pas encore entre les mains de la justice, et le Tribunal Extraordinaire établi à Beyrouth communiquera à la Commission les

dossiers de tous les procès pour montrer comment il a rempli son mandat; elle servira aussi comme un point de départ dans la question des indemnités en établissant la nature de ce grand conflit entre les deux peuplades de la Montagne. Les autorités locales ainsi que le Tribunal Extraordinaire seront appelés à donner par l'entremise du Délégué Ottoman toutes les informations, et à communiquer les pièces que la Commission sera dans le cas de demander; la Commission donnera son avis, par la même entremise, au Tribunal sur les différents procès dont il s'occupera. Si la Commission admet cette manière de procéder le Délégué Ottoman s'empressera de mettre à l'exécution ces derniers points.

3. Les Chrétiens. — L'autorité s'occupe activement du rétablissement de la tranquillité dans leurs foyers. Les colons ont été encouragés à n'en restant qu'à Deir-el-Kamar qui ont tous été aussi encouragés à rentrer. L'autorité a pris les mesures nécessaires pour la reconstruction des maisons brûlées. On a déjà commencé à donner des secours aux habitants des villages qui se trouvent aux environs de Beyrouth. Fuad Pacha a envoyé un Comité ad hoc à Bekka pour veiller à la reconstruction des maisons des villages situés sur la versant oriental de la Montagne et de la plaine, avec l'autorisation de faire transporter dans les villages Moussammas et Druses le bois qui leur sera nécessaire, et dans les districts de Djezzin et de Latakia où on peut se procurer du bois on procédera de la même manière. Quant à Deir-el-Kamar dépourvu de bois et obligé d'en faire venir de Beyrouth, un secours en argent a été assigné à cet effet dans le budget de l'année 1280.

Les grains qui appartiennent aux Chrétiens et qui ont été trouvés dans le Bekka et dans la Montagne seront destinés à nourrir les Chrétiens qui se rétablissent dans leurs villages; deux petits convois ont été déjà envoyés à Deir-el-Kamar et à Zakkariya.

Fuad Pacha s'occupe en ce moment-ci de l'affaire de la restitution des objets pillés par les Druses; pour recouvrer surtout des lits et des couvertures qui sont d'une absolue nécessité aux Chrétiens, et qui leur

3. Les Chrétiens. — Il importe de les faire rentrer chez eux le plus tôt possible. Pour cela il faut d'abord s'occuper à l'enlèvement des cadavres et à la reconstruction des maisons, puis subvenir aux besoins des nécessiteux et pourvoir à la sécurité de tous.

L'administration locale ayant déjà chargé six Comités distincts de procéder dans les différentes localités à l'évaluation des dommages, la Commission est d'avis de désigner six personnes de son choix qui pourront être adjointes à chacun des six Comités ou se réunir entre elles de façon à former un Comité unique. Les six personnes déléguées par la Commission exercera un contrôle direct sur les actes des Comités aux-
LES COMITÉS

seront délivrés. Les Commissions mobiles parcourront les villages Druses et obtiendront, quoique peu, des objets qui serviront à ce but.

La terreur a amené le calme dans la Montagne; mais après une si grande agitation il faut quelque temps pour y rendre la sécurité absolue. Les dispositions sont prises pour couvrir les Chrétiens qui rentrent chez eux, et pour empêcher les conflits partiels qui peuvent se produire entre les deux populations, qui se trouvent aujourd'hui en force, l'une accusative et l'autre accusée.

Les six Comités institués par l'Administration Locale n'ont d'autre tâche que de faire des évaluations des dépenses de reconstruction des maisons, évaluations qui serviront de base aux secours qu'on doit donner aux Chrétiens pour leur rétablissement. L'estimation des dommages est une autre question, pour laquelle on doit établir d'abord un principe et un principe; l'enquête générale servira comme il est dit plus haut, comme un point de départ pour l'estimation de ces dommages. Une fois que ce principe sera établi, la Commission suggérera à l'autorité le meilleur moyen de procéder à l'évaluation des dommages. Fuad Pacha est d'avis que le meilleur mode de procéder aux estimations sera la nomination par l'autorité de Commissions composées de jurés qui seront choisis par le Conseil de la province, et auxquelles seront admissibles deux délégués de chaque district dont les habitants ont éprouvé des dommages. Un Comité arbitre, qui sera nommé et choisi de la même manière, siégera à Beyrouth pour décider en dernier ressort sur les réclamations qui peuvent s'élever.

Quant aux dommages éprouvés par des étrangers des Commissions *ad hoc* seront nommées, et dans lesquelles les Consuls respectifs seront représentés par des délégués.

1. Suppression provisoire de la Camacamie Druse — L'arrestation préventive du Camacam des Druses, et de quelques-uns des Moukatads et la suite des autres, qui sont déchargés de leurs charges et droits d'après l'arrêté promulgué par Fuad Pacha, a laissé la Montagne Druse sans une administration régulière; elle se trouve actuellement sous le régime militaire en attendant la nouvelle organisation de la Montagne

La Commission provisoire de la Camacam Druse — La Commission a besoin de quelques explications sur cette mesure, dans le cas où la nécessité en serait démontrée, attendu qu'aucun changement, même provisoire, dans l'organisation administrative du Liban ne saurait avoir lieu sans la participation et l'assentiment des Grandes Puissances.

qui se fera après entente avec les Grandes Puissances. On a dû, pour empêcher l'anarchie, et pour créer une autorité qui pourra veiller à la sécurité du pays, et surtout aux besoins des Chrétiens qui se réinstallent chez eux, établir une administration provisoire. Comme on ne pourrait en ce moment-ci songer à nommer un Camacam choisi parmi les Druses, et sous-administrateurs des Moukatads, Fuad Pacha a décidé de partager cette Camacamie en quatre cercles, d'établir dans chacun une administration municipale, et de mettre à leur tête un Mudir nommé par l'autorité, et il élan à la veille de communiquer ces dispositions provisoires, contenues dans un règlement, dont le Délégué Ottoman est chargé de communiquer une copie à la Commission. Fuad Pacha s'occupe en ce moment-ci du choix des personnes qui seront nommées Mudirs, aussitôt qu'il aura choisi ces personnes il mettra en exécution ce règlement.

Annexe 2.

(Traduction.)

Règlement spécial établi provisoirement par le Commissaire Extraordinaire délégué pour organiser les affaires de Syrie. Ce règlement est destiné à être mis en vigueur dans la Camacamie Druse dans les circonstances actuelles, comme sauvegarde des intérêts de l'Empire et des sujets jusqu'à ce que des dispositions générales, étudiées sous toutes leurs faces, aient été définitivement prises à l'effet d'assurer une parfaite tranquillité, à l'ombre de la justice de Sa Majesté, à tous les sujets de la Sublime Porte qui habitent la Montagne des Druses.

Article 1. La Camacamie Druse, à laquelle on a adjoint seulement Dair-el-Kamar, a été divisée en quatre cercles: le premier se composant de Dair-el-Kham, du district de Djezzin, pour chef-lieu, le deuxième, du district de Haaty, du Chouf Souweidjany, et du district d'El Kharrut—chef-lieu Nakhlatrah, le troisième de l'Arkouh, du Djord et du Menassif—chef-lieu Dair-el-Kamar, et le quatrième du Chabbur, du Haut et du Bas Gharrh—chef-lieu Abeh. Chacun de ces cercles contient les Mokatan dont les noms et le nombre (de villages) sont inscrits dans le registre arrêté (du lein d'El-Khab El-Eudi).

Art. 2. Chaque cercle aura un Mudir nommé par l'autorité.

Art. 3. Il sera nommé auprès de chaque Mudir cinq adjoints ("Meawen") qui seront, sous la présidence de ce Mudir, les membres du Medjlis du cercle.

Art. 4. Cette Camacamie renferme des habitants appartenant à quatre religions différentes—Musulmans, Chrétiens, Metualis, et Druses. Quand l'un des cercles renfermera des populations des quatre communautés, le nombre de l'une d'elles étant nécessairement supérieur aux autres, il sera mis deux adjoints dans la communauté la plus nombreuse et trois d'autres inférieures en nombre. Si dans l'un des cercles il n'y a que trois communautés au lieu de quatre, trois adjoints seront choisis dans la plus nombreuse et chacune des deux autres en formera un. Le cercle se compose-t-il de deux communautés seulement, la plus nombreuse fournira deux adjoints et l'autre deux. Si enfin le cercle ne renferme qu'une seule communauté les cinq adjoints seront puisés dans son sein.

Art. 5. L'élection des adjoints de chaque communauté se fera au moyen des Sheikhs (doyens) des villages appartenant à la dite communauté, c'est-à-dire, que les Sheikhs des villages d'une même communauté se réuniront en Conseil (Medjha) et éliront les adjoints chargés de représenter leur communauté. Ces adjoints pourront être aussi bien des habitants du chef-lieu que des gens des villages. Les personnes à élire devront être honnêtes, dignes de confiance, et surtout ne s'être mêlées en aucune façon, soit aux derniers événements de la Montagne, soit à d'autres.

Art. 6. Le Medjha du cercle ainsi composé aura pour mission de s'occuper des intérêts du pays, et il lui est accordé la faculté de juger les procès au même degré qu'un Medjha de Cadha (sous-district).

Art. 7. Suivant l'importance des communautés de chacun des villages du cercle, il y aura un Sheikh pour chacune d'elles, et chaque Sheikh aura à son tour deux Moukhtars (Chefs de Quartier). Ces Sheikhs et Moukhtars auront à s'occuper ensemble des intérêts de leur communauté en traitant les affaires et les différends qui pourraient survenir entre leurs co-religieux.

Dans les villages dont la population est mixte, si une question d'ordre général pour le village venait à surgir, les Sheikhs et les Moukhtars de ce village auraient à se réunir pour s'occuper de la vider à l'amiable.

Tous les Sheikhs des communautés ainsi que les Moukhtars doivent être choisis parmi les personnes qui ne se sont en aucune manière mêlées ni dans les derniers événements ni dans tout autre.

Le Mudir délivrera à chacun d'eux un *teskeré* (diplôme) de "memour" (honneur).

Art. 8. Outre les troupes impériales qu'il est indispensable d'établir sur les points de la Montagne jugés convenables dans le but de maintenir la tranquillité générale il sera employé dans chaque cercle suivant le besoin des soldats irréguliers qui seront au service des Mudirs respectifs. La moitié au moins de ces soldats sera prise parmi les habitants du cercle. Chaque communauté fournira son contingent en proportion de son importance.

No. 221

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell. — (Received November 2)

No. 31,

My Lord,

Damascus, October 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that since my despatch No. 30 of the 5th instant matters here have not improved. On the contrary, the panic has gained a great hold on the Christians. Several persons, who wished to quit the city, were refused permission by the Government, and left clandestinely on the 5th instant.

The military Commander, Khaleel Pasha, for some nights past has patrolled the streets, and last night ordered lanterns to be hung up before the houses at short distances. He has also ordered the gates separating the different quarters to be repaired, and the entrances of the city are carefully closed and guarded. Only half the troops pass the night in bed, the other half patrolling from sunset to sunrise. The guards are supplied with ball-cartridge, and are ordered, on the least symptom of a rising, to fire on the mob. The Artillery are always in readiness for action. Colonel Gieseler in Prussian instructor of Artillery in the Turkish service admits that no officer could do his duty better than Khaleel Pasha.

Last night, however, houses inhabited by Christians were again marked with crosses, and this, with the measures of precaution taken, has renewed the panic to such an extent that a number of Christians have come to the Consulate, this morning to beg me to procure from the Government mules for them to quit, stating that their fears were so overwhelming that they may be said to be dying of them daily, for they cannot sleep or take any repose, being always harassed by the dread of a new attack.

I used every argument I could to give them courage, but it was in vain: they said the men and women could walk, but the children could not; they required animals only for them. Finally I said that if that

nothing could be obtained, the men would go, leaving the women and children, the old and the sick, behind. People who, even under the worst circumstances, can decide on such a resolve, deserve but little consideration. I believe that there is no immediate danger.

I am informed that Sheikh Abdallah el Halebee is allowed to receive any visitors he pleases in the room where he is detained, and consequently can carry on his machinations as well as if he were at liberty. His execution I consider to be a measure indispensable to the public security.

The conduct of Ibrahim Bey Karami, a Christian employé left by Fuad Pasha to superintend the affairs of the Christians, but who pretends to be his Excellency's representative, is most infamous, and he should be immediately removed. He will not be controlled by the Vah Pasha, and liberates prisoners on his own responsibility. He is known to receive money as bribes to a large extent, and without a bribe justice cannot be obtained. In the matter of the recruiting, he issued 300 tickets of exemption at 20,000 piastres (or about 165*l.*) per head. Out of this number only about 80 or 90 are paid into the Treasury; the holders of the remaining tickets paying smaller sums, which are supposed to have gone into Ibrahim Bey's pocket.

The Jewish Rabbis have applied to me in respect to some persons arrested on suspicion, and who have been detained in prison for some two months, one having already died there. The Rabbis demand that they should be brought to trial, and the Chief Rabbi offered to Ibrahim Karami his testimony that one of the prisoners was, all the time of the outbreak, in his house, to which Ibrahim Bey replied, "Your testimony is valueless, as they will all be condemned to die."

It is said that the cause of the present panic is mainly owing to the manner in which the Turks are dealing with the Druses. The Mushar marches about, and as fast as he moves from one place the Druses return. He pretends that he expressly allows them a passage, and does not interfere with their retreat to the Hauran.

The panic is spread on the public in the conviction that the Turks do not mean to kill the Druses, but leave them to act as they like—or, rather, that there is an understanding between them, so that people believe that the troops would not act hostilely against the Druses even in the case of an attack made by them on the city.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No. 225.

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell. — (Received November 2)

(No. 32.)

My Lord,

Damascus, October 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch which I addressed on the 11th instant to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer, reporting the particulars of my interview with his Excellency Fuad Pasha on the previous day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

Enclosure No. 225

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, October 11, 1860.

IN reference to my despatch of the 8th instant, identical with No. 31 to Lord John Russell, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that at 9 o'clock yesterday morning a salute announced the arrival of Fuad Pasha. His Excellency came direct from Mokhtarah and took every one by surprise. I wrote immediately to congratulate his Excellency and to express my satisfaction at his opportune arrival, at the same time requesting to know

when it would be convenient for him to receive me; 4 p.m. was appointed. I went over every point of my despatch above referred to, and will now give his Excellency's explanations.

He admitted the existence of the panic, but could not see the least ground for it; he suspected it was the effect of intrigues working on the minds of the people, who had been so ill-treated that he could not wonder at their entertaining fears, nor could he blame them.

His Excellency suspected the crosses were the work of Christians who wanted to prevent the return of the Damascus refugees now at Beyrout, by propagating a panic here; he mentioned the conduct of the Greek Consular Agent here as most mischievous, and alluded remotely to others, by whom, although he did not designate, I understood him to mean the French and Russians.

His Excellency could not believe that the Mussulmans of Damascus would attempt a new émeute, or if they were bold enough, that it would be on the old plan.

He thought Khaled Pasha had taken up the matter too seriously; however, he did not blame him, as the error, if any, was on the side of excessive caution. Still he considered that it had rather tended to increase the alarm.

I said that I could not but approve of Khaled Pasha's conduct, as the whole responsibility fell on him, the Vali being a complete nullity. I spoke on this point also, but Fuad Pasha appeared rather to avoid it, and a member of the Meclim coming in I did not say more; nor could I mention the name of Sheikh Abdallah el Halebee. Soon after M Outrey came in, when the member of the Meclim retired.

Fuad Pasha repeated to M Outrey what he had said to me. We both spoke of Ibrahim Bey Karami, the Pasha said he had already determined on dismissing him, as he had heard a bad report of him, and his conduct should be ascertained into.

To-day I hear that Ibrahim Bey has been put under arrest.

We both also spoke about the Jews; his Excellency said that two had been concerned, the others should be liberated. The French Consul observed that the evidence had not been fairly given, it was entirely Christian, and that of others had been refused. The Rabbis requested that justice in their favour should be received.

I told his Excellency what was said in reference to the conduct of the Meclim, and the Druses, as reported in my despatch. He said that the Druses were not to be trusted, and that the French Consul should be careful not to be deceived by their promises. He said that the Druses were not to be trusted, and that the French Consul should be careful not to be deceived by their promises.

I told his Excellency what was said in reference to the conduct of the Meclim, and the Druses, as reported in my despatch. He said that the Druses were not to be trusted, and that the French Consul should be careful not to be deceived by their promises. He said that the Druses were not to be trusted, and that the French Consul should be careful not to be deceived by their promises.

Fuad Pasha was much fatigued by his night's march from Mokhtarab, and it being late we could not protract our visit, nor could we decently have questioned his Excellency at that moment on his future movements and intentions.

I am happy to say that his Excellency's presence has spread a perfect calm over the previously troubled minds of the Christians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 23.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 2, 1860.

IT appears from the 3rd Protocol of the International Commission in Syria, that the Commissioners have insisted upon their right personally to assist at the judicial inquiry into the conduct of the persons charged with the massacre of the Christians, and to exclude them; and I have to state to your Majesty that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the course thus followed by the Commissioners.

I am, &c.
J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

Foreign Office, November 7, 1860.

Earl Marquis de Chateaubriand read to me a few days ago a despatch on the subject of Syria. M Thouvenel in this despatch adverted to the escape of the Druse criminals, pointed out the facility with which they might return from the Hauran to commit fresh murders, and stated that the General in command of the French troops in Syria considered reinforcements to be necessary. M Thouvenel wished to know Her Majesty's Government upon these circumstances.

I told M. Chateaubriand that I fully admitted the evils which M Thouvenel had pointed out; that Lord Dufferin's account of the escape of the Druse culprits through the lines of the Turkish army agreed with that of General Beaufort; that it was true these heroes chieftains might return and attack the Christians after the European troops should be withdrawn. But, I said, it is easier to agree as to the evil than to concert a remedy. I will reflect on the matter, and the opinion of the Government shall be communicated to Lord Cowley.

Upon further consideration there appear to Her Majesty's Government to be insuperable objections to a prolonged occupation of Syria by European troops. These troops were sent to Syria in consequence of frightful massacres which filled all Europe with horror. They went to support the Sultan's authorities in their task of restoring order, and punishing the principal criminals. By the activity of Fuad Pasha, and the energy of General Beaufort, this work of humanity and justice has been in great part accomplished. To keep the European troops there in order to hunt out other criminals in the caves and recesses of the mountains would be an endless, and indeed a hopeless work. To augment the European force, and maintain them in Syria with a view to prevent fresh outrages, would be to alter entirely the original purpose which the Sultan and the Five Powers had in view. What limit, either of numbers or of time, could be placed to such an occupation? It would soon degenerate into a transfer of the local Government of Syria to the Five Powers, and thus, instead of giving a useful example, well fitted to terrify the Mahomedan fanatics, the European occupation would be a precedent for other occupations in Bulgaria, in Bosnia, and other Provinces, and thus lead the way to a partition of the Turkish Empire.

Her Majesty's Government would prefer, as a chance of evil, to see the Government of Syria restored to authorities named by or connected with the Porte, in the manner which the Mixed Commission shall consider most favourable to the future peace of Syria. The responsibility would then be left with the Porte, and to those who will derive their right to rule from the acknowledged Government of the country. No security, it is true, would be thus obtained against a recurrence of the conflicts of

Druses and Christians; but so long as the two races exist in the country, no permanent security can be obtained.

It is to be hoped, however, that the Conference about to be instituted by the Representatives of the Five Powers at Constantinople may have for their result such amendments in the general administration of the Empire as may conduce to the firm establishment of order in Syria, as well as in other Provinces.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 228

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 8.)

No. 9.)

My Lord,

Damascus, October 20, 1860.

I VERY much regret that my communications to your Lordship have been interrupted by a severe illness of nearly a month, induced by the unwholesome climate of Damascus at this season, and prolonged from the want of medical attendance. I am glad to be able to state that I am now nearly well, although still very weak.

During my illness I had the honour to receive Mr. Hammond's despatches of the 10th and 12th September, conveying to me the gratifying intelligence of your Lordship's satisfaction with my proceedings here, as reported up to the 23rd August, and desiring that I should remain in Syria until the 10th October. That period has already elapsed, and under ordinary circumstances I should feel it my duty to proceed at once to England. Having, however, been requested by Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Commissioner to Syria, to continue my duties as heretofore, on the ground that the interests of the public service required such a measure, more particularly during Mr. Brant's absence from Damascus, I had consented to do so, pending a reference to your Lordship.

As in any case I should not be equal to undertaking the journey to England until I had somewhat recovered my strength, I trust I shall not be considered to have overstepped the bounds of discretion, in complying with Lord Dufferin's request until your Lordship's decision on this subject can be made known.

As regards myself personally, I desire to say that I am entirely at my duties in Syria, as the interests of Her Majesty's service may demand.

Mr. Consul Brant quitted Damascus four days ago, for the purpose of joining Lord Dufferin at Beyrout, and I had that he has reported so fully to your Lordship on recent events that I can add little to his communications. Fuad Pasha is still in the city, and his presence has caused a total cessation of the recent panic among the Christians. These, however, notwithstanding a great improvement in their condition, continue to leave for Beyrout daily, selling their bedding, cooking utensils, and anything they possess, to procure the means of hiring an animal for their journey. They seem in many instances totally unable to recover from the effects of their intense terror and anxiety during the massacre, and neither assurances nor encouragement seem to influence them. Others are induced to leave by the Greek Consular Agent here, acting, doubtless, under instructions from his Government, which is well known to desire that the Christian refugees from Syria should emigrate to the unpeopled plains of Greece, while others still give as the cause of their alarm the release of so many prisoners by Fuad Pasha, although charged with the crime of murder, his Excellency stating in explanation that although these persons were imprisoned on such a charge, yet as their original accusers have never come forward again, he cannot keep them for ever in prison. The Christians also allege as another reason for alarm the apparent collusion between the Government and the Druses, and the evident determination of Fuad Pasha not to punish the Druse murderers, that they, therefore, can feel no security under a Government which

screens those by whom they have so cruelly suffered, and from whom therefore, they have so much to fear for the future.

The field force recently employed in the Anti-Lebanon, near Hasbaya and Rasheya, for the ostensible purpose of cutting off the Druses from communication between the Lebanon and Hauran, have returned with—so far as I can learn, having taken a single prisoner. The troops are now quartered in villages in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and the Commander-in-chief (Helim Pasha) in the city.

In the meantime the Druses pass freely back from the Hauran to Lebanon, 300 horsemen under Milhem-el-Awad returned to their homes that range a few days ago, while upwards of 1,000 footmen were seen two days since also on their way back to Lebanon.

I have learned to-day that ten persons of position, some of whom were members of the late Great Council at the period of the outbreak, have been sent this morning to Beyrout under a guard. Having communicated with Fuad Pasha during the day, requesting to be favoured with information on the subject, I have at a late hour received the inclosed reply. Time will only permit me to remark upon this communication, to which I propose hereafter to revert, that Sheikh Abdallah-el Halebi is viewed, by both Europeans and native Christians, as the chief instigator of the massacre at Damascus, and therefore deserving of death, and that the Mufti comes much under the same category.

I have, &c
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 229

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 614)

Foreign Office, November 8, 1860

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* conveying the opinion of Her Majesty's Government with regard to a proposed prolongation of the period fixed for the stay of French troops in Syria.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 8.)

(No. 20.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, October 26, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, by way of acknowledgment, copies of seven letters which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 230.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, October 26, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that immediately upon the receipt of our identic instructions from Constantinople, in which we were informed that the right of assisting at the proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal erected at Beyrout had been conceded to us by the Porte, the Commission at once requested Abro Efendi, Fuad Pasha's

and a member of the Court to favour them or their representatives with an order of admission.

To this demand Abro Elendi declined to accede until he should have laid the matter to Fud Pasha, then at Damascus. At the next meeting of the Commission we were informed that his Excellency considered that our right of participation was confined to what he called "Penquete générale," and did not extend to any judicial investigation. This view was vehemently combated by all the Commissioners, and I ventured to state to Abro Elendi that having received instructions to

it necessary formally to present myself at the Court house, in order that the responsibility of refusing me admission might manifestly rest with the Turkish authorities. This information I was induced to make in consequence of information I had received as to the scandalous manner in which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat and the other prisoners was being conducted. I subsequently took occasion to press upon Abro Elendi the futility of Fud Pasha's saying on a right the Porte had already conceded, and requested him to lay before his Excellency the representation I had ventured to make upon the

I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that the remonstrances forwarded by the Commission were not without effect. The next

work I have the honour to

In order, however, to render our intervention in these proceedings really useful and effectual it would seem necessary that our delegates should have the privilege of suggesting to the Court whatever supplementary questions it may appear to them desirable should be addressed to the prisoner or the witnesses. As the members of the Tribunal will be prepared to quash any evidence at all discreditable to the Turkish Government, and even refuse to the prisoner whatever benefit he might derive from being able to prove he acted under instructions, the exigencies of justice would seem to require some such precaution being taken. At the same time it is undoubtedly a matter of great delicacy for a body foreign to the State to demand the liberty of, in any way, interfering with the action of a sovereign tribunal. Should such a grace be accorded to us, it perhaps could only be obtained by persuading his Excellency Fud Pasha that it is in the interests of his Government that on this extraordinary occasion he should take advantage of every opportunity satisfying Europe that the Porte has been anxious to provoke the fullest and fairest investigation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOYE

Inclure 2 in No. 230.

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Moore

Sir,

Beirut, October 15, 1860

As your delegates to watch the proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal established at Beyrout, I have to request you to attend its sittings on my behalf.

You will present yourself on the occasion when it next assembles, and you will be careful to be present from the commencement to the close of each succeeding sitting until the trial shall be terminated.

You will take accurate and independent notes of everything which passes, which you will have the kindness to forward to me at the close of the proceedings. Should you remark any irregularities or partiality in the procedure of the Court, whether in a sense favourable or inimical to the accused, you will subjoin a memorandum on the subject at

the foot of your daily report. Should the impropriety which attracts your notice be of a nature to admit of correction on the spot, you will hand to the President of the Court a private communication calling his attention to the circumstance; but in the exercise of this function you will be careful not to transgress the bounds of due discretion. You will require copies of all documents handed into Court, whether by the prisoner or by witnesses, to be communicated to you, and you will take every other measure your prudence can suggest to ensure the report you are commissioned to compose, being an ample and accurate representation of what takes place.

In conclusion, I would beg you to remember that you and your colleagues are admitted into Court for the express purpose of affording a guarantee to Europe that the judicial investigation with which the Tribunal is charged shall be conducted in such a way as to secure the accomplishment of the ends of justice. You will therefore apply the most searching scrutiny to the minutest details of its proceedings. You will follow the thread of the investigation with scrupulous vigilance; and you will note, for my information, any points which would tend, in your opinion, if more fully examined, to throw light on the causes which have given rise to the late disturbances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOYE

Inclure 3 in No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, October 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of a report I have received from Mr. Noel Moore, relative to the gross irregularity with which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat is being conducted by the Extraordinary Tribunal, before which he has been arraigned on the charge

At the same time I also forward copy of a note I have addressed to his Excellency Fud Pasha on the subject of Mr. Moore's complaints.

I trust that your Excellency will consider that in submitting to his Excellency so earnest a remonstrance, I have done no more than the exigencies of justice would seem to require. According to Mr. N. Moore's statement, confirmed as it has been by the report of Colonel Burnaby, copy of which I also inclose, it would seem that, guilty or not guilty, the members of the Court are determined on the prisoner's speedy ruin, an indecent precipitation on their part may be attributed to two motives.

In the first place, Said Bek Jumblat is a person of immense possessions, and the confiscation of his property would be an acceptable accession to Fud Pasha's military chest; while, on the other hand, it is probable that if adequate facilities were given him, Said Bek would be in a position to make disclosures likely to compromise to a greater degree than ever the Turkish system and the Turkish authorities.

Although he certainly did not himself take part in any of the massacres, I cannot but believe that Said Bek was privy to all that occurred, and, had he chosen, might have prevented, or at all events have mitigated, the horror of what happened. Past experience shows that the Druses never act except under the inspiration of their Chiefs. Of these Chiefs, Said Bek was known to be the richest and the most influential. After has been produced, addressed to him by Ismail-el-Atrah, who led Hauranese to Hasbeys and to the Bekân, announcing his arrival and requesting instructions; and it is admitted that Said Bek received and entertained this same El Atrah for several days in his palace at Mokhtarah, when he returned red-handed from the slaughter of the Christians.

On the other hand, Said Bek, I am informed, would prove, if liberty were allowed him, that he rescued and sheltered many Christians, and was even heard to remonstrate with his followers against the outrages they

were committing. It might indeed be questioned whether the one was not a piece of acting and the other a politic precaution, but be this as it may, the man ought to have an impartial trial, and the verdict should be in accordance with the nature of the evidence which can be adduced against him.

By a reference to my despatch of the 23rd instant, your Excellency will perceive that the securities for the administration of impartial justice for which I am now contending in reference to Said Bek's case I had already suggested should be accorded without distinction to all the Turks were prepared to throw Europe as many heads as she required. But if these precautions seemed so necessary in the case of Khosrow Pasha—one of themselves, a member of the Government, and a Moslem—how much more ought they to be insisted upon in reference to Said Bek and his fellows, aliens alike in race and in religion to those by whom they are to be judged.

Your Excellency may perhaps be led to remark in reference to the representation I have thought it right to make to Fuad Pasha on this subject, that it would have been more advisable if the Commission could have been induced to have united in a joint remonstrance; but I would venture to state, in justification of what I have done, that in consequence of the difficulty of finding trustworthy employes, as well as of the sickness which prevails, Prussia was not represented at all at the trial; the Delegate of Russia was a person imperfectly acquainted with the language; while the gentleman M. Hédard generally sends was obliged to absent himself on other business so that the Commission was represented on the occasion referred to only by Mr. N. Moore and the Delegate of Austria. It was valuable, moreover, that a moment should be lost in bringing so important a subject under Fuad Pasha's notice.

In conclusion, I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that the Court shall be at once adjourned; that Said Bek shall be furnished with the *procès-verbaux* of each day's proceedings, with liberty to supply any omission he may detect in them, as well as to state in writing what he has to say against the mode in which his case shall be conducted; and that every care will be taken to secure the most impartial trial possible.

DUFFERIN AND CLAVE ROYE

Inclosure 4 in No. 230

Vice-Consul Moore to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Beirut, October 23, 1860

I DEEM it my duty to inform your Lordship that the trial of Said Bek, announced by the Extraordinary Commission is not conducted in a spirit of impartiality. Points in the evidence of witnesses favourable to the prisoner are omitted, and what he himself states in his defence is likewise omitted. He is not allowed sufficient time to challenge the allegations of the witnesses; whilst every statement made by him reflecting upon the conduct of the Ottoman functionaries are harshly, though indirectly, represented.

Said Bek should have been allowed to appoint a Counsel or Representative in Court to watch the proceedings on his behalf while so excluded. The animus of the Court is patent to all observers and especially that of one of its members, Colonel Hosni Bek, late Commander of the Imperial troops at Baalbek.

Whilst Said Bek was still speaking, the arrival of his Excellency Fuad Pasha was announced to the members of the Commission, and the sitting abruptly terminated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NOEL T. MOORE

Inclosure 5 in No. 230.

Extract from a Report addressed by Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby to Lord Dufferin

October 23, 1860.

1. IN the event of a witness failing to give his evidence, or answer a question in a manner suitable to the evidence required to be adduced by the Court to convict the prisoner.

2. Or in the event of such evidence implicating or reflecting upon the officials of the Porte during the late massacres;

3. Or in the event of such evidence, or answer not being sufficiently strong to bring against the prisoner, the following modes are then pursued to cause the prisoner to be convicted—

(a.) The witnesses are made to understand what evidence the Court desire of him; in some instances the witness will thus become induced to state diametrically opposite to what he had originally stated.

(b.) Or in the event of a witness adhering to his original statement which will occur, then the official scribe, will, in taking down the answer or evidence, pursue one of the three following modes.

(c.) Either he will cause the question and answer to be omitted altogether from the proceedings;

(d.) Or he will cause only a portion of the answer or evidence to be entered in the proceedings;

(e.) Or he will cause an entirely different construction to be put upon the sense at variance with what the witness had testified.

4. In the event of any evidence tending to exculpate the prisoner, it is almost invariably omitted from being inserted in the proceedings.

5. Sometimes several witnesses are in court, under examination at the same time.

6. All favourable testimony has been almost invariably excluded from the depositions.

7. The prisoner is excluded from Court while the witnesses are examined, and although on his return the depositions are handed to him for perusal, the result is that he is unable to cross-examine, and thereby tends to diminish the benefit he would otherwise have derived by cross-examination.

8. The prisoner has no Counsel or Representative in Court to watch the proceedings on his behalf while so excluded.

9. The animus of the Court is patent to all observers and especially that of one of its members, Colonel Hosni Bek, late Commander of the Imperial troops at Baalbek.

Inclosure 6 in No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha

Excellency.

Beirut, October 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Excellency's information, copy of a report I have received from Mr. Noel Moore, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul, and my delegate to your Excellency's tribunal of Beirut, relative to the unsatisfactory manner in which the trial of Said Bek Jumblat is being conducted, and I most earnestly request your Excellency to give to the statements it contains your attentive consideration.

If the proceedings continue to be carried on in the manner described

by a method of procedure so flagrantly opposed to what a sense of impartiality would dictate.

I need not add that in submitting this remonstrance to your Excellency's consideration I am actuated by no desire to screen Saïd Bek Jumblat. If

I should be the last person to urge your Excellency to use towards him an ill-timed lenity; but I would venture to observe that the graver the offence

The force of this consideration is enhanced a hundredfold when, as on the present occasion, the prisoner is allowed no advocate. If, indeed, I might

be permitted to say that the ends of justice would be best secured by the accused being allowed to select a Representative or Riaya to conduct his case for

privilege is accorded even to prisoners tried by courts-martial, whose procedure is the most summary of any known to European law.

Although I am sure your Excellency will agree with me in thinking that it would be superfluous I should corroborate the accuracy of the facts stated in so formal a manner by Mr. Moore, I have thought it as well to enclose for your Excellency's further information a statement with which I have been furnished by Colonel Burnaby, completely confirming everything reported by Mr. Moore.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 7 in No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir, Beirut, October 26, 1860
With reference to my previous despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, after having made a careful inquiry to be made among the Christians in Beirut, I cannot discover that a single woman, girl, or child is

The investigation has been conducted by means of the most trustworthy agents I could procure, and I have been assisted in my researches by the priests of the various sects, as well as by the Shieks of the different tribes and quarters. The close intimacy which subsists in the East between all the families composing a religious denomination, as well as the gossiping habits of Orientals, renders the search after any individual a far easier matter than it would be in a European town, where the habits of domestic privacy are more jealously maintained; consequently I have no doubt whatever but that had a member of any family been missing, the method of inquiry which has been adopted would have brought the fact to my knowledge.

I think, therefore, your Excellency may rest assured that, with the exception of the one little child whose case I have already brought under your notice, no Damascene woman, girl, or boy remains within the power of the Moslems.

I regret to be obliged to add, however, that a great proportion of the Christian girls, now living with their mothers, are discovered to be with child by those who ravished them during the late disturbances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 8 in No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir, Beirut, October 26, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, on the 24th instant, 252 additional French soldiers landed at Beirut.

It appears that, up to the 1st of October, the number of French troops in Syria amounted to 7,207 men; of these about fifty have since died, the average of mortality being two men a-day, so that the actual force at this amounts to about 7,400 men, and of these 615 are in hospital. A further addition of 248 soldiers to the present army is daily expected.

I need not call your Excellency's attention to the fact that the reinforcements which have from time to time arrived, are out of all proportion to the ratio of loss sustained by disease.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 230

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, Beirut, October 26, 1860

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of instructions I have addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby and Mr. Jules Ferret relative to their duties as members of two of the Mixed Commissions appointed by Fuad Pasha to superintend the reconstruction of the burnt villages of the Lebanon.

In explanation of the above I have to state that immediately on his arrival in the Mountain Fuad Pasha divided the pillaged districts into eight circles, to each of which he appointed a native Commission, whose duty it was to adjudicate on the amount of money which each householder could claim as necessary for the re-building of his dwelling.

Great complaints were made to the European Commissioners of the violence, partiality, and injustice with which these functionaries executed their task. I therefore proposed that each of us should designate a representative, who should be nominated by the country of Fuad Pasha, to serve respectively on each of these Commissions.

The project was unanimously adopted, but, I regret to say, has not been acted upon with the energy that was to be desired. Great difficulties were discovered in finding fit persons to represent the Commissioners, and an inadequate idea seemed to be entertained as to the urgency of the occasion.

The consequence has been that at this moment scarcely anything has been done towards providing against the rigours of the winter. Already the nights in the Mountain are becoming intensely cold. Women and children, suffering from fever and insufficiently clad, are obliged to sleep in the open air. Sickness is everywhere increasing, and the prospect for the next four months is very lamentable.

Under these circumstances, I have determined to request the two gentlemen above-mentioned, who have kindly volunteered their services, to commence operations at once in the two districts which Fuad Pasha has assigned to them, and I am in great hopes that their exertions and intelligence will avert, at all events over a certain area, the pernicious results of such ill-timed delay.

At the same time I have no hesitation in saying that the approaching season is equal in gravity, though, of course, not in proportion, to that which overtook Ireland in the winter of 1846-47.

The recipients of relief on the lists of the Anglo-American Commission have increased during the last three weeks from 19,000 to 25,000. Fifty villages are uninhabitable; no preparations are being made for the harvest of next year.

This miserable prospect I have brought under the notice of Fuad Pasha in the most energetic language I could command. But the truth is, his Excellency is powerless. He has neither money nor agents. He

cannot pay for wood nor labour. He cannot find an individual to whom he can safely entrust a sum of money for distribution.

Under these circumstances I do not know what is to be done. If a Commission were appointed by England and France to be applied under the provisions of a European Commission of Control to the immediate requirements of the Christian population of Syria, the difficulties of the situation might be overcome; but this is a suggestion beyond my province to make.

I will simply content myself with drawing your Excellency's attention to the condition of our affairs.

I am, Sir,
DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 10 in No. 230.

Lord Dufferin to Colonel Burnaby and the Rev. Jules Verrette

Sir,

Beyrout, October 24, 1860.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha having consented to the request of the Commissioners that a European Delegate designated by themselves should serve on each of the Native Commissions appointed by the Porte to superintend the reconstruction of the burnt villages of the Lebanon, I would venture to request that in accordance with the offer of service you have been good enough to volunteer, you should at once put yourself into communication with Abro Effendi, and enter upon the discharge of your duties as an assistant to whichever of the above-mentioned Commissions it should be considered advisable to appoint you.

I have further the honour to inform you that your expenses while serving on the above Commission will be paid.

I have, Sir,
Signed DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 11 in No. 230.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, October 26, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of an extract from a private letter I have received from the Rev. Mr. Robson, relative to the present condition and future prospects of the Christian population of Damascus, as I consider it will convey to your Excellency a clearer and juster insight into the position of their affairs than anything I myself could write upon the subject.

Mr. Robson, as you are perhaps aware, is a Protestant missionary, who has been a resident at Damascus for the last eighteen years. He is a person of judgment, calmness, and discretion, and his opinion on the subject to which he refers is perhaps more deserving of attention than that of any other European in the country. His letter was written in answer to one from myself, in which I had requested him to state his deliberate opinion as to whether it was advisable to urge those of the Damascenes who had taken refuge in Beyrout to return to their native city.

In order as far as possible to secure a reply, undisturbed by the spirit of inquietude, which seemed to me to prevail to an unreasonable extent among the European residents of Damascus, I particularly warned him against the dangers likely to result from a continuation of the exodus, and entreated him to do what he could to put an end to the panic, which the circumstances of the case, in my opinion, no longer justified.

I think your Excellency will perceive that Mr. Robson has treated the subject submitted to his consideration with a calmness and deliberation which cannot fail to inspire confidence in his opinion.

His appreciation of the feelings of the Christian population has been amply confirmed by what has subsequently taken place. Since the 4th of October more than 1,200 souls have quitted Damascus, in spite of all

that has been done by the British Consulate and by Mr. Robson himself to induce them to remain.

Every day fresh drafts of refugees are arriving, and Mr. Brant informs me that, on the morning he left the city, he was informed that persons almost destitute had paid a greater price for mules than he could have obtained for them.

It is to be observed, moreover, that this desire to remove from Damascus continues in spite of Fuad Pasha's unexpected return to the city, and the arrest of 230 persons, among whom is to be numbered Abdallah Bey el Halebi, a most influential Moslem and other rich and notorious persons.

Mr. Robson states that if the Government would commence the payment of a sufficient indemnity a restoration of confidence might be the result. This remedy, however, is a mere palliative, as Fuad Pasha is absolutely penniless, and whatever sums he can scrape together would be insufficient even to roof the villages of the Lebanon.

I myself am convinced that, for the present, the Christians of Damascus may consider their personal safety as secured. I cannot believe that there is any danger of a second outbreak as long as the Turkish troops remain in the country.

The enmity of the Moslems to the Christians is probably greater than ever, but it is impossible to imagine that, childishly reckless as is the Syrian population, a repetition of the past should take place under the nose of the "Father of the Gird," as His Excellency Fuad Pasha has been lately called.

What may happen when the attention of the Porte and of Europe is withdrawn from Syria, when the Turkish troops are required in another part of the Empire, when the European force is gone, and the Christians are deprived of all material protection, is another question. Even then I am disposed to think they might be safe; Pasha's hands have been proved to sit too lightly on their shoulders for the future Governors of the city not to be careful to maintain order, but it will be difficult, if not impossible, to persuade the Christians themselves that such may probably be the case.

If, indeed, we were dealing with reasonable beings, some dependence might be placed on the influence which usually determines the conduct of mankind, but the stupidity of Turkish officials, and the unthinking folly of these Orientals, are such disturbing elements in the calculation, that nothing can be predicted with any certainty when the two are to be brought into combination.

Notwithstanding reason it is impossible even now not to look forward with anxiety to the few weeks of winter, when the snow will cut Damascus off from regular communication with the coast. I should not have the slightest hesitation, were it necessary, in shutting myself up in the city during that period; at the same time, I am convinced that even Fuad Pasha will feel relieved when the road shall be re-opened, and he hears that nothing has happened during the interim.

An idea has occurred to me in regard to the manner in which the difficulty may be met; but it involves a change of an extreme and unusual description that I have some hesitation in submitting it to your Excellency's consideration, nevertheless, as you have been good enough to encourage me to write to you without reserve, I shall make bold to mention it.

The late massacres at Damascus may be said to have possessed this character, that they were a direct and intentional attempt at Islamism on Christianity. Independently, therefore, of the punishment which the Government should inflict on the perpetrators, as the power, so has it the right, to inflict on Islam some signal and permanent mark of its displeasure.

Might not, then, the double object of securing an asylum for the refugees, and of exacting from their persecutors an appropriate retribution be accomplished, by our requiring that this should be made the occasion for the restoration to Christendom of the city of Jerusalem; and

that the fugitives from Damascus should be established in the quarter which its Moslem population shall be invited to vacate? In the streets of its holiest city, Islam has poured out Christian blood like water. Of so great a crime the forfeiture of Jerusalem would be no inappropriate punishment.

In venturing to submit to your Excellency so startling a proposition, I feel that I am, perhaps, transgressing the bounds of due discretion. I am well aware that many considerations may be urged against the practicability of such a scheme. The municipal constitution of the new community would offer almost insuperable difficulties.

It may be urged that so violent a measure instead of quelling would only exasperate the fanaticism of the Syrian population.

Neither, perhaps, would it be expedient that the [redacted] that has taken place should be the undisputed dominion [redacted] in Damascus.

It is to be hoped, moreover, that the efforts we are making to check the exodus of the Christians, and to disperse the unreasonable misgivings they entertain, may ere long begin to be successful, and that further deliberation will enable us to discover some satisfactory securities for their future repose.

Be that, however, as it may, though with some hesitation, I am still inclined to suggest to your Excellency whether the present occasion might not be a fitting opportunity for entering into arrangements which may put an end to the scandal involved in the present condition of the sacred city of our faith.

The relations in which it is proposed that Rome should stand in respect to the new Kingdom of Italy, may be discovered to present an analogy not altogether inapplicable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No 230

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beirut, October 11, 1860

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the procès-verbal, with its inclosures, of the fourth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 230

Protocol of the Fourth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beirut, October 15, 1860

CEJOURD'HUI Lundi, quinze Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, la Commission Internationale, assistée d'Abro Efendi, délégué Ottoman, s'est réunie à Beyrouth sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche.

La séance ayant été ouverte à deux heures moins un quart, le procès-verbal est lu et adopté. A l'occasion du paragraphe relatif à la formation d'un Comité directeur chargé de diriger l'action des divers Comités de secours, la Commission prend acte de ce qu'un Comité Russe vient d'être constitué et de ce que le Comte Bentivoglio a été invité par son Gouvernement à présider le Comité Français.

M. de Rehfuès rappelle que la Commission a décidé que ses délégués seraient adjoints par elle aux Comités d'évaluation envoyés par le Gouvernement dans les divers districts de la Montagne.

Abro Efendi répond que ces Comités ont été formés, non pour régler les affaires, mais pour constater les faits. Il est aux délégués de la Commission de constater les faits et de les faire connaître au Gouvernement. Les délégués de la Commission ont le droit de se faire accompagner par des officiers de leur choix, afin qu'ils puissent constater les faits et les faire connaître au Gouvernement.

Lord Dufferin désirait savoir combien de personnes ont été secourues. Abro Efendi promet, pour la séance suivante, des renseignements précis à ce sujet.

M. Novikow demande si des mesures ont été prises pour la réinstallation des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban. Il doute que, vu la saison avancée, et le peu de sécurité de leur pays, ces Chrétiens puissent être réintégrés dans leurs foyers dans le courant de cette année.

Abro Efendi répond qu'on va s'en occuper, et que, en attendant, les Chrétiens dont il s'agit sont réfugiés à Beyrouth, à Santa, et à Nûr. Et il ajoute qu'il s'agit de réintégrer les Chrétiens dans leurs foyers.

Abro Efendi assure que les secours distribués par le Gouvernement n'ont jamais été suspendus, ces secours sont accordés aux habitants de Hachya, Hachya, Deir-el-Kamar, et Damas. La dépense qui en résulte s'élève à environ 500,000 ou 600,000 piastres par mois, indépendamment des autres frais.

Lord Dufferin exprime le désir qu'à l'ouverture de chaque séance soit rendu compte à la Commission, tant par le Gouvernement que par le Comité Directeur récemment formé, des secours distribués de part et d'autre, ainsi que des mesures prises pour rétablir les Chrétiens dans leurs villages.

M. de Rehfuès appelle de nouveau l'attention de ses collègues sur les Comités d'évaluation. Il pense que les personnes adjointes à ces Comités auront au moins le droit de faire valoir les réclamations qui leur seront présentées.

Abro Efendi répond que ces personnes auront les mêmes droits que les autres membres des Comités.

Il entre ensuite dans de nouvelles explications sur la mission confiée aux Comités, composés d'hommes spéciaux, qui ne s'occupent en aucune façon du règlement des indemnités. Que si, ajoute-t-il, la Commission veut bien lui désigner six personnes de son choix, il s'empressera de les faire nommer.

Il est décidé que cette désignation aura lieu dans la séance suivante.

M. Novikow demande si à l'approche de l'époque où l'on a coutume de récolter les olives, l'autorité a pris des mesures pour assurer cette récolte aux environs de Hachya.

Abro Efendi croit qu'en effet des mesures ont été prises à cet égard. Le Délégué Ottoman dépose sur le bureau (1) une copie de la lettre adressée de Damas par Foad Pacha, (2) une note reproduisant la teneur des paroles prononcées par lui dans la troisième séance pour annoncer le départ de Foad Pacha.

Il est décidé, sur sa demande, que ces deux documents seront annexés au présent procès-verbal.

Abro Efendi déclare, en outre, être prêt à répondre à diverses questions qui lui ont été adressées dans les séances précédentes.

Relativement à Shakir Pacha, auquel M. Novikow regrette qu'on ait laissé la faculté de se rendre à Constantinople, Abro Efendi, d'après les communications officielles qu'il a reçues, fait savoir que cet officier a été arrêté, à Damas, par le même Conseil de Guerre qui a prononcé la condamnation à mort de l'ex-Mushir Ahmed Agha. La communication des dossiers éclairera la Commission sur les détails de l'arrestation de Shakir Pacha.

Quant à Nûri Bek, sur lequel le Commissaire Français avait appelé la sévérité du Gouvernement, Abro Efendi croit pouvoir répéter ce qu'il avait déjà dit, à savoir, que cet officier avait été mandé à Beyrouth en vertu d'une décision du Tribunal Extraordinaire.

L'interrogatoire subi depuis lors par Nûri Bek n'ayant pas satisfait le Tribunal, il a été mis en état d'arrestation.

Quant à ce qui concerne Hossou Bek, aucune accusation n'a jamais été élevée contre cet officier qui s'étant conduit avec honneur et dignité dans les procès des officiers à Damas, a été appelé à siéger dans le Conseil Extraordinaire de Beyrouth. Toutefois M. Bédard est prié de faire connaître les charges qui pèseraient sur lui, afin que si elles étaient fondées le tribunal en fût immédiatement saisi.

Pour ce qui est de M. Bédard touchant la nécessité de faire passer les prisonniers chrétiens à Beyrouth, il n'a pas un moment hésité, et il a immédiatement ordonné que les prisonniers soient transférés sans relâche en étendant ses pouvoirs par les Chrétiens, ou dont les exécutions même ont eu lieu pendant l'absence de Fuad Pacha. Les membres du Conseil, ainsi que la plupart des notables du pays, ont été arrêtés sans le temps et mises en accusation; mais jusqu'à présent, et malgré les recherches les plus minutieuses, aucune preuve n'a pu être fournie contre elles.

À défaut de preuves suffisantes pour leur condamnation, on les expulsera de Damas à perpétuité.

Fuad, est également autorisé à annoncer que Fuad Pacha, tout en réservant l'opinion de son Gouvernement, ne s'oppose pas à ce que les membres de la Commission ou leurs délégués assistent aux audiences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth. Les étrangers

La Commission accepte le bénéfice de cette solution, tout en réservant à son tour la question de principe.

Il est convenu que, dès le lendemain, les Commissaires ou leurs délégués, sur la marche de la procédure, ils présenteront ces observations dans le sein de la Commission, soit au Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, soit à son délégué.

François dit avoir reçu du Consul de France à Beyrouth, réponse aux questions qu'il lui avait posées après son retour avec son collègue. Il donne lecture de quelques-unes et dans lequel M. Outrey après avoir dépeint l'état de la ville de Damas, raconte des louanges à l'activité du Commandant militaire Khalek Pacha, et critique l'application intelligente de la mesure relative au rachat du service militaire moyen de 20,000 piastres.

Il fait observer qu'Hezbollah Karami vient d'être mis en liberté par l'ordre de Fuad Pacha.

Il annonce également à la Commission que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman doit arriver prochainement à Beyrouth où il sera l'honneur de la présider. La situation de Damas semble assez satisfaisante que possible. Toutes les mesures sont prises pour calmer l'inquiétude des Chrétiens et pour abattre les Dames.

M. Novikow demande quelle suite a été donnée au projet de désarmement général.

Le paragraphe suivant devait figurer dans le Protocole de la troisième séance :—

Le paragraphe suivant devait figurer dans le Protocole de la troisième séance :—

"FUAD PACHA ayant appris qu'une panique s'était emparée des Chrétiens de Damas, a décidé de partir pour cette ville, et je crois qu'il y est à l'heure qu'il est.

"Quoique le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan ait reçu des autorités militaires les assurances les plus positives sur le maintien de la tranquillité, assurances qui s'appuyent d'une part sur la présence de Halim Pacha qui se trouve dans la ville, et sur la présence d'autre part de Halim Pacha à quatre heures de distance de Damas, a néanmoins désiré de s'y rendre en personne dans le seul but de tranquilliser par sa présence les esprits qui s'étaient alarmés à son grand étonnement.

"Son désir de donner de plus près une direction à la poursuite des coupables Drouzes révoltés du côté du Haurân n'est pas étranger à son départ pour Damas."

Annexe 2.

Fuad Pacha to Abro Efendi.

Damas, le 10 Octobre, 1860.

Mon cher Abro,

COMME je vous le disais dans ma première lettre je suis parti de Alekhtarak hier dans la matinée, et après une course de vingt-quatre heures je suis arrivé à Damas. J'ai trouvé la ville dans un état de tranquillité assez satisfaisant que lorsque je l'ai quitté.

Les rumeurs et les bruits que l'on a fait courir sur une soi-disant fermentation de la population ne sont que le résultat des intrigues. Un bon nombre de Chrétiens que j'ai questionnés m'ont avoué que les signes de croix que l'on avait fait sur les maisons des Chrétiens, au lieu de venir des Moudjahidés, sont plutôt l'œuvre de quelques uns des leurs qui ont voulu partir pour Beyrouth ou qui voudraient y retenir leurs proches et leurs amis, et qui font des machinations pour répandre la terreur parmi leurs co-religionnaires et les entraîner à l'émigration.

Veillez donner tous ces détails à MM. les Commissaires et aux personnes qui vous entourent, et ajoutez, si il vous plaît, que j'ai été réellement satisfait du calme qui règne dans la ville que j'ai reconnu l'insuffisance et la superfluité de certaines mesures militaires, un peu sévères, qui ont été adoptées.

Agrées, &c.
(Signé) FUAD

No. 231

Acting Consul French to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 9.)

No. 35.)

Damascus, October 20, 1860

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship, that since the departure of Mr. Consul Brant on the 17th ultimo, the Christians continue to leave Damascus for Beyrouth in great numbers.

As reported in Mr. Brant's despatches Nos. 30 and 31, the late panic made all wish to quit the city; and now that the Government has begun to pay up the arrears of their allowance, the money is used to hire animals.

It is generally believed that the fears of the Christians are worked upon by intrigues at Beyrouth. The fact of a number of prisoners having been lately released by the Government has also tended to increase their alarm.

The Greek Consular Agent here has advised all under his protection to leave as soon as they can, adding that he does not intend to remain at Damascus. This has the most pernicious effect on the minds of the Christians, for when they see an European Agent advising their departure, they are inclined to follow his example. The Government has ordered that they should be provided with the means of transport, and they hire mules.

Khalek Pacha has replaced the Mushir as Commandant of the army in the field, and is now at the village of Katana, about four hours to the west of the city. The Mushir remains in Damascus.

Shukri Pasha, the new Rais of the troops, arrived here on the 15th ultimo.

Two brothers—Assaad and Fares Amer—Druses of the Ledjah, the former of whom has lately been employed by Fuad Pasha on the recommendation of the French Consul, have been decorated by his Excellency with the Order of the Medjidie.

Last night Abdallah Bey el Adam, Nakeeb Efendi, Abd el Kader Bey, and Abd el Hadi Efendi el Omari, members of the Great Medjlia, who had been let out of confinement on parole, were again taken. These, with the Mufti, Ghuzze Efendi, Hassibi Efendi, Ali Bey el Adam, Abdullah Bey, son of Nussouh Pasha, all of the Great Medjlia, and Sheikh Atalullah el Halebe, were sent this morning to Beyrout, under a guard of soldiers on their way to Cyprus, where they are to be imprisoned. A few days before Mr. Brant's departure Fuad Pasha informed him that this sentence was on the point of being carried into effect. The trials of these persons having taken place in private, it is not generally known of what they were found guilty.

I have, &c
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH

No. 232

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 9.)

No. 711

My Lord,

Therapia, October 31, 1860.

MR. BRANT will have sent to your Lordship a copy of his despatch of the 25th ultimo, which is worthy of your Lordship's notice.

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the reply which I sent him to that despatch, requesting him to furnish me with his ideas as to the reorganization of Turkish administration in Syria.

I have, &c
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 232.

Sir H. Bulwer to Consul Brant

Sir,

Therapia, October 20, 1860.

I HAVE read through your despatch of the 25th ultimo with the attention which it deserves.

I, two essential points I entirely agree with you: the one, that there should be a general reorganization of the Ottoman Government in Syria (you can give me your ideas as to how this can be most practically effected); secondly, I concur with you also as to the necessity of some step being taken with regard to the caravan that goes annually to Mecca.

In regard to the punishments, there are certain considerations to bear in mind: first, a person in a locality is sometimes too much impressed by local circumstances; secondly, some attention must be paid to the difficult position of the Porte's Commissioner, who, if he produced a strong Mussulman feeling of indignation—I do not mean merely on the spot, but in general—might produce a Mussulman outbreak dangerous in its character, wide in its effects, and for a time uncontrollable. The consequences might be most serious, both as to the lives and property of Christians and the general fate of the Empire.

Though the death of 150 persons seems small, in comparison to the measures that have taken place, it is still a very large number of persons to be executed.

If, however, any particular individual, however highly placed amongst the religious body of Mussulmans, has rendered his conduct suspicious, justice should be done, and the facts reported to Lord Dufferin.

In other matters, you must, generally, consider that it is the Ottoman

Government, though greatly modified and improved, that has to be established; and on the other

I have, &c
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 233.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 620)

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 10, 1860

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 26th of October, inclosing a letter from a gentleman at Damascus relative to the present condition and future prospects of the Christian population of that city; and I have to state that the Porte would do well to call upon Fuad Pasha to state his views as to the course which should be taken to remedy the unsatisfactory state of things at Damascus, and as to the measures which should be taken hereafter for the safety of the Christians in Syria when the foreign forces are withdrawn.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 234

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received November 10.)

Sir,

Admiralty, November 8, 1860.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Martin, dated the 18th ultimo, with extracts of the orders he has given to Captain Heathcote, of Her Majesty's ship "Doris," the senior officer of Her Majesty's ships and vessels left on the coast of Syria.

I am, &c
(Signed) C. PAGET

Inclosure 1 in No. 234

Vice-Admiral Martin to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

My Lord,

"Marlborough," Island of Candia, October 18, 1860.

AS it may be desirable that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should be kept advised with the instructions under which the senior officer of the coast of Syria is acting, I have the honour to transmit a copy, to be laid before their Lordships.

I am, &c
(Signed) W. F. MARTIN

Inclosure 2 in No. 234

Orders addressed to Captain Heathcote.

By William Fanshawe Martin, Esq., M.P., &c

BEING about to proceed to Corfu with the ships-of-the-line here assembled, you will be left as senior officer on the coast of Syria, with the ships named in the margin* under your orders, and upon my parting company you will take them under your command accordingly.

The objects of a British squadron being on this coast are, the protection of the lives and property of Christians, and also British interests and commerce.

With the above in view, you will place yourself in friendly communication with Her Majesty's Consul-General, Mr. Niven Moore, from whom you will generally obtain the latest information from the interior and from

* "Doris," "Lissey," "Raccoon," "Intercept" (on arrival from Naples), "Lapwing," "Greyhound."

You will see, by my General Memorandum of the 2nd instant, that protection is to be afforded by the ships under your orders to Austrian Consuls, commerce, and subjects, and it is desirable therefore that you should call upon the Chevalier de Weckbecker, Austrian Commissioner and Consul-General at Bevrout, and inform him, in conversation, of the instructions you have received on this head.

It will be right, also, that you take an opportunity of visiting Achmet Pasha, the Governor-General of this Pashalik; and when calling at the outposts the respective Governors should be visited, and the importance should be pointed out to them of checking with firmness and vigour any disposition to commit excesses on the part of the Moslems or others, for it is well known that the Turkish authorities show energy and decision, they are well able to prevent a rising among the people.

Inquiry should also be made of the authorities and the Consular Agents whether all needful steps are being taken for the amelioration of the condition of the Christian refugees from the interior.

With reference to my quitting the coast with the ships-of-the-line during the winter months, no pains should be spared to impress upon all parties, time, as well as space, of the necessity for ordering Her Majesty's Government will not cease to watch with anxiety the state of affairs in Syria, and to demand efficient protection for British subjects and interests.

You will take advantage of the vessels being together to visit, in force, Jaffa, Caesfa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Latakia, and Lannara, leaving one vessel here during your absence, or sending the ships under the second officer in command, while you remain at Beyrout in the *Indra*. But by the 10th November, at the latest, you should take up your anchorage at St George's Bay, with three vessels, and send the remaining three, under the orders of Captain Freedy, to the Gulf of Iskanderoun, where they will find a safe anchorage, either at Alexandretta or Ayna. If it should be found that the climate there proves pernicious to the health of the crews, Lannara may then be directed to,

The vessels in the Gulf of Iskanderon are frequently to visit the ports to the northward of Beyrout, and thence to the southward are to be visited by the vessels with you at such times as the appearance of the weather and the barometer may seem to make it prudent, but captains should be cautioned to be ready at all times to put to sea at the shortest notice, and the ships should frequently weigh, for exercise.

Any information you may obtain with regard to the political condition of the outports is to be freely communicated to Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Commissioner, and to the Consul-General.

The frequent visits of Her Majesty's ships to the different ports will, I am sanguine, prove adequate protection to Christians from violence, and to British interests, although it is probable that some of the Vice-Consuls, warned by recent events, will be anxious to have vessels constantly stationed near them, and all visit to you in that object. In complying with any such requisition, you will be guided by your own judgment, aided by the counsel of the Consul-General and such information as he may himself have received from the Consular Agents.

As much excitement continues to prevail in the interior amongst the fanatical Moslem population, leave must not be given to the crews; and you are not to permit any extended absence on the part of the officers from their ships.

The "Firefly" is employed surveying on the coast, and is not in any way to be diverted from her duties.

Given on board the "Marlborough," at Beyrout the 10th of October, 1860.

1860. (Signed) W. F. MARTIN

To Edmund Heathcote, Esq.,
Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Doris."
By command, &c.

By elimination, we have

Mr. Hammond to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foreign Office, November 13, 1860.

21.

I HAVE laid before Lord John Russell your letter of the 8th instant, transmitting for his Lordship's information extracts of the orders given by Vice-Admiral Martin to the senior officer of Her Majesty's ships and vessels stationed on the coast of Syria, and I am to request you to state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Lord John Russell considers those orders to be entirely fit and proper in the present state of Syrian affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 2,46.

East Cowley to Lord J. Russell,—(Received November 14.)

(No. 1,447)

Paris, November 13, 1860.

My Lord,

ALTHOUGH your Lordship did not deign me to communicate to
de Thouvenel the contents of your despatch No 1,099 of the 7th instant,
stating the insuperable objections of Her Majesty's Government to a
prolonged occupation of Syria by European troops, yet as your Lordship
mentions in the despatch that you had informed the Marquis of Chate-
leau that the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on this point should
be communicated to the French Government through me, I presume that
was your Lordship's intention that I should speak to M. Thouvenel
on the subject, and I accordingly read to him this afternoon your Lordship's

the Marquis of Chateaufrenard such a despatch as it would appear had been communicated to you. He had neither stated that the General required European troops to be necessary, still less had he hinted even at a prolongation of the war: he had desired M. de Chateaufrenard to call your Lordship's attention to the accounts which had then just been received from Egypt, and which wore a very serious aspect; Foud Pasha having been unsuccessful in preventing the escape of the Druse Chiefs, being uncertain whether the Arab tribes would take part with the Druses or not, and being under the circumstances requested General Beaufort to increase the number of French troops employed in the Mountain. He had added that it would be for Europe to consider whether reinforcements were necessary, and, if necessary, by whom they should be provided. As for France, no other Frenchman would be sent.

But with regard to a prolongation of the period of occupation M. Thouvenel declared that this point had not even been touched upon in the speech to M. Chateau regard. He had formed no opinion, and would form an opinion upon the subject until he should be in possession of the report of the Syrian Commission. His hope was that the troops might come away within the term settled by the Convention of the 5th of September, and it was but a few days ago that he had written to the French Commissioner, M. Bédard, desiring him not to lose sight of the fact that the moment was approaching when by the terms of the Convention the European occupation must cease, and requesting him to lose no time in urging the Commission to enter upon the discussion of the future government of the Lebanon.

He was free to confess that in his opinion it would be a sorry termination to the intervention of Europe in Syria if the day after the departure

46

of the troops fresh massacres were to occur, and he was apprehensive that this would be the case unless before their departure some settled form of government should have been framed.

I am bound to add that the language which M. Thouvenel held this afternoon coincides with that which he has always held to me on this subject. He has never shown any desire either to send French reinforcements to Syria or to prolong the stay of those already there, so much so that I was exceedingly surprised when I read your Lordship's account of his Excellency's despatch on these matters, as about the time it must have been written he had told me, with reference to the sending of British reinforcements, that nothing indicated a want of them on the part of General Beaufort, and that he should like to wait for further reports from him before pronouncing any opinion upon the subject.

But whatever may have been the impression of M. Thouvenel a week or two ago, it appears that his last reports from Syria are so satisfactory that he is no longer under any apprehension of a prolonged resistance to Foad Pasha.

Adverting to that paragraph of your Lordship's despatch which states "that Her Majesty's Government would prefer, as a choice of evils, to see the Government of Syria restored to authorities named by, or connected with the Porte, in the manner which the Mixed Commission shall consider most favourable to the future peace of Syria," M. Thouvenel said that the French Government could not be a party to any transaction which would deprive the Lebanon of so much of the right of self-government as had been granted to it by the arrangement of 1846. As he seemed to allude to the words "authorities named by the Porte," I observed that your Lordship's remarks applied to Syria in general, where, as far as I was aware, the Porte had never conceded any of its sovereign rights, that the words which followed "authorities connected with the Porte" probably were intended to refer to such authorities as the Porte did not name, but acknowledged.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No 237

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 1,448.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 13, 1860.

WHEN M. Thouvenel mentioned to me, as is stated in my despatch No. 1,447 of this day's date, that the French Government were determined not to send reinforcements to Syria, I asked his Excellency whether he was aware that reinforcements had been sent, and that the French army of occupation now amounted to about 8,000 men. His Excellency replied that I had overstated the amount, though he admitted that it approached my statement, but he said that there were 1,500 sick, and that General Beaufort had not above 6,000 effective men.

I rejoined that I had not made the remark reproachfully, but that I wished to reconcile the statement which he had made with the accounts received from Syria that reinforcements, though small, were continually arriving.

M. Thouvenel said that the departure of some further troops which had been under orders for Syria had been countermanded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No 238

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 1,134.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 14, 1860

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 1,447 of the 13th instant, I have to acquaint you that you rightly understood and correctly stated to M. Thouvenel the views of Her Majesty's Government as stated in my despatch No. 1,099 of the 7th instant, in regard to the nature of the Government which they would be glad to see established in Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No 239.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—Received November 17.

(No. 726.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, November 17, 1860.

HAVING addressed remonstrances to the Porte in conformity with those made by his Excellency Foad Pasha against the state of affairs at Damascus, I have the satisfaction to announce that the Turkish Government has resolved to remove Mouhaver Pasha, the late Governor, and appoint Emin Pasha in his place.

I inclose to your Lordship herewith a sketch of Emin Pasha's antecedents and character, on the correctness of which I believe I can place reliance, and which may warrant some hope that under the new Governor's administration the condition of the Province of Damascus may be considerably ameliorated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 239.

Sketch of Emin Pasha's Antecedents and Character

EMIN PASHA is the son of Mustafa Hassah Effendi, a Moolah, of some distinction, from whom he received an excellent education.

At 23 he entered the translating department at the Porte, in 1837 he accompanied Mahmoud II to Roumelia; and on the return of the Sultan to Constantinople was appointed Secretary of Embassy in London under Sami Pasha; thence he was transferred to Paris. In 1841 he again served in the translating department; and in 1844 and 1845 was charged with missions to Servia, and subsequently with the superintendence of the quarantine and passport offices. He was then appointed first interpreter at the Porte; served at Bucharest under Suleyman Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner in the Principalities; was sent on a mission to the Lebanon, and named President of the Council of Syrian affairs at Saida. On his return to Constantinople he was appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Ali Pasha, and President of the Commission sitting at Constantinople on the affairs of the Holy Places. Shortly afterwards, his health being given way, he returned to Syria, on a special mission to Aleppo, to enquire into the conduct of Hamdi Pasha. At the expiration of this inquiry he retired from active service, but was lately induced to accept the Presidency of the Municipal Council in Pera.

Emin Pasha is remarkable for integrity and intellectual powers; he has, moreover, great administrative ability, and holds liberal opinions.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 19.,

(No. 21.)

My Lord,

Beirut, November 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of nine farther despatches which I have this day dispatched to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, October 26, 1860.

I REGRET extremely that indisposition should have prevented me from writing to your Excellency by the last mail. The same cause will compel me to defer until the next opportunity a general review I had intended to submit to your Excellency relative to the present aspect of affairs in this country.

In the meantime I have had the honour of addressing some despatches to your Excellency upon various subjects, which it was necessary to bring more immediately under your notice.

I have, &c

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, October 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Wrench, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Damascus, urging him to use every endeavour to put an end to the panic now existing among the Christians at that place.

In explanation of the last paragraph, I beg to state that the refugees at Beirut are encouraging their fellow-citizens to join them here, on the plea that there is an ample supply of money, and nothing to do for it. The effect of such an invitation is very demoralizing. If the Committee were to make it known that, having organized a system of relief at Damascus, they would not be responsible for the support of those who chose to come to Beirut, and were to carry such a regulation into effect, the report of the circumstances would quickly spread, and one of the least respectable motives for flight would be abolished.

I have, &c

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 3 in No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Acting Consul Wrench.

Sir,

Beirut, October 29, 1860.

I BEG to suggest that you should continue to use every exertion to put an end to the unreasonable panic which seems to prevail at Damascus among the Christian population, and that you should exert your influence to induce them to remain in their city.

Major Fraser has suggested to me that the Relief Committee should be invited to refuse relief to such refugees as persist in coming to Beirut. To this excellent recommendation I have already attended.

I am, &c

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 4 in No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, November 1, 1860.

I NOW propose to give to your Excellency a slight sketch of the progress of events in this province during the last three weeks.

In my despatch of the 5th ultimo I had the honour of informing you that Fuad Pasha, in conjunction with General de Beaufort, having completed the military occupation of the Mountain, and having failed in his endeavour to intercept the column of fugitive Druses, had himself returned to Mchitarah while he invited M de Beaufort to retire within

precincts of the Lebanon Proper. With this injunction the French General very unwillingly complied, and I have reason to believe that for a instant he entertained the idea of making a sudden and independent movement on the Leshjah. Reflection, however, induced him to abandon

a somewhat inconsiderate intention, and within a few days afterwards made his appearance at Beirut. I took advantage of a visit which he was good enough to pay me, to remonstrate strongly against the outrages committed by the Christians who accompanied his army, stating that Europe had interfered for the express purpose of hindering these barbarians

from cutting each other's throats; and that it might prove disastrous to his reputation if his arrival in the Lebanon were to become a signal for the renewal of the very atrocities he had been commissioned to prevent.

M de Beaufort replied, that the reports of what had taken place were much exaggerated; that it was but natural the Christians should seize the earliest opportunity of revenge, and it was impossible for him to have prevented what occurred.

Upon this I enumerated upwards of twenty or thirty cases of most savage murder, when old men, children, and women had been the victims, and concluded by suggesting that if only steps had been taken to punish a single culprit, these crimes would never be repeated.

M de Beaufort then announced to me that it was his intention to arrange his army in three moveable columns within a triangle, of which Beirut would be the apex, and the eastern boundary of the Lebanon the base; that he would then visit all the Druse villages, and that Fuad Pasha had called upon the inhabitants to remain within their houses, and should consider himself at liberty to treat as enemies such

as he should find roaming about the Mountain. To this I replied that it was beyond my province to venture to criticize any plan he might have formed; that I was sure he would only act in accordance with the dictates of humanity.

It seemed to me rather singular that the French General, having been disappointed in finding the Druses gave him no excuse for falling sword in hand upon them, regarded with greater indifference than was natural the conduct of the Christians, in the expectation that it would afford a means of frightening the Druses out of the Mountain altogether, or of exasperating them into resistance.

With a view to counteract so unjust a mode of dealing with them, I have taken the liberty to suggest to the American Consuls at Beirut and Damascus, that they should use every exertion to induce the Christians to remain in their city.

inhabit the Mixed districts, that they should recommend the Druses to remain quiet in their villages, and on no account to offer any opposition.

My conversation with M. de Beaufort, which had been conducted in the most amicable spirit, concluded by his alluding, with some bitterness, to the inefficiency of Fud Pasha's arrangements for the capture of the fugitive Chiefs.

I cannot but admit that there is great cause for dissatisfaction in this respect. Nevertheless, I acquit Fud Pasha of all connivance at their escape. I am convinced that he desired no better than to have laid his hand on a string of prisoners in the act of flight, whom he would have sent in chains to Beyrout without further ceremony. If his plans were not accomplished, it is to be attributed to the stupidity or carelessness of those he had appointed to intercept them.

So strongly have I felt the gravity of the error committed in this respect, that I took upon myself to represent to Fud Pasha that, up to this moment, no punishment whatever had been inflicted on the authors of the bloody massacres at Hishaya, Rasheya, and Deir-el Khamr; that not a single Druse had been executed, and that before he could hope to compose the troubles of the Mountain, some signal acts of justice must overtake the individuals who had shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in such lamentable profusion.

This painful duty once accomplished, he might publish an amnesty, from which the more notorious culprits would of course be excepted, and then proceed to a general pacification. Such timely severity would exempt him from the reproaches to which he was now exposed, and deprive the French General of all pretext for disquieting the Druse districts by his incalculable raids.

His Excellency replied, that he was only waiting for the Druses to return to their villages, from which the proceedings of the French had driven them, and that then, in a single night, he would seize all those who had been concerned in the massacres.

While matters were proceeding in the above manner in the Mountain, news was kept coming from Damascus of a very unsatisfactory character. We were told that the Christians were being threatened, that the Turkish troops were all in hospital, that the Druses of the Hauman were preparing to attack the city, that Moslems were chalking crosses on the doors of Christian houses, and that a second massacre was imminent.

Although I had an instinctive feeling that there must be something fictitious in all this, it was evident that Fud Pasha's presence had become necessary at Damascus, and I sent a messenger to Mukhtarah, recommending him to go. Before, however, he could receive my note, his Excellency had already started.

His first act after his arrival was to put in prison a certain Kerami, a Christian, whom he had left behind in a semi-official position. This man was completely unworthy of his Excellency's confidence, and he abused his trust in the most flagitious manner. He gave himself out as Fud Pasha's Viceregent, he frightened the Governor of the town into obedience; he extorted large sums of money from Christians and Mohammedans; and practised in the vilest manner on the women who came to him as suppliants.

No incident could give your Excellency a better idea of the difficulties Fud Pasha has to encounter from the dearth of trustworthy agents.

Having disposed of Kerami, Fud Pasha then proceeded to lay hands on a fresh batch of notables, among whom was Abdulillah Bey, one of the principal instigators of the late massacres, and a person enjoying reputation of great sobriety among his co-religionists.

These individuals were sent to Beyrout, and subsequently to Cyprus, on any particular charge, it being impossible to find any one to testify against persons whose presence at Damascus was incompatible with public tranquillity. Should any evidence be subsequently forthcoming, they will be brought back to Beyrout and dealt with accordingly.

At the same time 230 lesser criminals were sent off to Constantinople.

Having administered this summary justice, his Excellency announced his intention of coming to Beyrout in order to take part in the deliberations

of the Commission, and he sent us an assurance that the late panic had been organized by the Christians, and that the chalking of the doors was a device of their own by which they hoped to furnish themselves with the pretext of insecurity for removing to Beyrout. Though this idea was ridiculed by my colleagues, I am inclined to think there may be some foundation for it.

In the meantime General de Beaufort had put into execution the plan he had been good enough to communicate to me. His operations, however, resulted in a movement of no great importance on certain villages in the neighbourhood of Ain Anab and Kefereya, where a good many houses were pillaged, three Druses killed by the French soldiers, and other irregularities committed, of which it might seem capricious to complain.

I regret, however, to be obliged to add that about this time I received a private letter from General Kmety, who commanded the Turkish army in the Lebanon, complaining of the manner in which himself and his troops were treated by the French officers and soldiers, and announcing his intention to resign. I was too ill at the time to write a reply; but I sent a message to the General recommending him not to show too great a susceptibility, and earnestly requesting him to remain at his post.

As far as I have been able to learn, this officer's complaints appear well founded. He himself does not seem to have been treated with due consideration, and his soldiers have been pelted with stones while on duty, and otherwise maltreated by the French. Such an occurrence is the more to be regretted as General Kmety is a faithful, intelligent and energetic servant of the Porte.

I have but one more circumstance of any very great importance to signalize to your Excellency. I regret to say that the exodus from Damascus still goes on. Yesterday upwards of 1,000 refugees from that city arrived in Beyrout. If the stream of emigration continues unchecked none but the scanty dregs of the Christian population will remain. One of the great causes of their flight is the inefficient manner in which the Government provides them with the necessaries of life. Their daily allowance is suffered to fall into arrear, the rations with which they are supplied are of a very inferior quality, and nothing is done to conciliate their feelings.

This neglect and want of consideration for the feelings of the refugees is, I doubt, involuntary.

A few days ago a French General of Brigade, M. Ducrest, arrived in Beyrout. In a conversation I had with him he stated that in his opinion there were only two things to be done for Syria, each being an extreme measure, and the one the exact opposite of the other, viz., either to hand over the entire province, Lebanon and all, to the Turks, or to make Abd-el Kader ruler of the Arab populations, and institute an independent principality for the Christians. I am scarcely inclined to attach any very great significance to this expression of opinion.

I trust that the foregoing retrospect will, with the despatches on separate subjects I have already forwarded, enable your Excellency to form a pretty accurate notion of what has been going on.

I have, &c.
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYNE

Inclosure 3 in No 240

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, October 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency copy of the Protocol of the 6th sitting of the Commission.

It was on this occasion that his Excellency Fud Pasha for the first time made his appearance among us, and entered upon the discharge of his functions as *ex officio* President of our body. Until now the proceedings

of the Commission have been comparatively unimportant, as we were compelled to confine ourselves to the occupation of assailing Abro Efendi, his Excellency's delegate, with a storm of questions, requisitions, and proposals, which that gentleman always declared himself incompetent to entertain. Now, however, that we are brought face to face with the Turkish Representative there is a better prospect of our meetings becoming productive of some practical result. Nothing could have been more skilful, conciliatory, or dignified than the manner in which Fuad Pasha proceeded to establish his official relations with us, and it was rather amusing to observe the change of tone in our discussions which the courtesy of his own manners insensibly imposed. He is now, as it were, fighting with his face to the sun, and from a lower level; but justice of his cause but equalize the chances of his position it is evident he would be more than a match for his present opponents. His powers of consultation are very great, and I have remarked that the persons most inclined towards him, when admitted to his intimacy, have always in some degree succumbed to the plausibility of his representations and the charm of his manners.

I need not particularly describe the details of our Conference: the Protocol itself will afford your Excellency a sufficiently accurate idea of the general character of the proceedings. I may, however, remark that in consequence of the Secretary of the Commission, a more favourable and expanded representation given to the part played by his chief than the facts of the case would strictly warrant. I would not have alluded to this circumstance had it not roused the indignation of one of my colleagues, who seems inclined to attempt to curtail the innocent partiality of our reporter.

As your Excellency will perceive the Commission was mainly occupied in considering the representations I thought it my duty to make regard

Having convinced myself that the only effective way of conducting a *bona fide* investigation into the circumstances out of which the late disturbances arose would be by acquiring for the Delegates of the Commission, appointed to watch the trial of those concerned in them, the privilege of directing the inquiry into whatever channel seemed most likely to lead to the discovery of the truth, I ventured to represent to Fuad Pasha, in as conciliatory a manner as I could command, the expediency of his granting to our representatives permission to suggest, in writing, to the President of the tribunal, such questions as from time to time it might appear desirable to them should be addressed either to the prisoner or to the witnesses.

Perceiving, however, that my colleagues did not seem inclined to support such a proposition, and being aware that under such circumstances his Excellency would never accede to it, I contented myself with stating my opinion, without pressing it further upon their attention.

Nevertheless, I may be permitted to express to your Excellency my conviction that some such means as the above would offer the only facilities we are likely to obtain, for fulfilling the first of the duties we are instructed to discharge, namely, the discovery of the causes of the late events.

At present, although a pretty accurate conjecture may be formed as to the nature of many of the influences which were at work, it is only by cross-examination of witnesses, the comparison of evidence, the confronting of the Druze Chiefs with the Turkish officials, and both with their Christian accusers, that the actual truth can be evolved.

Now, even if they had the wish, no Turkish tribunal possesses either the experience or the skill necessary to conduct so complicated an investigation. But we have every reason to believe that the real object which the Beyrout Tribunal has at heart in the concealment of the truth, and the destruction, with as much despatch as possible, of those whose mutual recrimination would bring to the knowledge of Europe facts with which it is their interest to keep her unacquainted. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great importance that we should have the power of preventing those in

the purity of whose intentions we can have so little confidence from stifling and cooking evidence.

It was suggested during the course of the discussion, that the *procès-verbal* of each day's proceedings would afford the Commission an opportunity of acquiring, through the Representative of the Porte, the very satisfaction I desired our delegates should be empowered to demand; but to this observation I replied, that up to the present moment, as the report of my delegate proved, the *procès-verbal* was an untrustworthy and garbled representation of what occurred, and that notwithstanding that his Excellency had been good enough to undertake that the procedure of the Court should be improved, it was impossible, no matter what precautions were taken, to prevent the reports submitted to our examination from conveying but a meagre and inadequate notion to our mind of the real nature of its proceedings.

Moreover, your Excellency will immediately perceive that even if the texture of the *procès-verbal* was sufficiently close to enable us to seize the important clue which was to conduct us to the truth, it would be impossible to convey beforehand to the Tribunal, instructions sufficiently stringent to compel them to make a *bona fide* use of it, more especially when Fuad Pasha himself was the only medium through which they could be communicated with. At best it would only be the examination-in-chief that could be thus dictated; for all purposes of cross-examination—by which alone evidence can be sifted—such a method would of course be completely

So convinced am I of the necessity for the Commission to acquire the

of directing the investigation, that at a convenient opportunity I

It again invites my colleagues to consider whether we cannot in some way or another obtain permission to handle the witnesses ourselves. This question being then disposed of, a proposition was made by the Representative of Prussia that the accused should be allowed to communicate with some person who might take charge of his papers and collect his witnesses. Austria and myself strongly supported some such arrangement. The Representative of France declared it to be undesirable. Rumon followed in his wake, and Fuad Pasha naturally took advantage of this difference of opinion to prevent the introduction of such an innovation, declaring that were he allowed to employ an agent of this kind, Said Bey's wealth would enable him to suborn any number of witnesses.

He concluded, however, by repeating the assurance he had already made to me individually two days before, on the occasion of my former remonstrance, that he would endeavour to apply every remedy that was compatible with the custom of Turkish Courts, to put a stop to the irregularities of which we complained. I am happy to be able to add that these promises have been accordingly, and that the trial of Said Bey is now proceeding in a more satisfactory manner. It is probable that the steps we have taken will result in the adoption of a mode of procedure which, though still lamentably defective, will at all events be as equitable as has ever been known in a Turkish Court of Justice.

One of the reasons for which I was so anxious that Said Bey should have some person into whose hands he might commit his papers, was that I have been informed he possesses a document to which he attaches such great importance that he is unwilling to hand it over to the Court for fear they should destroy it.

I hardly know how much credit may be attached to this report, but I am of opinion that, if such a document exists, the prisoner's misgivings are not unreasonable.

I have instructed Mr Noel Moore to insist on all documents handed to Court being communicated to the Delegates of the Commission.

Before concluding our sitting we succeeded in extracting from Fuad Pasha one very important concession, namely, that previously to sentence being passed on any of the prisoners, we should have an opportunity of communicating to his Excellency our opinion of the evidence and on the reports with which we shall be furnished.

I have but one further incident to signalise to your Excellency.

During the course of the discussion on M. Rehiue's proposal the

Austrian Representative, M. Weckbecker, stated that, inasmuch as we were merely instructed to "provoquer la punition des coupables," he did not consider himself bound to advocate the acquittal of the innocent; should a person not guilty be condemned the responsibility of such injustice rested solely with the Turkish Tribunal. This idea I ventured earnestly to combat, arguing that although the Commission collectively may be considered to discharge the duty of prosecutors on behalf of Islam and Christianity, yet, that from the moment our Delegates entered court, the discovery of truth and the attainment of the ends of justice was the sole object that they ought to propose to themselves, and that the acquittal of the innocent was an essentially the logical consequence of this sole object as the condemnation of the guilty.

In conclusion, I trust your Excellency will not imagine that I have intended to insist that the formalities and complications known to European law should be practised on the present occasion.

I am well aware that in such a crisis it is more humane to administer quick and speedy justice than to allow those manifestly deserving of punishment to escape on any quibble or mere legal pretext. But of any excess in this direction I see no danger. Only three days ago Fual assured me that he would hang any man whom he could get two Kurus Consuls to declare guilty not on any proof, but on their moral convictions, and that he would make a present to the Commission of any head we chose to ask for. Yet his Excellency is undoubtedly a very humane man.

In the great struggle, I have been told, to order Ahmed Pasha to be executed; and kindness and benevolence are the sentiments most natural to his amiable nature. When, however, one sees a person ready for political considerations, to deal out capital punishment with such unprincipled facility, one is naturally anxious to take care that Justice while she grasps the sword with one hand should not let her scales fall to the other.

I think it right to add that I have quite satisfied my colleagues that it is by a sense of equity alone that my conduct on this occasion has been regulated, that the fact of Said Bey Jumblat's being the case in question was an accidental circumstance foreign to my thoughts, and that in that I do I have only at heart the cause of humanity and justice.

I have, &c.
(Signed) D'IFFERIN AND CLANHOYE

Enclosure 6 in No. 210

Protocoll of the Fifth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 23, 1860.

(EJOURNÉ) Mardi vingt-trois Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, deux heures de l'après-midi, les Membres de la Commission Internationale, assistés d'Abro Efendi, Délégué Ottoman, se sont réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. de Weckbecker, Commissaire d'Autriche.

Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté.

Le Commissaire Prussien interpelle Abro Efendi sur la question de savoir pourquoi l'on exige des habitants de certaines localités des quittances définitives en échange des sommes qui leur sont allouées par les Comités d'Évaluation.

Abro Efendi répond que les sommes ainsi allouées ne sont pas même des avances sur le montant des indemnités, mais seulement des secours. Quant aux quittances exigées des habitants, il ne que ce soient des quittances définitives, et assure que ce sont de simples récépissés.

Une discussion s'engage à ce propos et les divers Membres de la Commission y prennent part. Lord Dufferin est d'avis que tous ces cesseraient si les Délégués de la Commission étaient adjoints aux Comités, ainsi que cela avait été précédemment décidé. On se demande qui rétribuerait les Délégués, ou du moins qui leur rembourserait leurs frais d'entretien et de déplacement. Abro Efendi déclare qu'ils recevraient du

Gouvernement la même rétribution que leurs collègues. Cet engagement n'est pas accepté par la Commission.

Abro Efendi fait savoir que les Comités sont actuellement au nombre de huit. Un seul est composé de cinq membres, les autres n'en comptent que quatre; total, trente-trois. Il y a dans chaque Comité un Musulman, un Chrétien, un meunier, et un maître maçon montagnard.

Partis de Beyrout, ces Comités parcourent, en corps, les villages de la circonscription qui leur est assignée. Leurs travaux seront terminés dans une vingtaine de jours.

M. de Weckbecker pense que si les allocations actuelles ne sont déduites qu'à titre de secours, la Commission ne pourrait envoyer ses Délégués que lorsqu'on s'occupera des évaluations définitives.

M. de Rehfues maintient son assertion relativement aux quittances exigées des habitants, et que ceux-ci souffrent par ignorance de l'avenir et pour ne pas être frustrés d'une indemnité même insaisissable.

Abro Efendi demande les noms de ceux qui ont soucrit des pareilles quittances, mais le Commissaire Prussien ne croit pas pour le moment avoir les faire connaître.

La question de l'adjonction des Délégués est encore réservée par la Commission jusqu'à plus ample information.

Abro Efendi donne lecture d'une lettre qu'il a reçue de Fual Pacha en réponse aux allegations contenues dans un rapport du Consul de France à Damas, dont plusieurs passages ont été communiqués à la Commission par M. Bédard. Il demande que la lettre de Fual Pacha soit annexée au présent procès-verbal.

Le Commissaire Français ne s'y oppose pas, mais il conteste les rectifications de Fual Pacha, il croit, au contraire, que toutes les informations de M. Outrey ont été puisées à bonne source et ne sont pas de nature à être démenties.

M. de Rehfues fait remarquer à la Commission que les personnes condamnées en dernier lieu à Damas, celles que Abdallah el Halebi et autres, sont arrivées à Beyrout en pompeux équipage, avec une suite nombreuse.

transport des condamnés.

Abro Efendi répond que les personnes en question ont été délogées de Damas dans le but principal de calmer les inquiétudes des Chrétiens. Leur culpabilité n'a pu être établie par aucune preuve positive, et la seule charge qui pèse sur eux est de n'avoir pas empêché les désordres de Damas.

M. Novikow et de Rehfues s'étonnent que la peine de la détention perpétuelle ou même à terme ait été ainsi prononcée, comme mesure administrative, contre des individus réputés innocents.

M. de Weckbecker trouve que la Commission a surtout à se plaindre d'avoir reçu aucune communication relativement aux récentes condamnations.

Jusqu'à ce que les dossiers aient été remis à la Commission, il paraît que les condamnés furent retenus à Beyrout.

M. Bédard annonce qu'il se propose d'appeler l'attention du Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Porte, dès que ce dernier sera de retour à Beyrout, sur les poursuites à exercer contre les auteurs des massacres à Saida. Ceux-ci jusqu'à présent sont restés impunis. Abro Efendi explique cette impunité par le fait que Fual Pacha n'a pu faire à Saida qu'un séjour de courte durée; mais il est convaincu qu'à Saida comme ailleurs les coupables recevront le châtiment qu'ils ont mérité.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit devoir présenter de nouvelles observations sur la réponse faite par Fual Pacha au memorandum de la Commission en ce qui concerne la participation qu'elle peut prendre à l'enquête. La distinction établie entre l'enquête générale et l'enquête judiciaire ne saurait être admise par la Commission qu'à la condition de maintenir rigoureusement pour celle-ci le droit qui lui appartient de rechercher, aux termes des instructions identiques, la part de responsabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'administration. Or, ce droit elle ne peut l'exercer sans intervenir dans le procès.

Abro Efendi fait observer que la Commission recevra communication

des dossiers, et qu'après les avoir examinés elle pourra formuler son opinion.

Le Commissaire Russe n'admet pas qu'un jugement puisse être rendu ni exécuté sans que la Commission en ait eu connaissance.

Abro Efendi réserve sur ce point l'opinion de Fuad Pacha, qui doit arriver le jour même à Beyrouth. Il dit que lorsque tous les procès seront suffisamment instruits on rendra des jugements en masse, mais il ne croit pas que les Commissaires aient le droit s'ériger en juges.

M. de Rehfues déclare protester contre tous les jugements qui seraient rendus ou exécutés avant que tous les dossiers aient été préalablement communiqués à la Commission.

Pour couvrir sa responsabilité il demande que sa protestation soit insérée au procès-verbal.

M. de Werkbocker rappelle des précédentes observations comme venant à l'appui de la protestation de M. de Rehfues. L'instruction préliminaire, a-t-il toujours dit, appartient aux tribunaux, mais la Commission doit être présente et peut intervenir lorsque l'accusé comparait devant ses juges. Telle est, à son point de vue, la mesure dans laquelle la Commission a le droit de concourir à l'enquête.

Un long débat s'engage à ce propos entre les Commissaires d'une part, qui veulent que leur intervention soit réelle et efficace, et le Délégué Ottoman d'autre part, qui soutient que cette intervention tend à priver les juges de leur indépendance.

La forme dans laquelle les accusés sont interrogés est soumise ensuite à diverses critiques ainsi que le peu de garanties dont la défense est entourée. Abro Efendi discute ces critiques et fait observer qu'on ne peut exiger d'un tribunal Turc l'observation de toutes les formes usitées en Europe.

Tous les membres de la Commission appuient successivement la protestation de M. de Rehfues.

M. Réclard y ajoute cependant cette réserve que, dans sa pensée la dite protestation ne doit pas avoir pour effet tempérer en quoi que ce soit la sévérité du tribunal.

M. de Rehfues déclare être d'accord sur ce point avec le Commissaire Russe.

Président croit pouvoir formuler ainsi l'opinion de tous ses membres.

La Commission prétend exercer une action collective quant à la recherche des causes et de l'origine des événements, ainsi que la culpabilité des chefs de l'insurrection et des agents de l'autorité.

Le Commissaire Français fait un nouvel appel à la sévérité dans la répression.

Il est d'avis qu'on doit frapper de grands coups et éviter de se perdre dans les détails de la procédure.

La séance est levée à quatre heures un quart.

(Suivent les signatures)

Annexe.

Fuad Pacha to Abro Efendi

Monsieur,

Damas, le 13 Octobre, 1860.

AYANT vu dans une de vos lettres, par lesquelles vous m'avez rendu compte des séances de la Commission, que M. Réclard, Commissaire de Sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français, avait donné lecture d'une lettre de M. Outrey, Consul de France à Damas, à son Excellence M. Thourvenel, sur la situation de la ville, j'ai dû demander à M. Outrey certaines explications sur des faits qu'il avait avancés et qui me paraissent d'une très grande importance, et il s'est empressé de faire des rectifications sur ce que je lui ai dit d'après le résumé que vous m'avez fait.

1. Comme appréciations générales, il avait parlé de certaines émotions et de frayeur qui s'étaient produites dernièrement dans la ville.

il n'a pas eu l'intention de dire que la ville courait un danger et qu'on était à la veille d'un second massacre.

2. En parlant des notables du pays qui sont détenus, il avait dit qu'ils paraissent avoir des relations dans la ville et qu'il n'a pas voulu les laisser dans le but de les attirer sur Damas et faire massacrer les chrétiens.

3. En parlant de Karâmi Efendi il avait voulu signaler la conduite employée, qui compromettait le Tribunal Extraordinaire; mais il n'avait pas voulu former une accusation contre ce Tribunal comme concessionnaire.

Pour le premier point, comme il s'agit d'une appréciation générale, je n'ai qu'à exprimer mes impressions et ce que j'ai vu à mon arrivée ici. On avait répandu le bruit d'un prétendu rassemblement des chrétiens dans le but de marcher sur Damas. Ce bruit, et quelques signes qu'on avait faits sur les portes des maisons occupées par les chrétiens, ont contribué à amener une certaine inquiétude dans la ville parmi les Chrétiens. Les notables Chrétiens n'hésitent pas à soupçonner aussi les Juifs d'être les auteurs de cette alarme donnée à leurs co-

Les autorités militaires ne trouvaient entre deux alternatives ou de ne rien faire pour ne pas accréditer ce bruit et d'être alors taxées d'inaction et d'insouciance, ou de montrer plus d'activité et de vigilance pour faire disparaître cette frayeur et être eues comme ayant elle-mêmes avoué l'existence d'un tel danger. Elle a préféré la première alternative. Elle exprime pour sa conduite une très haute satisfaction, mais on l'appelle comme un témoignage sur la cause de cette alarme on ne peut pas nier l'existence de cette frayeur, mais il n'y avait aucun danger pour la ville. La population Musulmane vit toujours sous l'impression de cet erreur, et puis même dire, sans lui faire grâce, qu'elle reussent aujourd'hui les regards de ce qu'elle a fait.

Pour le second point, après les explications données par M. Outrey j'ai une seule chose à dire: c'est que j'avais confié la garde de ces détenus à la même autorité militaire pour laquelle on montre une si haute opinion. J'ai pris des informations, et je vois que soit, peut-être, quelques petites fautes commises par les soldats qui les gardaient, ces gens, qui sont aujourd'hui plus sévèrement gardés, n'avaient aucune relation ni avec la ville ni avec le dehors.

Quant au troisième point la conduite de Karâmi Efendi avait failli compromettre non seulement le Tribunal Extraordinaire, mais aussi celui qui le représente. Vous connaissez Karâmi, qui est le fils du vieux Hedem Karâmi, secrétaire de l'Emir Bekhir, il était dans le bureau traducteurs et quelques mois avant les événements de la Syrie il avait obtenu un congé pour aller vivre quelque temps à Saïda, sa ville natale. A mon arrivée à Beyrouth je l'ai pris auprès de moi comme Secrétaire Interprète pour l'Arabe.

A Damas je l'avais mis dans la Commission chargée de distribuer des secours aux Chrétiens; mais, voyant que sa conduite l'honore les Chrétiens qui étaient en rapports avec lui, je l'avais fait remplacer par Franco Efendi. Laissé à Damas sur sa demande pour cause de maladie, il s'est comme mon Délégué auprès des autorités et même auprès des chrétiens. Sa conduite m'ayant été signalée par les autorités, et je la croyais bien loin de l'état où je l'ai trouvée, je lui ai donné l'ordre de retourner à Beyrouth, et je suis arrivée ici avant son départ.

Dénoncée comme concessionnaire je l'ai fait arrêter immédiatement, et j'ai trouvé chez lui l'argent et les quelques objets qui pèsent à sa charge. Comme il ne montrait aux yeux du public plus que le Président du Tribunal Extraordinaire c'est cette conduite incompréhensible qui avait failli compromettre ce Tribunal, dont tous les membres sont des hommes d'une honnêteté et d'une probité bien connues.

Je suis entré dans tous ces détails pour faire disparaître des soupçons qui pourraient planer sur les hommes auxquels j'avais donné ma confiance, c'est pour cette raison que je m'estime très heureux d'avoir fait cette découverte, qui me donne l'occasion de montrer que la justice que je suis

exercer peut attendre les hommes qui se trouvent attachés même

Une de vos lettres me parle des Chrétiens du Hauran, sur la situation desquels la Commission a bien voulu appeler mon attention. J'ai reçu aussi une pétition de leur part et une délégation est venue me voir.

Impossible de donner une garantie à Iemil-el Atrash, qui a été conduit d'une manière atroce lors des événements de Hasheya et de Rasheya. J'ai dû chercher un autre moyen pour assurer l'état des Chrétiens dans le cas où nos colonnes attaqueraient les Chefs Druses du Hauran, auxquels ceux du Liban se sont joints aujourd'hui. La famille de Amer pour laquelle les Chrétiens ont donné de très bons témoignages pendant nous servir dans ce but, j'ai pris des dispositions pour les employer afin de créer un refuge chez eux pour les Chrétiens du Hauran, qui sont très peu nombreux d'après mes informations.

Un Pacha est parti aujourd'hui pour Sana, pour former les colonnes de poursuite à organiser. J'ai pu rassembler dans ce but une masse Cavalerie Irégulière d'environ 3,000 hommes.

Le Général sera de retour Jeudi, et en le laissant ici j'espère partir le soir même pour être Vendredi ou Samedi à Beyrouth.

Agreez, &c
Signé) F. D.

Inclosure 7 in No. 210

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, November

I acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 10th October, I need not say how grateful I am for the indulgent terms in which you have been pleased to convey to me your approval of my conduct. To be made aware that I have as yet done nothing to forfeit your Excellency's confidence, is the greatest encouragement I could desire in the accomplishment of the difficult and ungrateful task with which I am charged, and I only trust that I may continue so act in such a way as not to forfeit your good opinion. I shall use the most scrupulous care to conform my conduct in every particular to your Excellency's instructions, and I embrace this duty with the greater alacrity as it is impossible not to feel the force of the observations they embody.

I would desire more especially to express my thanks to your Excellency for the considerate manner in which you have warned me against allowing local considerations to assume proportions calculated to dwarf those of more general importance. Against this danger I am aware it is necessary to keep up a constant struggle. In regard, however, to the particular subject to which your Excellency refers, I am in hopes that a want of perspicuity in my expressions has caused you to infer that I entertain an opinion relative to the military occupation of this country different from that I was anxious to convey.

I have no hesitation in saying that the introduction of any foreign troops into Syria must be a circumstance fraught with many inconveniences. As to the presence of a French army, it will soon become an unmitigated evil, only to be considered supportable on the grounds of a major necessity. When, therefore, I ventured to suggest to your Excellency that perhaps it might be necessary even to leave in this country for some time longer than the period named in the Convention, a European force, I never contemplated anything but an inconsiderable body of 2,000 or 3,000 men, composed of contingents from various States of Europe. From an expression in your Excellency's despatch, I am in hopes that such an arrangement as this would not be at variance with what you are venturing to consider as advisable. Could such a force be conveyed to Syria, I am of opinion that the French army might be dismissed in a few months without danger to the tranquillity of the province. I am, however, still strongly of opinion that it would be advisable, before

the present scale of the military occupation is diminished, that a joint expedition of English, French, and Turkish troops should be conducted to the Hauran. It even might be as well, though of this I am less certain, that they should show themselves at Damascus.

I am well aware that, in advocating these arrangements, I may still be unconsciously keeping too fixed a regard on this province. At the same time, I would ask your Excellency to remember that a person expressly charged, as I have been, with the duty of devising a guarantee for the future, is perhaps nervously alive to the risk the Christian inhabitants of Syria would run, were they at once denuded of that security at present assured to them by the presence of Foad Pasha, by a French army, and by the vigilance of Christendom.

Though few people in this country would share my opinion, I am inclined to consider that even when these safeguards are withdrawn they will be safe, but so great is their natural timidity, so completely has their confidence been overthrown, so powerful are the influences at work to maintain the state of panic, that it will be impossible to reassure them without leaving in the country some material proof that they are still the object of European solicitude. Such a force as I have described would produce this effect, while at the same time it might prove not an undecidable support to Turkish authority.

If, however, other considerations render this arrangement impossible, if after we have patched up the Lebanon matters are to be allowed to return to their former state, and the province is to be handed back to the usual run of Turkish Governors, if on the first emergency in another part of the Empire the Turkish troops are to be again withdrawn, and the Christians are to be left face to face with their exasperated fellow-citizens, then it is clear there remains but one kind of precaution to be taken,—Foad Pasha must be invited to multiply his executions sevenfold. Such extremity of terror must be struck into the minds of the Muslims as shall render this epoch a never to be forgotten era in their history, and Damascus must be visited with a severity unpractised since the middle

At the same time I feel my misgivings may be exaggerated, and it is a great satisfaction to me to think that I can call upon your Excellency's cooler judgment to modify impressions which a sense of my responsibility may have imbued with too vivid a colouring, for it must always be remembered that if in three, five, ten years hence the horrors of this summer are repeated it is upon us that the reproaches of Europe will fall. A member of the Commission, therefore, may be excused if he discovers an anxiety to render the future tranquillity of the country a matter not merely of probability, but of certainty; even at the expense of disadvantages which any one, taking a more extensive survey of the question, would be disposed to consider of greater importance.

Above all things I would wish your Excellency to understand that, up to this moment I have maintained the strictest reserve as to the opinions which have gradually been maturing in my mind. Hitherto my sole occupation has been to acquaint myself with the circumstances of the country, to acquire an insight into the views and intentions of my colleagues, and to urge upon Foad Pasha such measures as seemed most likely to mitigate the pressing distresses of the people. I am, therefore, in a position to carry out any line of policy which my accounts of the state of the country may have led your Excellency to consider advisable; and I need not say how relieved I have been to receive the ample and clear exposition of your views with which you have favoured me.

I am now prepared, however, to submit to your Excellency a suggestion a plan for the settlement of the Province, which seems to me likely to offer a fair chance of solving some of the difficulties of the situation. I should prefer, however, to make its exposition the subject of a separate despatch.

I have, &c
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANERON

Inclosure 8 in No. 240

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Reyroul, November 3, 1860.

Sir,

I PURPOSE in this despatch to submit to your Excellency's consideration a scheme for the settlement of this Province, which appears to me to afford a fair chance of success.

In attempting to resolve the difficulties of the Syrian question I am aware that I undertake a task of great difficulty; that the situation of affairs is sufficiently complicated to baffle the most subtle ingenuity, and that it will be impossible to reconcile all the conflicting interests at stake. If, therefore, the plan which I propose should seem liable to many just objections, I would ask your Excellency to remember that at the best we live before us but a choice of evils.

By stating that after due inquiry and observation I have come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding that Syria is inhabited by ten distinct and uncivilized races, and that these races are again split into seventeen fanatical sects, the government of the country under certain conditions would be a matter of little difficulty. Submission to superior

of all these people. Many of the tribes, but the Druses alone possess anything

weak, but as servile as the rest of their countrymen to those they fear; while the bulk of the peasantry is industrious, patient, and submissive. The only thing necessary, therefore, to secure public tranquillity is, that a Government should be constituted of sufficient strength to make itself respected. If it is destitute of this essential quality, the elements of discord are in existence enough to maintain a state of endless confusion. Consequently, considering any arrangement for the future it will be necessary to

which have hitherto enfeebled or demoralized the energies of the local administration.

It is not, however, necessary that I should weary your Excellency with an enumeration of all those symptoms of infirmity (inseparable from

Empire. I will content myself with calling your attention to such as may be considered peculiarly incident to the government of this Province.

In the first place, then, I would remark that, for years past, Syria has been looked upon by the Porte as an outlying Pashalic, from which, in addition to the revenues to be obtained through the legitimate process of taxation, a considerable profit might be extracted by farming the post of Governor to such persons as could be induced to bid the highest price for it. In order to reimburse himself for his outlay, each newly-appointed Governor was compelled to inaugurate his arrival in the country by visiting its inhabitants with the most intolerable exaction.

The process of squeezing he himself had undergone at Constantinople was applied to the province as soon as he reached Damascus. As it was for the advantage of the corrupt officials at the seat of government that these operations should be repeated as frequently as possible, the instrument of their rapacity stood in constant dread of receiving his recall.

In order to secure the indulgence of his protectors, it became necessary to satisfy their impatience with repeated bribes. Even so the duration of his term of office rarely exceeded two years, and it was only by the most unscrupulous activity in the work of spoliation that he was enabled to obtain a profit on the capital he had sunk in the purchase of the appointment.

This system naturally resulted in the province becoming cursed with a succession of incapable Pashas, chosen without any regard to the qualifications, ruthless in their oppressions, corrupt administrators of power, and utterly indifferent to the interests of the people.

In order to show that even the present crisis has not been sufficient to startle the Porte into a change of system, I may mention that the person they sent to succeed the late Ahmed Pasha at Damascus is so utterly incompetent that it has been found necessary to supersede him.

and that Shukri Pasha, the new Reis or Commandant of the garrison, is described in a despatch of the Earl of Clarendon to Lord S. de Redcliffe as a man accused of "gross habitual drunkenness and debauchery," and "a total neglect of his duties."

Another cause of weakness to which the Government of this province is peculiarly subject arises from its strategical isolation. In consequence of the poverty of the Empire, it is impossible to furnish its various Pashalics with an adequate supply of troops. Consequently, whenever an emergency arises in one part of the Sultan's dominions, other portions are denuded of their garrisons in order to meet it. The crisis passed, the contingents return to their former stations. But Syria being so remote, remains unsupplied for a longer period than in a

It was during one of these intervals in the military or political life of the province that the late disturbances occurred.

On the part of even the local Governor may be attributed to the fact that the Pashas are usually ignorant of the language, habits, and mode of thought of those they are sent to rule. Their position in Syria is, in fact, analogous to our own in India. Each fresh Pasha is accompanied by a batch of dependents equally new to the country. He and they are obliged to put themselves in the hands of intriguing natives.

He does not last long enough to emancipate him from the trammels in which his ignorance confines him, and even if undisturbed by malversation his position is discredited by ignorance and mismanagement.

Were it necessary to pursue this train of reasoning, I might point to other circumstances which may be considered to place this Province in a very inferior category from the remaining constituent portions of the Empire. But I think I have said enough to lead your Excellency to divine in what direction a remedy for its present misgovernment may be found.

In the first place the charge of ruling the Syrian population ought to be confided to a man whose position should be rendered independent of the baneful influence dominant at Constantinople. He should be relieved from the obligation of paying black-mail to those in power at home. He should feel himself sufficiently secure in his Government to be able to defy the intrigues of his colleagues at the capital and the exacting tutelage of the Pasha in his Pashalic. His appointments, secured on the part of the Porte, should be on a scale sufficiently liberal to obviate the temptations to which a needy official is exposed. His enjoyment of power should be secured to him for a term of years long enough to enable him to acquaint himself with the requirements of the country, and to inspire him with an interest in the welfare of the people. Above all things the selection of the individual should be made by the Porte in conjunction with the Great Powers, in order to secure the appointment of a person of talent and integrity.

At the same time that the future Administrator of the province is invested with this character of partial independence, the organization of its garrison ought to be placed on a footing somewhat different from that of the rest of the Imperial army. Although a very efficient local police should be created out of the native element, the submission of the province must always depend on the presence of Turkish Regulars. It would therefore, be necessary to secure the constant presence of a certain number of these troops; but as the resources of the country if properly developed would be amply sufficient to maintain better equipped regiments than any in the army of the Sultan, precautions must be taken against their being borrowed by the Porte.

Finally, in order to give to the man whom Europe will hold responsible for the good government of the province liberty to carry out an improved policy in every Department of his Administration, a similar independence might be extended to the fiscal regulations of the Pashalic. The amount of tribute to be paid to the Porte once being ascertained, all other arrangements affecting the financial prosperity of the country should be determined by local considerations.

Such are the inexhaustible riches of its soil, the magnificent extent of its three great plains of Coele-Syria, the Hamran, and Esdraelon, the facilities it possesses for the manufacture of silk, and, probably, for the growth of cotton, that it is to be expected, if only life and property were secure, the resources of the country would become second only to those of Egypt.

But this scheme, however plausible, must fall to the ground unless we be able to discover a man of sufficient intelligence, energy, and experience to serve as key-stone to the arch, and to command the suffrages of the European Powers.

In looking for such a person one's attention is naturally directed towards his Excellency Fud Pasha. Though, undoubtedly, his conduct since arriving in the country may present many grave occasions for censure, on the whole, if we take into account the difficulties of his position, the ruffled nature of the emergency he had to meet, and the utter absence of trustworthy assistants, it is impossible to deny that he has exhibited an amount of skill and prudence that might well qualify him for the post in question.

Nevertheless I am bound to add, that it is rather by a just appreciation of what it was necessary to do than by any great administrative skill that his Excellency's conduct has been distinguished; I might even say, did not the deficiency of his resources plead in his favour, that he is not conspicuous for any great powers of organization, and that a person less talented, but with equal judgment and more pertinacity, would be better suited to the emergency. On the whole, however, perhaps, it would be difficult to find among Turkish Statesmen a man more fitted for the post.

It may be with justice objected to the above proposal, that to erect the Province of Syria into a single Pashalic, and to invest the Governor-General with such extraordinary privileges, might be considered to inaugurate the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. It is certainly impossible to deny that the plan involves the placing of the civil and military organization of the Province on a semi-independent footing, but it seems to me possible the transition from one condition to the other might be effected in a manner sufficiently imperceptible to escape the evil consequences attendant on any violent change of system.

Although it might be necessary to surround the position of the new Pasha with such circumstances of splendour as are wont to beguile the imagination of mankind, he would still remain the servant of the Sultan and the Governor, not the Viceroy, of the Province. It might even be stipulated that, at the expiration of a certain term, His Imperial Majesty should resume the direct administration of the country.

Should the scheme, however, be thus far considered unobjectionable, we are at a distance from a solution of the difficulty. It is true we may construct our machinery; we may have even found a man capable of attending it; but whence is the motive power to be derived that is to set it all in motion? Where shall we discover the capital it will be necessary to sink in constituting an Administration, in equipping an army, in repairing the devastations which have paralyzed the energies of the population? A sum of three millions sterling would hardly be sufficient to cover these expenses, and as I have had the honour of informing his Excellency in a previous despatch, Fud Pasha has scarcely five shillings at his disposal.

If once security were established, and the resources of the country were developed, the surplus of the revenue would suffice to pay off a debt to the above amount in a very few years; but to create that security, and to develop these resources, we require what cannot be obtained unless they shall already have been called into existence. We are moving in a vicious circle. I do not know whether, under these circumstances, it might be considered advisable by the Governments of Europe to cut the Gordian knot with a golden sword, but at present such an expedient seems the only one capable of saving the country from complete disorganization.

Turning, however, from the consideration of this part of the question,

I will now proceed to examine the constitution of the Lebanon, and the mode in which it could be worked up into the general plan. If we had before us a *tabula rasa*, I should be inclined to say that the simplest and most practical arrangement would be to assimilate the Mountain to the rest of the Pashalic, and entrust its administration to the Governor of the Province.

There can be little doubt but that the late massacres, and all the wars, quarrels, and disturbances which have agitated the Lebanon for the last fifteen years, may be attributed to the dissatisfaction of the Turkish Government with the partial autonomy it enjoyed. Their policy has been to prove the scheme adopted by the Great Powers in 1845. With this object in view, they stimulated, as occasion served, the animosity existing between Maronites and Druses.

In proportion as foreign influence exalted the arrogance and fanaticism of the Christians, their independence became more insupportable to the Turks, and a determination was arrived at to inflict on them, through the instrumentality of the Druses, a severer measure of chastisement than they had yet received. What occurred at Hadetha, Rasheya, and Deir-el-Kamar was an exaggeration of the plan. Khorsahid Pasha and his accomplices were incapable of carrying so subtle a policy into execution: the play was over-acted, and an "esclandre" took place.

As long, therefore, as the principle of Turkish rule in Syria continues to be accepted, their exclusion from the Mountain is incompatible with its tranquillity. By making it the interest of the Government to compel peace instead of to excite war, we shall obtain the best security for the maintenance of harmony between the hostile tribes.

I am well aware that the effect of such an arrangement would be to crown that policy with success which for the last fifteen years has been pursued by the Turks with such ruthless and wicked perseverance. But under the circumstances we must be content to sacrifice a mere sentiment of poetical justice to whatever promises a chance of practical improvement.

Moreover, it must be remembered that I would not venture to advocate such a change, unless in conjunction with the erection of a strong and independent Government in Syria, whose motions can be watched, and whose interest it will be to conciliate, by its irreproachable conduct, the goodwill of the European Powers. The Sultan feels himself a necessity to Europe, and at liberty to set all criticism at defiance; but a Governor of Syria, designated by Europe, would understand that his tenure of office depended on his good conduct. Such a sentiment is evidently never absent from the mind of the Pasha of Egypt, and the nervous alacrity with which he provided against the spread of Syrian fanaticism to Cairo was very remarkable.

Nevertheless, desirable as it might be to continue the complete unity of Syria, there is one important circumstance which may render the accomplishment of such a project impossible. I doubt whether France would consent that the Kharouan and the pure Maronite districts should be despoiled of their privileges. In fact, her desire is the very contrary of this. She wishes to extend the Christian Kaimakamship over the whole Mountain. But to this arrangement I am of opinion neither Turkey nor England ought on any account to consent. If, therefore, her aversion to the plan of complete assimilation be found unconquerable, some compromise must be attempted.

Late events have demonstrated that the Christians must be no longer subjected to Druse supremacy. But the admission of this principle implies the assertion of its converse. If Druses cannot be suffered to exercise a despotic authority over the Christians, the Christians must not be permitted to exercise a despotic authority over the Druses. Mixed districts therefore, that is to say, the whole of the Lebanon south of the road leading from Beyrout to Damascus, must be handed over to the jurisdiction of some third party, and that party can only be the Turk. It would seem, then, that the best practical arrangement for the Lebanon would be to allow the Northern division, which is solely inhabited by Christians, to retain its Kaimakam, and to suffer the remainder of the Mountain to be governed by the same method as the rest of the province.

In order, however, to mitigate as much as possible the inconvenience of an *imperium in imperio*, I would recommend that the Kaysakam should be nominated by the Governor General; the Christian Mokatas or hereditary beys should be abolished, and that the feudal Sheriks should be converted into officers appointed during good behaviour. To these details, however, I should not wish to pledge myself.

It is very much to be feared that, no matter what is done, the Mount- be always subject to foreign and domestic intrigues. Every advantage will be taken of the shortcomings of the new Government to excite the sympathies of Europe in favour of an extension, to all the Christians of the Lebanon, of the privileges enjoyed by the Kesrouas. It is undoubtedly much to be lamented that any Christian community should be subject to Mahometan rule, but it is a principle accepted by Europe, and in this respect the Mount Lebanon will be no worse off than their religious brethren of Damascus, of Mount Hermon, and of the rest of the province.

It, therefore, the composition of the Mountain should be effected as I propose, it is to be hoped that the consenting Powers who exercise influence over its inhabitants will forbid their agents to countenance the war.

L'arrangement est proposé à discuter un arrangement quel, est probablement le best that can be derived.

Before concluding, it is necessary to discuss one important consideration. What assurance are we likely to possess that the semi-independent Prince we shall have constituted does not

European Power? Against such a danger, perhaps, it will be said, a ready in Egypt we see influences at work which have aroused many observing minds. I cannot but think, however, that the importance is attached to these insidious practices than a just appreciation of their character or extent.

It is well understood by all these minor Potentates that England is quite content with the *status quo*, and that, therefore, they support and countenance. The other Powers then opposing it.

With the agents natural to Oriental, they endeavor to show they fear by the latest subservient, while they see to their well-wishers a suppliant discourtesy. This conduct naturally offends the susceptibility of the Consular Agents of the friendly Power, who on a hundred minor occasions fail in procuring that attention to

I advise which they see lavished on their colleagues. It is stated that the influence of a rival Government, all-powerful, and the final process of annexation. A little reflection would incline one to consider that the hold it upon the country is less intimate than might be imagined. Consequently, I am disposed to hope that, though we may expect great subservient on the part of the Government of Syria to those States whose influence over the Mountain will excite its fears, yet, so great must be the jealousy it would entertain of any Power whose manifest intention it would be, did occasion offer, to convert the Lebanon into a fortress, garrisoned by dependents of its own, that it must naturally lean for support on whichever of the European Governments it is convinced is least inclined to entertain nefarious designs on so important a portion of its domain.

I have thus, to the best of my ability, submitted to your Excellency a description of the arrangements I would venture to recommend should be adopted in reference to this country, together with some of the considerations which may be urged on their behalf. I only trust that I shall not be thought presumptuous in having done so. I am aware that my proposal may appear but a crude and undigested plan; but your own acquaintance with the subject will enable your Excellency to supply most of the deficiencies. If I should be thought to have exceeded my functions in suggesting the adoption of such a principle as is implied in the arrangements I propose, I would again venture to remind you that I have entered upon this question thus prematurely in order, as I have said before, to have the advantage of knowing your Excellency's opinion before the subject is discussed by the Commission. We are still occupied with the first

portion of our task, and some time is likely to elapse before we take into our consideration the reorganization of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 9 in No. 240

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, November 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the sixth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 20th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 240

Protocol of the Sixth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 26, 1860.

Le Vendredi, vingt-six Octobre mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires se trouvant réunis à Beyrout, chez le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et donne, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha.

Après la lecture et l'adoption du procès-verbal de la séance précédente, le Président, prenant la parole, exprime la satisfaction que lui inspire le premier tour d'opération aux travaux de la Commission. Il expose que les concords des

La poursuite et le châtiement des coupables d'une part, on accorde lieu les réparations dues aux victimes, enfin les mesures à prendre pour prévenir le retour de pareilles calamités, tels sont les principaux points qu'il a en vue et auxquels le Gouvernement du Sultan est plus intéressé encore que l'Europe elle-même. Or, rien ne pourra l'empêcher de mener à bonne fin cette entreprise, en ce qui concerne particulièrement la punition des coupables; ni leur nombre, ni leur qualité ne serviront un obstacle à la réalisation de l'œuvre vengeresse dont il est chargé.

Fuad Pacha entre ensuite dans quelques explications sur les actes commis par lui tant à Damas que dans la Montagne. À Damas, où la violence a déjà frappé des criminels de tout rang; dans la Montagne, où il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Mais par un intérêt d'humanité, intérêt qui à toutes les Puissances représentées dans le sein de la Commission, le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman se flatte de n'être suspect d'aucune arrière-pensée, et de pouvoir, par conséquent, faire appel au bon vouloir de la Commission. Il considère les lacunes qui lui seront signalées, mais tout en sollicitant les avis dont il a besoin, il désire que ces conseils soient exempts de tout esprit de censure. La censure engendre la discorde, tandis qu'une bienveillance réciproque ne peut que faciliter le résultat auquel tendent les efforts communs.

Le Commissaire d'Autriche, en réponse au discours de Fuad Pacha, fait observer que des deux qualités réunies dans la personne du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la Commission ne doit se préoccuper que d'une seule, celle qui lui vaut l'avantage de le compter dans son sein comme collègue et comme Président. Il reconnaît pleinement la communauté d'intérêts

qui existe entre tous les Commissaires, et il croit pouvoir promettre et leur nom le concours qui leur est demandé. Il ne doute pas non plus que justice ne fasse mais il pense que la justice proprement dite ne suffit pas. L'Europe attend autre chose du Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte. Les pleins pouvoirs dont il est armé lui permettent de déployer une extrême sévérité et de faire éclater ainsi l'indignation que les maux de la Syrie ont dû causer à son Gouvernement. Il importe également que les Tribunaux soient animés d'un pareil esprit, surtout les Muses, qui sont tous coupables, les uns pour avoir agi, les autres pour avoir laissé agir.

Fuad Pacha, répliquant à M. de Weckbecker, rappelle qu'en fait de sévérité il peut déjà citer des preuves. A Damas, en un seul jour, centaines de condamnations ont été prononcées. Un Mushir a payé de sa tête les griefs qui lui étaient imputés. Il est donc tout-à-fait d'accord avec le préopinant. A son avis ce n'est pas seulement parce que l'Europe les réclame qu'il est tenu d'accorder les satisfactions, mais parce que son

Le Commissaire d'Autriche, chargé par ses collègues d'adresser quelques interpellations au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, lui soumet d'abord la question relative au Colonel Houni Bek, dont la présence parmi les membres du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth cause un certain mécontentement. Il aient penser sur lui, en sa qualité

de la garnison de Baalbek. Fuad Pacha, qui cet officier s'est bien comporté dans les premiers procès de Damas, il fournit à ce sujet quelques détails sur la composition du jury militaire qu'il a eu devoir instituer. Le Colonel Houni Bek en faisait partie comme avant été désigné par le régiment

Le jour, sa conduite sera soumise à une enquête minutieuse. Il est éloigné provisoirement du tribunal.

Le Commissaire Français explique les motifs qui l'ont déterminé à appeler le premier l'attention de ses collègues sur les bruits auxq. ont lieu les antécédents du Colonel Houni Bek. La plupart des officiers de l'armée Ottomane étaient plus ou moins compromis, rien ne les signalait particulièrement à l'animadversion publique, tandis que le Colonel Houni Bek, en raison de la position exceptionnelle qu'il occupait dans le Tribunal de Beyrouth, avait dû soulever plus et rendre l'opinion plus sévère sur la part de responsabilité qui lui était attribuée dans les événements de Baalbek.

M. de Weckbecker fait quelques indications sur la nature de la culpabilité qu'on impute au Hassan Yaxji, Commandant des Bashu-bouak, et que divers membres de la famille Harfush.

Fuad Pacha dit que, à Damas, comme dans les autres localités qu'il a visitées, il a tout fait pour provoquer les dénonciations des Chrétiens. Il ne recherche que la vérité, bien loin de vouloir soustraire qui que ce soit aux poursuites de la justice. Aussi s'empresse-t-il de recueillir de nouvelles informations. Quant à la famille Harfush il rappelle que c'est une famille de brigands.

Le Commissaire Russe, en réponse aux explications fournies dans une séance précédente par Abro Efendi, sur la personne de Shakir Pacha, en-derant Chef du Vestibule Militaire de Damas, expose que la conduite de ce fonctionnaire lui avait été signalée par la voix publique comme ayant donné lieu à de graves soupçons. Pendant la première nuit de l'émeute trouvant avec ses officiers dans le voisinage du quartier Chrétien, il avait assisté en spectateur indifférent aux progrès de l'incendie et du pillage.

M. Novikow avait également pensé qu'un Chef d'Etat-Major, appelé par ses fonctions mêmes à être dans le secret de toutes les dispositions du Seraskier, devait porter une bonne part de la responsabilité de son Chef. Avant appris, depuis, que Shakir Pacha avait été jugé et acquitté par le mahkama, il réserve son appréciation définitive à ce sujet pour le moment où il aura pu prendre connaissance des dossiers.

Le Préopinant a été acquitté non par le tribunal de Damas, mais par le Tribunal militaire assermenté qui s'est prononcé en faveur des prévenus, comptant dans son sein un Prussien au service de la Porte. Tout s'est passé régulièrement. Non seulement il a été reconnu que Shakir Pacha avait fait son devoir mais encore qu'il avait contribué à sauver un grand nombre de Chrétiens.

Le Commissaire Français, suivant l'engagement pris par lui dans la séance précédente, interpelle le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à propos des massacres de Saïda. Il rappelle qu'un nombre considérable de Chrétiens fugitifs ont été égorgés aux portes de Saïda, et qu'ils n'ont pu trouver un asile. Les poursuites exercées jusqu'ici ont été insuffisantes.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il n'a passé que deux jours à Saïda. Durant son séjour dans cette ville il s'est entouré de toutes les informations possibles. M. Krantz, Commandant du navire de guerre Français la "Sentinelle," M. de..., médecin Français, le Vice-Consul d'Espagne, et d'autres ont été interrogés par lui et n'ont fourni que des renseignements

et bon nombre d'entrées dans les prisons et les accablés par les poursuites.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que les autorités Ottomanes civiles ou militaires, dans toutes les localités où se sont produites des scènes de meurtre ou de pillage, doivent être tenues pour responsables de ce qui s'est passé sous leurs yeux. C'est aux dépositaires de la force publique qu'on doit s'en prendre, soit pour avoir favorisé, soit pour n'avoir pas réprimé les désordres.

Cette remarque s'applique à Saïda, comme aux autres points de la Syrie où le sang Chrétien a été versé.

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personnelle, n'exerce une influence quelconque sur le tribunal, on ne révoque l'opinion des Commissaires eux-mêmes.

Fuad Pacha répond que, d'après ses instructions, le jugement est réservé à l'autorité locale; les délégués ne pourraient donc y participer sans porter atteinte aux formes prescrites. Il rappelle d'ailleurs que l'instruction une fois terminée, le procès-verbal est présenté à l'accusé, qui, avant de le signer, peut faire ses réserves. C'est pour lui un moyen de contrôle.

Il lui demande s'il ne serait pas possible que l'accusé fût

ne pas que l'institution des défenseurs ne rende de grands services dans les pays où elle a été adoptée. Mais, là où elle n'existe pas, une pareille institution ne peut être introduite du jour au lendemain. Il fait valoir le manque d'hommes et la différence d'habitude pour prouver que la chose serait impraticable en Syrie.

Une longue discussion s'engage à ce propos. Lord Dufferin pense que le prévenu se trouve réduit à l'impuissance de préparer ses moyens de défense et de faire comparaître les témoins dont la déposition lui serait utile. Fuad Pacha lui répond que le prévenu

est au Tribunal, qui ne manquera jamais de les convoquer. M. Reclus fait observer que si l'accusé est privé de défenseur, il n'a plus non plus voix de lui l'accusateur public; l'une des deux fonctions est corrigée par l'autre. Fuad Pacha signale les abus qui ne manqueraient pas de se produire si le prévenu était autorisé à choisir un défenseur. Ce dernier pour se procurer des témoignages favorables serait trop disposé à recourir aux moyens les moins avouables.

M. Novikow revient sur la question de l'enquête judiciaire. La Commission, dit-il, ne peut remplir le mandat qui lui est tracé par ses instructions si elle, en étant admise à faire valoir auprès des Juges son opinion tant sur la marche que sur le résultat de toute enquête partielle, de son côté la Porte dans les instructions dont elle a muni son Plénipotentiaire assigne le grand procès mixte pendant devant les tribunaux Ottomans. La Commission se trouve investie par là d'un droit d'intervention exactement pareil à celui qu'exercent en Turquie les Missions et les Consolats, dans tout procès mixte jugé par les tribunaux du pays. Partant de ce point de vue le Commissaire Russe croit pouvoir résumer ainsi le vœu de la Commission: "Admise déjà à suivre la marche du procès, elle demande également qu'après que les interrogatoires auront été terminés, aucun arrêt définitif ne soit prononcé sans qu'elle ait eu la faculté de formuler préalablement son avis sur l'ensemble de l'enquête, et de suggérer, s'il y a lieu, à son Excellence Fuad Pacha les éléments d'une interrogatoire supplémentaire qu'elle jugerait nécessaire pour éclairer sa conscience." Cette motion est appuyée par tous les Commissaires.

Fuad Pacha explique que les tribunaux extraordinaires institués par lui ne rendent pas de jugements proprement dits, mais se bornent à lui adresser des rapports dont les conclusions seraient sans effet si elles n'étaient confirmées par lui. D'après les lois Ottomanes, aucune sentence ne peut être exécutée si elle n'est revêtue de la sanction souveraine. C'est donc en vertu de ses pleins pouvoirs qu'il convertit en sentences définitives les conclusions des rapports qui lui sont soumis. Il ne se refuse pas à communiquer dorénavant les mêmes rapports à la Commission, qui pourra lui dire ce qu'elle en pense.

Cette proposition est acceptée à l'unanimité.

Fuad Pacha demande à présenter quelques observations sur le passage du dernier procès-verbal dans lequel il est question de l'arrivée à Beyrouth des notables récemment condamnés. Le cortège qui les accompagnait n'était autre chose qu'une garde de sûreté. Quant aux livrées qui servaient à transporter deux des condamnés, elles leur avaient été accordées pour cause de vieillesse et de mala-

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman entre ensuite dans de longs détails sur les circonstances qui ont précédé la condamnation du Sheikh Abulallah-el Halebi, et des autres membres du Grand Conseil. Il énumère les charges que l'opinion publique faisait peser sur eux, mais sans qu'aucune preuve eût été fournie à l'appui de ces accusations. Il rend compte des recherches auxquelles il s'est livré à l'effet de résoudre la question de savoir s'il y

avait eu réellement complot; il cite enfin les différents Articles du Code Français qu'on pouvait appliquer aux prévenus. Leur culpabilité en définitive résultant de ce qu'ils n'avaient pas pris les mesures nécessaires pour empêcher les désordres. L'un d'eux a été condamné à la réclusion perpétuelle dans une forteresse; deux autres à quinze ans de prison, trois, à dix ans de réclusion; les cinq derniers à trois ans d'exil. Les dossiers relatifs à leur procès ne sont pas clos. Si de nouvelles charges s'élèvent contre eux, leur peine pourra être aggravée; jusque là ils seront envoyés à proximité dans l'île de Chypre. Quant à cette dernière décision Fuad Pacha consulte cependant la Commission, qui déclare n'y trouver aucun inconvénient.

M. Reclus rappelle que dans le memorandum adressé au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman dès le jour de la première réunion des Commissaires, il était parlé du désarmement général de la population de Damas, comme d'une mesure indispensable. Il y ajoute le vœu qu'une contribution soit imposée à la population Musulmane au profit des Chrétiens.

Fuad Pacha répond que le désarmement s'opère en ce moment même et par son ordre. Il n'est également occupé au début de sa mission de la question relative à l'impôt qu'il s'agit de faire peser sur la population Musulmane, et ce projet n'est pas abandonné par lui.

Interpellé par M. de Reclus à propos de la proclamation attribuée à Abdulla-el-Halebi, Fuad Pacha déclare sur l'honneur que personne ne lui en a jamais parlé à Damas; aussi a-t-il été fort étonné d'apprendre que des copies de ce document avaient été envoyées à Constantinople.

La discussion relative à la défense des accusés est reprise sur la proposition de Lord Dufferin, qui donne lecture de différentes pièces tendant à prouver que les interrogatoires judiciaires auxquels ont pu assister les délégués de la Commission n'ont pas été dirigés d'une manière équitable; il réclame plus de garanties pour les accusés.

Fuad Pacha, en réponse à cette demande, signale de nouveau les difficultés qui s'opposent à ce que des changements soient introduits dans la procédure, ainsi que les inconvénients attachés à l'intervention directe

de la Commission.

À des interpellations répétées de Lord Dufferin et de M. de Reclus, Fuad Pacha répond que sans s'engager à permettre aux accusés de recourir à l'assistance de défenseurs, il recherchera avec soin les moyens d'enrouler leur défense de toutes les garanties possibles. Il y est plus intéressé que personne, puisque c'est lui qui signe les sentences de mort, et qui en supporte la responsabilité.

M. Novikow exprime l'intention d'interpeller Fuad Pacha au sujet de la réinstallation des Chrétiens dans les villages de la Montagne; mais vu l'heure avancée, il est convenu, sur la proposition du Président, que cette question sera traitée à fond dans la séance suivante.

La réinstallation des Chrétiens et toutes les questions qui s'y rattachent sont donc mises à l'ordre du jour, et la séance est levée à six heures et quart.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclusure II in No. 240

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, November 3, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the seventh sitting of the Commission.

The subject proposed for our consideration was the reparation of the houses of the Christians, and the precautions to be taken against the exigencies of the winter.

An unanimous opinion was expressed by the European Commissioners as to the gravity of the emergency, and the necessity for immediate action, and no one could have accepted with greater alacrity than Fuad Pasha the various suggestions that were made as to the steps to be taken. Nevertheless, the sum total of our proceedings may be said to have consisted in a simple avowal of insolvency, and an appeal *ad misericordiam* on the part of his Excellency.

I cannot say how alarmed I am become at the aspect of affairs. In vain we have debated the various expedients by which money may be obtained—a fine on the city of Damascus; an impost on all the towns of Syria, a contribution levied on the Druses. No method has presented itself which seems likely to be productive of any very satisfactory result. His Excellency stated that he had enough money to carry the province through the winter, but I very much doubt if this can be the case. The army is six, twelve, twenty months, in arrear: no provision of fuel, corn, forage, has been made, either for the soldiers or the refugees. The allowances distributed for the reconstruction of the villages is insufficient to provide each family with a single room, and people are already beginning to be picked up dying on the hill-side.

All the sums accruing from Customs and port dues, though already mortgaged at Constantinople, have been seized, and the destitution of the Government is daily illustrated by the petty shifts to which it condescends in order to make one piastre do the work of two.

In the meantime, the emigration still continues from Damascus, no more than 2,000 adults being now left within its walls. On the Mountains, Christians and Druses alike express their apprehensions of a famine, while the numbers on the lists of the Anglo-American Relief Committee have increased during the last week from 23,000 to 29,000 persons.

In fact, the disorganization in the Government is gradually leading to a decomposition of society.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 12 in No. 240

Protocol of the Seventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, October 30, 1860.

[E. March, trente Octobre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout chez le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pasha.

Le procès-verbal ayant été lu et adopté, Fuad Pasha s'excuse de ne pouvoir encore, faute de temps, terminer le travail destiné à la Commission, dans lequel seront exposés les actes accomplis par lui depuis son arrivée en Syrie.

La question à l'ordre du jour, dit-il ensuite, est celle du rétablissement des Chrétiens dans leurs foyers. Ce sujet est étroitement lié à l'un des trois points dans lesquels se résume la tâche à l'accomplissement de laquelle la Commission doit concourir, savoir, la répression, la réparation, et la réorganisation. Pour le rétablissement des Chrétiens, on a fait jusqu'ici tout ce qu'il était possible de faire avec des moyens bornés. A Damas, les chrétiens ont été évacués pour y loger les réfugiés, jusque là réfugiés dans la citadelle. Ce qu'on a pu retrouver des pillés, en fait de couvertures et autres objets de première nécessité, leur a été distribué, non à titre de restitution, mais à titre de secours. Il a été, en outre alloué à chaque Chrétien une ration de pain et cinquante paras par jour. Ces distributions ont lieu sous la surveillance de divers Comités composés de notables Chrétiens. De là résulte une dépense de 500,000 à 600,000 piastres par mois. Les objets de première

nécessité, une réquisition faite parmi les Musulmans a fourni 3,000 matelas. Dans la Montagne avant que la Commission ne se réunisse à Beyrout, des Comités spéciaux parcouraient déjà les villages pour évaluer les dépenses de reconstruction, et, sur leur rapport, des

ont été repartis entre les ayant-droit. Depuis lors la Commission a demandé que ses délégués fussent admis à faire partie de ces Comités, mais comme le travail d'évaluation tire à sa fin, la présence des délégués servira peu à assurer l'exécution des mesures arrêtées pour la reconstruction des villages. La grande difficulté consiste dans la question d'argent: le Gouvernement fait tous ses efforts pour s'en procurer, y compris les paiements à effectuer sous peu de jours. La dépense s'élève déjà à environ 4,500,000 piastres. Or, cela ne suffit pas. Il importe de faire recouvrer une partie des maisons avant l'hiver. A cet effet tous les Druses et Musulmans ont été frappés de réquisitions pour des bois à fournir aux Chrétiens. On a également séquestré au profit de ces derniers les maisons appartenant aux Druses de la Bekaa. Enfin l'ordre a été donné de saisir les terres qui seront trouvées

Le Commissaire Français dit avoir appris que dans certains villages Mixtes beaucoup de maisons se trouvaient vacantes par suite de la fuite des Druses qui ont fui vers le Hauran: il demande que ces maisons soient assignées provisoirement aux Chrétiens. Il ajoute que, lors des derniers événements, les Chrétiens de la partie Mixte du Liban ont été privés de leurs récoltes.

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Fuad Pasha, en réponse à la première observation de M. Léclercq, dit qu'à Deir-el-Kamar et dans les villages voisins on a déjà installé un certain nombre de Chrétiens dans les maisons des Druses. On agira de même toutes les fois que cette mesure sera praticable. Quant au défaut de grains, on les met en réquisition partout où il en existe. Des ordres ont été donnés, à plusieurs reprises différentes, pour que les Chrétiens de Zablé puissent couper dans les forêts de la plaine de Haalbek les bois de chauffage dont ils ont besoin. Ces ordres seront renouvelés. Non seulement les Chrétiens ont la faculté de couper des bois dans le Zablé, mais ils ont la permission qui leur est donnée en même temps de couper des bois dans les forêts de Damas.

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Fuad Pasha répond que cette proposition sera examinée et prise, s'il y a lieu, en considération.

M. Novikow appuie la motion du Commissaire Français en ce qui concerne les maisons abandonnées par les Druses. Il voudrait même qu'en cas d'urgence on fit pour la Montagne ce qui a été fait à Damas.

Fuad Pasha fait observer que la mesure prise à Damas pour la reconstruction des villages est moins facile dans le Liban, où il y a peu de maisons à proprement parler, mais seulement des cabanes à peine suffisantes pour l'habitation d'une famille entière. Les Chrétiens, d'ailleurs, préfèrent être chez eux et ne s'installent qu'avec répugnance dans des maisons qui ne leur appartiennent pas.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman revient sur la question du someraire. La difficulté qu'il éprouve à se procurer des fonds paralyse les bonnes intentions dont il est animé. Déjà les revenus de la douane de Beyrout sont affectés aux soulagements des besoins les plus pressants. Sur une somme de 2,500,000 piastres reçue de Constantinople et destinée à l'entretien des troupes Fuad Pasha dit avoir retenu 2,250,000 piastres pour la reconstruction des villages. Au surplus, il est en mesure de communiquer à la Commission un état exact des sommes déjà distribuées

Chrétiens, tant en secours journaliers que pour les frais de transport. Le total des dépenses, ainsi effectuées, s'élève à 1,289,933 piastres d'or (soit 1,531,314 piastres de l'autre). Il reste à payer dans un bref délai 330,000 piastres. (Voir les deux pièces annexées au présent rapport.)

Le Commissaire Russe appelle l'attention du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman sur les mesures à prendre en faveur des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban, c'est-à-dire, des habitants de Hasheya et de Rasheya, lesquels, au nombre de 100,000, sont réfugiés à Beyrouth, et dans les autres villes de la côte. Foud Pacha explique que les Chrétiens en question n'ont pas tout souffert, mais que ceux mêmes dont les maisons avaient été épargnées ont pris la fuite et sont descendus vers le littoral. L'autorité leur en a venue aide. Pour ceux qui peuvent dès à présent rentrer chez eux, il ne s'agit que de garantir leur sécurité. Deux bataillons occupent à cet effet Hasheya et Rasheya. Une Commission spéciale surveille la révolte des Druses et donne de couper les bois appartenant aux Druses et réquisitionnés dans les villages voisins pour hâter les travaux de

récolte. On trouve ces mesures tardives, vu la saison avancée. Il doute que les Chrétiens puissent rentrer dans leurs foyers avant l'automne. En ce cas, on devrait faire en sorte qu'ils trouvent des ressources momentanées dans les villes du littoral. En outre, les Chrétiens paraissent conserver des craintes à l'égard des Druses, qui ont de la peine à se faire pardonner. Vis-à-vis des Chrétiens druzes, au contraire, les Druses doivent avoir tout leur orgueil, car la répression ne les a pas suffisamment

Foud Pacha répond en ce qui concerne la répression exercée contre les Druses, que son intention, ainsi qu'il en a fait part au Général de Beaumont, a été plutôt de les rassurer et de les déterminer ainsi à rentrer dans leurs villages. Ceux qui s'étaient enfuis commencent en effet à rentrer, et bientôt, grâce aux donations des Chrétiens, comme aux révélations de Sheikh actuellement détenus à Beyrouth, on pourra simultanément les individus les plus compromis. Déjà on a mis la main sur plus d'un d'entre eux; quelques détachements parcourent le Liban et font des arrestations.

M. Bédard eut devoir signaler comme ayant pris part, dit-on, aux massacres de Deir-el-Kamar un certain Ali Riza récemment placé à la tête de l'un des quatre cercles, dont se compose provisoirement l'ancienne Commission.

Foud Pacha annonce que déjà cet individu a été privé de son emploi et que ses antécédents seront soumis à une enquête.

Lord Dufferin présente divers documents émanés du Comité de Secours Anglo-Américain dans lesquels les besoins les plus pressants des Chrétiens sont indiqués à la Commission.

Cette communication est suivie d'une conversation générale à laquelle prennent part tous les Commissaires, et qui porte à la fois sur l'évaluation approximative des dommages soufferts par les Chrétiens tant à Damas qu'à dans le Liban, sur les divers moyens dont le Gouvernement pourrait user pour se procurer des fonds, et sur la nature du concours que les Commissaires seraient en mesure de lui prêter.

La conclusion de cet entretien est que sans une somme considérable et immédiatement disponible, il est de toute impossibilité de prendre en faveur des Chrétiens les mesures indiquées par les circonstances et rendues urgentes par l'approche de l'hiver.

Les Commissaires à leurs Gouvernements respectifs. Quant à lui il s'en préoccupe ainsi que des dépenses auxquelles il s'agit de faire face.

La question des indemnités est mise à l'ordre du jour, et la séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

Suivent les signatures.)

Note des Sommes distribuées aux Chrétiens victimes des derniers événements

	Piastres.
Pavé, dans le mois d'Août, aux réfugiés de Damas dont le nombre était de 5,536.	2,000
Pavé, dans le mois d'Août, aux réfugiés de Deir-el-Kamar, Hasheya, et Rasheya, dont le nombre était de 1,944.	170
Moyenne des frais divers, y compris la dépense de l'Hospice Impérial, contenant de 1,200 personnes.	200
Moyenne des sommes données aux Chrétiens de Damas.	600,000
Total	1,289,933

Incluse 13 in No. 240

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Russell

Beyrouth, November 3, 1860

Sir,

I WOULD venture to point out to your Excellency's attention a slight incident which occurred at the last sitting of the Commission. We were occupied in discussing the various methods for housing the Christians before winter, when M. Bédard, the Representative of France, took occasion to propose that the villages which had been deserted by the Druses should be consecrated to the service of the refugees.

If this proposition had been made in the simple interests of charity, it might be considered not only unobjectionable, but a very excellent expedient. I cannot, however, help fearing—and it is on this account I signalize the circumstances to your Excellency—that the French having been baffled in their attempts to drive the Druses from the Mountain at the point of the bayonet, or to frighten them from their homes through the instrumentality of the Christians, have determined to appropriate their villages on the plea of necessity and retributive justice.

In this idea I am confirmed by the fact of the Russian Representative having immediately endeavoured to outbid M. Bédard, by a proposal, that even where a Druse village was occupied by its legitimate owners, the one half of the population should be required to double-in with the other half, in order that the Christians might be installed in the houses left vacant by the process.

Though open to considerable objection, I preferred to allow these propositions to be defeated by the difficulties in the way of their execution rather than make them a subject of dispute between myself and my colleagues. But this example will enable your Excellency to understand how delicate is the task I have to perform, and how speciously the plea of humanity can be made to assist the accomplishment of a political

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYNE

No 241

Consul General Colquhoun to Lord J. Russell. (Received November 21.)

(No. 149.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, November 7, 1860.

I RECEIVED, a few days ago, a letter from Mr. Cyril Graham attached to Lord Dufferin's Mission in Syria, of which I annex an extract.

4 K

Having learnt that the Viceroy had returned to Cairo, I went up there on the 31st October, and saw His Highness the following day. I communicated to him the object of my visit, and told him that I was quite aware of what he had already done here on behalf of the numberless refugees with whom, a few months ago, Egypt was inundated—how generously he had acted, but I said that it was specially at Lord Dufferin's desire that I now ventured to appeal to him.

I was rather surprised at the coldness with which he, at first, received my request; after a little reflection he said, "Mr Colquhoun, all my actions with regard to Syria have been so wilfully misinterpreted, that am unwilling to give further hold to my enemies. Were I to send food and clothing to Syria, it would be immediately represented at Constantinople, as I was endeavouring to create for myself a party in that country."

I said I was happy to find that there was no unwillingness on the part of His Highness to help these unfortunates; that I would venture to take on myself the responsibility of

to his motives should have any weight with the Porte; that I would inform Her Majesty's Ambassador of the facts as they had occurred, that His Highness had been induced to come forward at the pressing request of Lord Dufferin and myself, and that I trusted that, so far from blame being attributed to him, he would receive the expression of the satisfaction of the Ottoman Government at his having so generously come forward to render assistance to one of its suffering Provinces.

His Highness accordingly assured me that if I would take the trouble of representing the case in its proper light, he would with pleasure come forward with such means as he had disposable. I thanked His Highness and returned on the 3rd to Alexandria.

I shall, by next mail, inform his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer of the above, and shall urge him to lose no time in making the Porte aware of the true state of things, and shall suggest that it would be an act agreeable to the Viceroy that the Porte should acknowledge the Pasha's kindness and real motives.

I shall also write to his Excellency Hong Bey, the "Secrétaire des Commandes" of His Highness, requesting him to inform Said Pasha of my having fulfilled the promise made to him of writing to Sir Henry Bulwer, and inclosing a list of certain articles of food and clothing which I hope His Highness will, without loss of time, forward to Beyrout.

I have, &c.
Signed) ROBERT G. COLQUHOUN

Inclosure in No. 211

Mr. Graham to Consul-General Consular

(Extract.)

Beyrout, October 20, 1860

ME (Lord Dufferin) especially wishes me to talk with you about one subject, which I will now bring before you. Do not you think that Said Pasha might be induced to do something for the Christians of Syria? Lord Dufferin says he would be extremely obliged to you if you would see his Highness, and tell him of the miserable condition of the Christians, and how impossible it will be for them ever to survive unless great exertions be made for their support, hitherto we have had fine weather, but soon winter will come on and then I do not know what to do. The

finds, but by sending
His Highness is personally acquainted with Lord Dufferin, and I mention to him that his Lordship is now Her Majesty's Commissioner in this country, he might be, perhaps, more readily induced to show his goodwill and give him aid to the poor creatures who, unless they are well supplied must perish in great numbers. We also want as much even as food, covering, bedding, and such things. We cannot even, with all the industry of Beyrout, work nearly fast enough to supply the pressing demand for night-coverings. Could not much be done in Egypt? If a

large present of "lehafs" (wadded coverlets) were sent, nothing could be more welcome. Could you and our friends, at I have said, at most at what price "lehafs" could be furnished in Alexandria, and at what rate they could be made? I am sure the Committee would gladly order some, and I will take upon myself to order at once 100/ worth of them to be sent as soon as possible, and packed up and addressed to me, care of Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, with this reserve, however, that if the freight be a great item it would be money thrown away; but, perhaps, some arrangement might be made with the Steam Company in consideration of the cause for which they are wanted, &c

No. 212

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell — Received November 2.

(No. 36.)

Damascus, November 3, 1860.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship copy of my despatch of this day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting on late occurrences in this Province.

I am, &c.
Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 212

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Damascus, November 5, 1860

SINCE I had the honour to address your Excellency on the 20th inst., the Christians have daily continued to leave Damascus for Beyrout. The fact of a Custom-house officer having been deliberately shot at his post, just outside the gate of the city, together with the sudden departure of the Greek Consular Agent, who had previously alarmed the Christians by his advice to those under his protection, have tended much to excite the idea of insecurity already entertained by the people. I have endeavoured to restrain this universal flight, as also have most of the European Consuls here, but I fear it has been to little purpose. His Excellency Fuad Pasha some days ago issued a proclamation assuring the Christians of safety and yesterday a second was read to the same effect, but which also announced that orders had been forwarded to the Yahi of Damascus to prevent the Christians leaving without a *teskeré* from the Government. This order has been put into force.

Ibrahim Karami, after having undergone an examination here, the result of which is unknown, has been sent to Beyrout. His baggage on examination, by order of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, was found to contain a large sum of money, amounting it is said to about 130,000 piastres (upwards of 1,000/).

Mahomed Said Bey, a Khord, formerly Colonel in the Amieh Regiment, and a friend of the late Moslem and several other prisoners, have left under guard for Beyrout; but, as the

Excellency the sentences and destinations of the prisoners.

The authorities have commenced to disarm the population of Damascus. A notice was issued that all arms were to be brought by their possessors to a place appointed, and that a fine and six months imprisonment would be inflicted on those who did not comply. As yet however the arms given up bear but a small proportion to those really possessed by the people, and the Mushir has informed me that he shall be obliged to resort to more stringent measures to secure the end desired.

The Christian portions of the towns of Hama and Hama, and of the villages in this Pashalic which were destroyed during the late

disturbances, have not yet been rebuilt; but as measures are being taken by Major Fraser, in conjunction with Lord Dufferin, it may be anticipated that the greater part of the work will be accomplished before the severe weather sets in.

Mustapha Pasha, late Commander of the troops in the Hauran, was a few days ago placed under arrest. As reported to your Excellency in Mr. Brant's despatch of the 30th June last, Mustapha Pasha was ordered by the late Mushir to proceed to Hasbeya on the attack of that town by the Druses. It is supposed that his arrest is in consequence of his neglect of this order.

It is currently reported that Sherwanah Efendi, the Mufti who accompanied his Excellency Fuad Pasha from Constantinople, is temporarily to replace Mohammed Pasha as Vali. The change would be a great advantage, as the present Vali does nothing. All the European Consuls complain of his Excellency's neglect of his duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH

No. 243

Consul Brant to Lord J. Russell. — Received November 21.

My Lord, Beirut, November 8, 1860

Mr. CONSUL-GENERAL MIXORE delivered me yesterday your Lordship's despatch No. 9, inclosing Sir Moses Montebello's letter, with the Memorial from the Rabbins and Elders of the Jews of Damascus of the 23rd September. There is a great deal of truth in the charges made by the Christians in accusing Jews of complicity in the murder and plundering of Christians. The chief Rabbi called my attention to the case of five Jews detained in prison for several weeks on a charge of complicity in the murder of a French Consul, and the execution of Fuad Pasha, and the fact that they were kept there without his Excellency's permission, which could not be obtained as he was moving from place to place on the Lebanon and no one could tell where to find him. His Excellency, however, arrived unexpectedly at Damascus; and on my visit to compliment him I called his attention to the subject of the Jews, and he promised to have the evidence of the witnesses before the Extraordinary Tribunal reviewed, and to see that no injustice were done; and in a few days all the details were cleared up. The chief Rabbi, when he first told me of the charges, offered to depose that one of the accused was in his house during the whole time the massacres continued; his testimony was refused; and a Christian, who claimed to be the authorized agent of Fuad Pasha, said that further testimony was useless, and the man had been on clear evidence condemned to death. This Christian, by name Ibrahim Karani, has more been deprived of his employment and sent into exile for the abuse of the authority he had usurped, and for extorting bribes on the representations of the Turkish authorities, as well as of the French Consul and myself, of his misdeeds to Fuad Pasha.

The case of the Karanis, mentioned in the Memorial, I heard of at the time, but as they were French protégés, I did not interfere,—they were soon released.

No Jew under British protection has been molested; and no one has

On my visit to Fuad Pasha alluded to, he related to me an instance of two Christians who went to a Jew's house and demanded 1,500 Turkish piastres under the threat of denouncing the owner as a murderer, and 400 Turkish piastres were actually given. I think it not improbable that other similar instances may have occurred, but I have no knowledge of them.

Soon after Fuad Pasha's first visit to Damascus, I was talking in the presence of the French Consul of the means of discovering where Fuad Pasha might have concealed his plunder, when M. Outrey said that the

Pasha was reported to have deposited a great deal with a rich Jew named Jacob Levy, an English-protected subject, who had given Ahmed Pasha bills Constantinople and the French Consul thought that his house should be searched and his books examined. I thought the suspicion cast on a respectable man not a friendly act. I observed to Fuad Pasha that I did not believe the report; that such accusations were common in all countries and ages, and ought not to be lightly entertained. I remarked to his Excellency the Jews were influential with all the Governments of Europe from their wealth, and, independently of the injustice of making them the innocent victims of the malice of the Christians, it was impolitic to accuse them falsely, as such conduct would bring great odium on the Sultan's Government, and danger likewise, for the Jews would find defenders in all the nations of Europe.

I told the individual the suspicion, he replied that for twenty years he had had no business transactions with Constantinople, that he had never had any pecuniary dealings with Ahmed Pasha, except with respect to lending money to the Treasury, and that he had no objection to submit to a search of his books. I wrote to Fuad Pasha stating this reply, and his Excellency to dismiss such an unfounded and dangerous accusation, which had not a shadow of probability, further than the civility shown to Jacob Levy by Ahmed Pasha, on account of loans made to the Treasury in a time of great need. I heard no more of the matter.

Accusations of the same nature were as often threatened against Mussulmans as against Jews by Christians, and both paid money rather than be thrown into prison, with the uncertainty when they might be released. Fuad Pasha complained that the prisons were full of persons whom nobody appeared to substantiate the charges on which they had been arrested. I observed that the fault lay with the authorities, and the inconvenience would be easily obviated by taking a bond from an accuser that within a certain time he should substantiate the charge or forfeit his bond. His Excellency replied that he had proposed something of that nature to the Council.

I have, with Lord Dufferin's permission, stated to Fuad Pasha the order from the British Government for the Jews to be placed on an equal footing of protection to Jew and Christian.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No. 244

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Palmer

(No. 657)

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 22, 1860

I HAVE stated to Lord Dufferin that his despatch No. 40 of the 3rd instant to your Excellency, proposing a scheme for the settlement of Syria does credit to his judgment and sagacity, and I have authorized his Lordship, when the proper time comes, to propose to the Commission the plan of which he has given a sketch.

I have, however, to instruct your Excellency to tell the Grand Vizier that no plan of pacification for Syria will be effectual so long as Fuad Pasha is sold to the highest bidder in the manner which Lord Dufferin so well describes.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

No. 28.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 22, 1860.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 21 of the 4th instant, transmitting to me a copy of your despatch No. 40 of the 3rd instant to Sir Henry Bulwer, in which you propose a scheme for the settlement of Syria, and I have to state to your Lordship that this paper does credit to your judgment and sagacity.

You are authorized, when the proper time comes, to propose to the Commission the plan of which you have given a sketch.

I have instructed Sir Henry Bulwer to tell the Grand Vicer that no plan of pacification for Syria will be effectual so long as the Pashalik is sold to the highest bidder in the manner you so well describe.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 246

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 22.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 8, 1860

IN acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 18 of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to state that General de Beaufort has the necessity of taking measures to put a stop to the excesses committed by the Christian followers of his army. There is reason to hope they will not be repeated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 247

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 23.)

(No. 23.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 8, 1860

IN acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 19 of the 25th ult mo, I need not say how greatly I have been relieved to find that General de Beaufort has authorized the Pasha to make such arrangements as would allow him to continue during the interim which was to elapse before reinforcements could arrive from Constantinople, their daily supplies of food to the refugees at Beyrout.

In reference, however, to the paragraph in which your Lordship says that Her Majesty's Government cannot relieve me from the pecuniary obligation I have incurred, I would beg permission to state that I never for one moment ventured to entertain the slightest expectation they would do so.

In fact, I always regarded the affair as one of a private nature, entered into by me, not in my capacity of Her Majesty's Commissioner, but rather as a member of the Anglo-American Relief Committee; and if I permitted myself to make such a matter the subject of an official despatch, it was with the desire that, should any unforeseen accident lead to my part in the operation becoming known, or inaccurately reported, a record should remain in your Lordship's hands of the exact nature of the transaction, of the degree in which I was connected with it, and of the motive which induced me to engage in it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 3.)

(No. 25.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 9, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 248

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beyrout, November 9, 1860

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, I would beg to state that, in alluding to the unpaid condition of the Turkish troops, I intended my observations to apply to the army of Arabistan.

The regiments which have lately arrived from Constantinople were paid up, I believe, before quitting the capital.

I may, however, take this opportunity of mentioning that Fuad Pasha confided to me that it was only by diverting to the benefit of the Christians the money sent to him for the payment of his soldiers that he had been able to do so.

His late remittance of

£100,000 was sent to him for the payment of his soldiers that he had been able to do so.

I have, &c.

In addition to the money sent to him for the payment of his soldiers that he had been able to do so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 248

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beyrout, October 9, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, during a conversation I had yesterday with the French General, he stated to me his opinion that the only arrangement compatible with the future tranquility of Syria would consist in the whole of the Lebanon being under the administration of a Christian Governor, appointed, for form's sake, by the Pasha of the Province.

This scheme would include, if I rightly understood M. de Beaufort, the suppression of Turkish authority at the ports of Sidon, Beyrout, and Tripoli. The Lebanon would then become, to use his own expression, "a fortress to which the Christians of all Syria might flee."

Respecting the government of the remainder of the Province, the French General seemed to be undecided, and almost unconcerned. The idea of investing Abd-el-Kader with a certain amount of authority at Damascus has evidently occurred to him, though he evinced no great eagerness in alluding to the idea. He even appeared ready to substitute the name of Fuad Pasha for that of the Emir.

How far M. de Beaufort is to be regarded as an exponent of the intentions of the French Government is another question. He is in communication with M. Thouvenel and the Minister of War, and evidently arrived

the country under the impression that its settlement was to be effected under his sole auspices. The institution of the Commission was probably a disappointment to him. He is even disposed to speak with some disparagement of its labours, so that it is possible his opinions may differ to a certain extent from those of M. Rœderer, whom he regards, perhaps, with a little jealousy.

From expressions which have dropped from this latter gentleman, I inclined to think that, although at first I determined to press the appointment of a native Prince to the whole Lebanon, further inquiry has rendered him sensible of the extreme difficulty there would be in finding among the Maronites any individual of sufficient pre-eminence, talent, and integrity, to undertake so troublesome a charge.

When the Greek community would regard such an arrangement. In a few days I hope to be able to write to your Excellency more fully on this subject. In the meantime I am disposed to think that, provided only the influence over the remainder of the Province is completely assured as to render its mode of government a matter of complete indifference to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 211

Lord J. Russell to Lord Duff

No. 30.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 23, 1860

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government approve of the course which you followed at the fifth sitting of the Syrian Commission, as reported in your despatch of the 31st of October to Sir Henry Bulwer of which a copy was inclosed in your despatch to me 21 of the 4th instant.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 250

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 24.
(No. 743.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, November 12, 1860

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 570 of the 25th ultimo I have already informed you in my No. 693 of the 20th ult. that I called the attention of the Porte to the complaints of the Jewish population at Damascus, and received the command that due orders should be given to Fuad Pasha on the subject. I will, moreover, see the new Pasha who is named as Governor, and talk to him myself thereupon.

What appears to me the state of the case generally is, that great excitement prevailing at Damascus, and a strong thirst for vengeance, rises are brought by the Christians, not unnaturally, in an exaggerated and sometimes unjust shape, both against Turks and Jews; and as the general feeling amongst the Representatives of the Christian Powers is also very naturally to listen to the Christians, and to support their representations, the officers of the Turkish Government are placed in a very difficult position, both as to Jews and Turks. The Jews address themselves to Sir M. Montebello, and other persons who can interest foreign Governments in their favour. The Turks address themselves to their own Government. The Jews seem to require that there should be one tribunal for themselves, and one for the Turks; one law for them, and one for others; that Christian testimony against the Jews should not be believed. How can the Turkish Government in such case take perhaps the same testimony against the Turks? The only possible way of acting justly is

to calm the irritated feeling that exists as much as possible; to order the Consuls to be circumspect in supporting clamour against Jew or Turk unjustly or without due evidence, let it concern the one or the other. The case against the Jews now is, I understand, not of having taken any direct part in the massacres, but of having indirectly connived at them, sometimes purchasing, sometimes taking care of, plundered property. I have little doubt that these charges are very frequently unfounded, and others against Turks, of the same nature, in a great degree are also unfounded.

It is in the nature of things it should be so, and the only real and effectual remedy is to prevent a more frequent recurrence of such cases from the character of persecution. I have said this from the first. I am not at all disposed to say that the Jews are the cause of the persecution of the Christians, or that the Christians are the cause of the persecution of the Jews. I am only saying that the Jews are not the cause of the persecution of the Christians, and that the Christians are not the cause of the persecution of the Jews.

I make these observations to your Lordship because I think all extremes are to be avoided, and all inequality guarded against. But as the Jew is equally detested by the Christian, and despised by the Turk, and whilst attacked by the first is not likely to be protected by the latter, as one of his own faith will be, and as I believe, myself, the Jews are in general a most inoffensive body in this country, I have spoken and continue to speak in the strongest manner in their behalf, and shall give to Ash Pasha a translated copy of your despatch to Mr. Brant.

It is not altogether unworthy of remark that the Mussulmans do not seem to have joined in the persecution of the Jews, but to have come forward frequently in their defence, which is creditable to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 251

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 26. Confidential.)

Beirut, November 18, 1860

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 22 of the 30th ultimo, Confidential, inclosing a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Berlin, reporting the substance of a conversation which he had held with Baron Schönlank, and I have the honour to state, in reply, that although the manifest hostility evinced by my Prussian colleague, M. de Rehfues, to Turkish institutions generally, rendered me averse to entering into any very confidential communications with him on matters connected with the affairs of Syria, our private relations have always been on a very agreeable footing, and I have now the pleasure of transmitting to your Lordship copy of a despatch which I have addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer of this day's date, containing an account of a conversation I have had with my Prussian colleague by which your Lordship will perceive that a very satisfactory understanding has been established between us.

I am even disposed to consider it my own fault that such a result should have been so long delayed, and I am glad to have this opportunity of stating that, as far as I have observed, M. de Rehfues has evinced a conscientious desire to act with impartiality in the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 251

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday I called upon my Prussian colleague, M. de Rehfues, and stated to him I having received an intimation from home that it was the desire of respective Governments we should communicate our ideas to one another without reserve, I was very anxious to avail myself of the resources of greater experience, now that the time had come for discussing the organization of the Lebanon.

Up to this time I had somewhat abstained from any very confidential communications to M. de Rehfues on the subject. I had, however, seemed to me to entertain feelings of greater hostility to the Government compatible with what I believed to be the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government.

The conversation thus inaugurated, gradually assumed a very friendly character. M. de Rehfues having expressed an opinion very favourable to the idea of an independent Christian Principality, I replied that I thought the proposition might certainly deserve consideration, but that I should be impossible to find any native capable of organizing a satisfactory administration.

To the justice of this remark my Prussian colleague seemed deeply sensible. He stated that the sole remedy which had occurred to him (only one which he had not liked to mention it to any one), was the establishment of a permanent Commission in the Lebanon to control whatever Government might be established. Under such circumstances even the rule of a Pasha would be tolerable. Taking advantage of this casual allusion, I remarked that I was far from thinking his idea bad, but, on the contrary, with certain modifications the principle it involved seemed to me capable of being developed into a very respectable arrangement, and that so far from considering it inadmissible, I thought his only error lay in wishing to confine its application to the Mountain. Would it not be a pity to exclude the Christian populations of the Anti-Lebanon, of Damascus, Antioch, Aleppo, from the benefits of any contrivance we might discover capable of affording a guarantee for their future security. It was true, under these circumstances the administration should be conducted through the intervention of a Turkish Governor, but acting under the supervision of European political Agents, as M. de Rehfues himself had implied, it was probable we could count upon his good behaviour.

I then proceeded to expatiate on the hatred and jealousy existing between the Greeks and Maronites, on the difficulty of reconciling the one to the domination of the other, and on the still greater difficulty of creating for each a distinct political existence. If then, as is evident, the interests of Russia and of France are thus brought into direct antagonism, it would be the duty of Prussia, Austria, and England to act as mediators, and endeavour to discover a means of satisfying their conflicting interests. The plan I considered possessed the great advantage of conducting us to this result, by making the Turk, who after all was the most convenient representative of sovereign authority in this country, capable of governing in a manner more or less satisfactory to Europe.

The conversation ended by M. de Rehfues thanking me for having encouraged him to develop an idea which till now he had scarcely dared to hazard, at the same time that he expressed his satisfaction at the thoughts of Prussia and England being able to act in concert.

This evening I have again had a few moments' conversation with M. de Rehfues, during the course of which he stated that the more he thought over the matter, the more convinced he became of the expediency of including the whole of Syria in the arrangement we had discussed on a previous occasion. Without descending into details, I was careful to take this opportunity of suggesting to my colleague that it would be advisable in the application of his idea to deprive it as much as possible of

all unusual characteristics, and that it might be found convenient to substitute for so startling an institution as a permanent Commission some means of control more in accordance with diplomatic usages.

Although perhaps M. de Rehfues himself would find it difficult to recognize in the political Agents—who in the natural course of things would be accredited by the Five Powers to the Divan of the new Turkish Governor-General of Syria (should such a personage be ever called into existence)—the realization of his original idea of a European Commission inspiring the Councils of a Christian Chief of the Lebanon, I have little doubt but that reflection will convince him that the one is but the application of the other in a more convenient form and over a wider jurisdiction. In the meantime he will have given in his adhesion to the principle that the continuance, under certain modifications of Turkish rule in Syria, is preferable to the creation of an independent Maronite State on its ruins.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 252

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — Received November 30.)

(No. 27.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, copies of further despatches which I have this day received to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure I in No. 252

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to your Excellency copy of the substance of an "interpellation" I had the honour of addressing to his Excellency Fud Pasha, at the last sitting of the Commission, relative to the complete immunity from punishment which has, up to this moment, been enjoyed by the great bulk of the Druse nation.

I was induced to take this important step by several very grave considerations, which your Excellency will find set forth in the above-mentioned paper.

In addition, however, to the more obvious arguments submitted to my colleagues in favour of the administration of a prompt, adequate and final measure of punishment on those who have been guilty of such atrocities there was another circumstance which seemed to me to render it a matter of paramount necessity that the delay in the execution of such a step should not be prolonged. During the course of a conversation I had had some days previously with the French General, he had complained to me, with some vivacity, of the leniency shown by the Government to the Druses, and concluded by stating that it was his firm determination, should Fud any longer hesitate, to take the matter into his own hands, and himself chastise them to the degree merited by their crimes. Now as your Excellency will have perceived, by the general tenor of my despatches, I have all along entertained a most vivid suspicion that the French look upon the existence of the Druses as the only stumbling-block in the way of that particular settlement of the Lebanon they most desire. It would be, therefore, a very unsafe and cruel arrangement should

those who have a direct interest in carrying matters to extremity against this unhappy people be allowed to usurp the office of executioners. Were even an opportunity afforded them it is impossible to say what might be the result. The operation of taking the guilty prisoners might be conducted with such circumstances of aggravation as to provoke the resistance of despair, and in the present temper of the French army the slightest show of opposition would lead to consequences which M. de Beaufort himself might have occasion to regret. Humanity and justice were amply indicated that a due measure of chastisement administered more for all by the hands of the Government was the most equitable and merciful manner of evading the difficulties of the situation.

Circumstances having thus forced upon me the ungracious duty of calling Foud Pasha's attention to so hateful a subject, it was necessary to take that opportunity of stating, in the most explicit manner, the degree of severity with which I considered the Druses should be visited as well as the considerations which, to my mind, considerably extenuated their moral culpability.

No great deal I consider the responsibility attaching to this task, so unknown was I not to be misapprehended, that rather than trust to conveying my ideas ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ French, through the medium of a language with which I am not perfectly familiar, I took the precaution of addressing my colleagues from written notes which I had prepared beforehand. From these notes the ~~Memorandum~~ ^{Memorandum} which I send your Excellency has been composed. I am extremely sorry that the delicate task of balancing the opposing considerations by which the sentence impending over this unfortunate people is affected, should not have been confided to one more competent to the task; but, at all events, I have the satisfaction of thinking that I have done my best, without departing from the most strict impartiality, to moderate the too passionate indignation with which some of my colleagues are disposed to regard an ignorant tribe, who having been cruelly provoked into a war by their Christian antagonists, were subsequently beguiled by their Turkish patrons into those excesses for which they are now about to pay the merited penalty. I regret to be obliged to add that on this occasion, for the first time since the meeting of the Commission, a difference of opinion was observable between my French colleague and myself. M. Bédard's amiable nature is evidently incapable of appreciating as yet the character of the Christian populations of the Lebanon. He looks upon the ~~Muslims~~ ^{Muslims} as martyrs, instead of the fanatical barbarians they really are, as prone to violence and slaughter as any other tribe in their neighbourhood.

It is not, therefore, a matter of wonder that he should have been disposed to receive with some little dissatisfaction such of my observations as militated against this view.

I thought, moreover, I detected an evident unwillingness upon his part to recede to the principle which, of all others, I was most anxious to establish, viz., that after the most ample punishment had been inflicted once for all, it should be no longer competent for the Christians to keep up the mutual animosity of the two races by continuing their denunciations of particular individuals, but that the work of reconciliation should be immediately inaugurated by a general amnesty, from which, however, the most notorious offenders still at large might be excepted by name.

His Excellency Foud Pasha, I am happy to say, seems perfectly to understand the exigencies of the situation, and, before the discussion terminated, he informed me that he had hitherto delayed laying

the most compromised of the Druse nation, in order to effect their capture with the greater certainty, and that he himself would proceed to the Mountain to superintend the operation. As, however, he was anxious clearly to ascertain the views of his colleagues in regard to the manner in which the Druses should be dealt with, he proposed that before his departure another sitting of the Commission should be devoted to the consideration of that important subject.

M. Bédard asked me to allow my written notes to be appended to the Protocol. To this, however, I could not assent. I have proposed instead that it should be left to your Excellency's pleasure to communicate the substance of the "interpellation" I now transmit, and which M. Bédard

has perused, to the Ambassadors at Constantinople, not as an official document, but as a private expression of my opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 252

Substance of an Interpellation addressed by Lord Dufferin to Foud Pasha, at the Eighth Sitting of the Syrian Commission, November 10, 1860.

LORD DUFFERIN asked permission to address an interpellation to Foud Pasha which would be found to be not irrelevant to the demand made by M. Novikow. He regretted extremely that he should be obliged to undertake so painful a duty as that which he now felt himself called upon to discharge.

He had hoped from the assurances given to the Commission of his Excellency's desire to execute a severe and impartial justice on all implicated in the late horrible transactions, that he and his colleagues would have been compelled to invoke the punishment of the

Commissioner, "we long (il nous tarde) to enter upon the more grave portion of our task, and we look forward with impatience to the day when we may be allowed to busy ourselves with the work of reconciliation and

apply this satisfaction cannot be allowed us until the measure of chastisement shall have been inflicted. It is a mockery to talk of peace while the perpetrators of such foul deeds as those which deluged the streets of Hasbeya, Rashaya, and Deir-el-Kamar with blood remain unmolested in their homes.

"Within the limits of the Lebanon 5,000 human beings have been put to the edge of the sword, 200 villages have been burned, and not a single individual concerned in these atrocious acts has suffered for his crimes. Yet for weeks have the Sultan's troops been in undisputed occupation of the Mountain, and months have elapsed since your Excellency's arrival in the province gave promise that the day of retribution was at hand. The moon seems, therefore, to have occurred when, in pursuance of those instructions by which we are directed to provoke the punishment of the guilty, it becomes the painful duty of the Commission most respectfully to call your Excellency's attention to the unhappy consequences entailed by this delay.

The mistrust of the Christians, too fearfully justified by past events, is partially dissipated by the energetic measures adopted at Damascus, is again revived; the perpetrators of these butcheries begin to look forward to an entire immunity from punishment; and an intolerable state of social anarchy and confusion is indefinitely prolonged.

"It is obviously, therefore, in the interests of humanity and of the Government of the Porte that these matters be dealt with as great a despatch as possible. Delay but keeps the wounds open, maintains between those whom circumstances have destined to live in closest proximity, that feeling of mutual hatred and mistrust which is red by a sense of unsatisfied animosity on the one part, and of unexpected guilt on the other.

"Policy and justice alike require that punishment should be inflicted with the utmost celerity, in order that the process of conciliation may be the sooner

It is under these circumstances, therefore, that I would venture to urge your Excellency to take such measures as may lead to the immediate capture and punishment of such of the Druse nation as have been concerned in the late odious transactions."

In taking upon himself, however, so dreadful a responsibility as that implied in the above requisition, the British Commissioner was anxious to guard himself against being supposed to desire the infliction of an excess of punishment as far as the bulk of the nation was concerned. For the more notorious offenders no degree of severity would be too great but for

the wretched peasantry, who blindly followed the leadership of their chiefs, some degree of mercy might be permitted. Moreover, due regard must be paid to the circumstances under which these crimes were committed, and considerations as to what may be possible to urge in mitigation of their guilt should not be altogether disregarded.

With this view he considered strict equity would require a distinction to be drawn between the relative culpability of the three classes of criminals who stand arraigned at the bar of Europe.

Amongst these, the guilt of those Turkish magistrates and officers who by connivance intensified the horror of what it was their duty to have prevented must ever remain pre-eminent.

The second place in the hierarchy of crime may safely be reserved for the Moslems of Damascus, who in cold blood, without cause of quarrel, and before one word of defiance had passed from one side or the other, rose up against the walls of the town where they had been bred together, unoffending fellow-citizens. A somewhat broader view, however, separates the case of the Druses from that of these civil war into which they were provoked by their Christian antagonists very much against their will. A year ago Lord Dufferin happened to be in the country. At that time it was in its normal state. The affair of Bent Miri had just occurred. Public attention was directed to the relations existing between the Druses and the Maronites, and a general feeling prevailed that a determination existed upon the part of the latter to drive their enemies out of the Lebanon. Now civil war is at all times an abominable crime: in this country its wickedness is aggravated by the savage manner in which it is conducted. The Druses, therefore, are undoubtedly culpable for having engaged in it at all, but to this degree their guilt is shared, and even surpassed, by their antagonists. There is a point, however, at which the criminality of the Druses assumes such terrible proportions as renders it difficult for our indignation to consider the circumstances which provoked it. Even Justice may be excused if she recoils from the effort which it must cost her to examine what plea can be put forward in palliation of such unimaginable butcheries. Nevertheless considerations of some importance must still be permitted to arrest the descending scale of her balance. It is to be remembered that this is a country of tribes which inhabit the middle ages of Europe.

It is all alike, that when the "deen" or blood feud exists it is allowable to slay your unarmed enemy, and every male belonging to his house, wherever you may find them. In fact, beneath the full blaze of modern civilization, we find in Syria habits of thought and practices prevailing for which the only historical parallel can be found in the books of Moses. "That the Christians are not to be exempted," continues the British Commissioner, "from the number of those subject to these savage influences cannot be pretended. A mere cursory perusal of the official accounts of the murders, feuds, and wars which have deluged the Mountain with blood during the last twenty-five years proves too lamentably how little influence their religion has had in mitigating the ferocity with which the traditional customs of the country have influenced them. The cruel manner in which they have taken advantage of the first opportunity afforded them to massacre all men, women, and children, even those we ourselves have been in the country, confirms, in only too melancholy a manner, this sinister conclusion."

Truth, therefore, requires it to be recorded that even in countries where such fearful enormities have justly called down upon them the indignation of the civilized world, the Druses only carried to an excessive degree that policy of extermination with which at the commencement of the quarrel they had been threatened by their victims.

"To what degree the punishment due to crimes themselves without excuse ought to be affected by the immunity sometimes required for them on the score of immemorial usage, is another question."

"In some of the most civilized countries of Europe, customs alike hateful to philosophy and religion remain unpunishable by law."

uncensured by society; while so great is the allowance it is sometimes found necessary to make for the perversity of human nature that the soldiery of civilized States are occasionally suffered to inflict with impunity on the unoffending women of a city taken by assault, horrors equalling in brutality those committed by the Druses during the intoxication of triumph and revenge.

Be that as it may, strict equity would seem to require that in estimating the moral guilt of these unhappy persons, the standard of European civilization is not altogether applicable. Some allowance must be made for the force of circumstances and of inveterate tradition. To what degree these considerations ought to influence his Excellency it is not for me to say.

"With him alone rests the responsibility of determining the point at which Mercy may be permitted to stay the sword of the avenger. I would merely observe that stern, speedy, impartial justice is oftentimes the most humane remedy which can be applied to troubles such as those with which we are called upon to deal, and that on this occasion such a signal example should be given as shall for ever convince those Lebanon tribes that from henceforth, neither the Sultan's Government nor Europe will permit a repetition of similar atrocities."

Lord Dufferin further remarked, in opposition to a proposal made by one of his colleagues, that it would be unsafe to allow ourselves to be guided, in the adjustment of the degree of chastisement to be exacted, by any political considerations.

"Que justice se fasse sans arrière-pensée."

Inclosure 3 in No. 232

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Palmer

Sir,

Beyroul, November 13, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the eighth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 232

Protocol of the Eighth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyroul, November 2, 1860.

LE Vendredi, deux Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyroul, sous la présidence de son Excellence Foad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à trois heures. Le procès-verbal de la séance précédente est lu et adopté.

Avant d'entrer, conformément à l'ordre du jour, dans l'examen de la question des calamités, le Président rappelle à la Commission le désir exprimé par lui que des délégués soient désignés et envoyés sur les divers points de la Montagne, afin de veiller à l'exécution des mesures prises par le Gouvernement pour la reconstruction des villages. Dans quelques localités, les habitants n'ont eu à supporter d'autres dépenses que celles qui leur ont été distribuées. Il importe de faire cesser cet état de choses. Pour la ville de Zableh notamment, Foad Pacha se déclare prêt à ordonner le paiement de la somme qui lui a été allouée pour le concours de la Commission à l'effet de contrôler l'emploi de la dite somme.

Il est décidé d'un commun accord, que pour les délégués qui n'ont pas encore été désignés, le Président s'adressera au Général de Beyroul par l'intermédiaire de son Secrétaire, pour lui faire connaître les noms des personnes qu'il propose de désigner.

Le Commissaire Pressat propose de nommer pour délégués les

au sujet de la question traitée dans la précédente séance. Soumettre à l'Europe les exigences financières de la situation, suivant les indications du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, lui paraît être un moyen inefficace, de l'emploi duquel résulterait une grande perte de temps. Il s'agit de se procurer des fonds, sans le moindre retard, pour satisfaire à des nécessités urgentes. Ces fonds, on peut les trouver dans le pays. Damas est une ville riche qui renferme beaucoup de capitaux; plusieurs des Chefs Druses possèdent des fortunes considérables; la ville de Saida ne doit pas non plus être épargnée. Qu'un impôt de 100 000 000 piastres soit levé sur Damas, Saida, et la Montagne Druse; que le dit impôt soit convenablement reparté entre ces trois centres de population, et le Gouvernement aura à sa disposition la somme même que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman jugerait nécessaire, non pour indemniser toutes les pertes, mais pour atténuer les maux des chrétiens. Cette mesure dont il reste à déterminer le mode d'exécution, aurait aussi l'avantage de faire découvrir, suivant toute apparence, une grande partie des objets volés.

Fuad Pacha répond que la ville de Damas, ainsi qu'il en a déjà donné

le ordre de Constantinople la réponse à un rapport qu'il a adressé sur ce sujet à son Gouvernement. Les biens qui appartiennent aux condamnés et qui sont séquestrés devront être employés, avec les fonds résultant de la contribution extraordinaire, à indemniser les chrétiens, mais comme le principe de la contribution est contraire à la régulation de l'Empire, il ne peut être trouvé malgré l'étendue de ses pouvoirs, dans la nécessité de son

Gouvernement, de réaliser immédiatement les fonds nécessaires. Sans doute il y a des richesses à Damas mais leurs fortunes consistent en immeubles dont l'aliénation ne peut avoir lieu que lentement. Saida est une ville sans importance, à peu près dénuée de capitaux. Quant à la Montagne Druse, presque toutes les propriétés y sont concentrées entre les mains des Chefs, les habitants pour la plupart ne sont en quelque sorte que des tenanciers et ne possèdent à peu près rien. La mesure proposée par le Commissaire Français serait donc difficilement applicable, et le montant de l'impôt, hors de proportion avec les ressources locales, ne pourrait être perçu que dans un long espace de temps.

Le Commissaire Français appuie la motion de M. de Rehfues. Il est d'avis que l'impôt à exiger de la ville de Damas peut être considéré comme une contribution de guerre, à percevoir dans un très court délai. Comparant Damas à une ville prise d'assaut, il ne doute pas qu'une bonne part de la contribution dont a parlé le Commissaire Français, puisse être levée sur le champ, si l'on emploie la contrainte. Un certain nombre d'otages, choisis parmi les habitants les plus riches et les plus influents, étant chargés, avec l'appui de la force publique, d'exécuter eux-mêmes une mesure dont ils seraient responsables, parviendraient bientôt à fournir la somme demandée. En cas d'inexécution dans le terme prescrit, les biens des otages deviendraient la propriété de l'Etat, ou plutôt des chrétiens qu'il s'agit d'indemniser.

Les Commissaires de Grande Bretagne, de Russie, et d'Autriche prennent successivement la parole, et s'expriment dans le même sens que le préopinant. Ils sont également favorables à la proposition de M. de Rehfues, et croient qu'il est possible de la mettre en pratique. M. de Weichacker ajoute que les villages situés aux environs de Damas devraient être compris dans la mesure dont cette ville serait l'objet.

Fuad Pacha répète que sur le principe il est d'accord avec les Commissaires; il ne diffère que sur le mode d'exécution. Les biens des principaux notables de Damas sont déjà saisis, en vertu des jugements récemment prononcés contre eux. Tous les membres de l'ancien Conseil ayant été envoyés en exil, un Comité d'Administration a été provisoirement formé, et se compose d'hommes sans influence, dont plusieurs ont rendu des services, ou sont étrangers à la ville. On ne pourrait donc pas se servir de ce Comité, ni à plus forte raison rendre responsables ceux qui en font partie. Les riches, à leur tour, pourraient être contraints à payer, mais ils se déclareraient impuissants à faire payer les autres.

Lord Dufferin dit que les Chefs de Quartier, connaissant les ressources

de chacun, seraient à même de faire contribuer chaque famille suivant ses moyens.

M. Novikow est d'avis que les Commissions actuellement employées au désarmement pourraient aussi être chargées de la perception de l'impôt extraordinaire. Il voudrait en outre que la responsabilité fût confiée à des personnes dignes de confiance. M. de Rehfues, il pense que la contribution dont serait frappée la ville de Damas aurait pour effet de faire réparer les objets volés, et notamment le produit du pillage des couvents et des églises. Il ajoute que cette mesure pourrait être facilitée par les révélations des Chefs Druses actuellement emprisonnés à Beyrouth.

Fuad Pacha renouvelle les objections de forme qu'il a déjà opposées aux divers membres de la Commission. Quant aux objets volés, dit-il, on en a déjà retrouvé un certain nombre, et plusieurs mosquées de Damas ont été reconstruites.

Dans l'intervalle des deux séances, il se propose de consulter quelques uns des anciens employés chrétiens de l'administration financière de la province, afin de déterminer le mode de perception auquel il devra s'arrêter, et le résultat de ses recherches sera communiqué par lui à la Commission.

Lord Dufferin présente une motion relative à la fixation du chiffre des indemnités. Pour arriver à une juste appréciation des pertes subies par les chrétiens, conformément au texte des instructions identiques, il propose à ses collègues d'établir un Comité Européen pour prononcer comme arbitre dans les réclamations présentées par les chrétiens à la Porte. Comme c'est probable que ces réclamations seront très exagérées, il pense qu'il serait dans l'intérêt du Gouvernement Turc de recourir à l'assistance d'un pareil corps. Dans les cas où les sentences rendues par lui ne contenteraient

pas les réclamants, les Commissions fassent des hommes dont l'intégrité, le discernement, et l'habitude des affaires offrissent une garantie suffisante à une décision non seulement impartiale mais intelligente. Ils devraient se livrer à ce travail le plutôt possible avant que les traces des désastres n'eussent été effacées.

Cette proposition admise en thèse générale par tous les Commissaires, donne lieu à une longue discussion quant aux détails qui s'y rattachent.

Fuad Pacha expose la combinaison suivante, comme devant, selon lui, simplifier le travail d'évaluation. Un Comité, nommé par le Gouvernement mais dont une partie des membres auraient été désignés par les chrétiens, serait chargé d'examiner les demandes d'indemnité. Il admet en principe l'institution d'une Commission d'Arbitrage pour rendre un jugement dans le cas où il y aurait un désaccord entre les membres du Comité, ou entre le Comité et le réclamant. Mais il pense qu'avant de prendre une détermination sur le mode de participation de la Commission à la question des indemnités, on doit consulter les instructions collectives des Commissaires.

Fuad Pacha invité par la Commission à rédiger un projet relatif au mode de fixation des indemnités, s'engage à présenter ce projet dans la Conférence suivante.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

Suivent les signatures.)

Inclusion 5 in No 252

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, November 14, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that having observed a meeting of the Commission on the 11th inst. I felt it my duty to submit to my colleagues on the occasion of the meeting of the Commission, I determined to wait upon that gentleman, the hopes of being able to bring about a more complete coincidence in our views before the adjourned discussion on the "interpellation" I had addressed to Fuad Pasha was renewed.

I commenced the conversation by stating that it would be a great source of regret to me should any difference of opinion between M. Bédard and myself interrupt the perfect unanimity of sentiment which had hitherto prevailed between us, that not only would it be a personal satisfaction to myself to agree with him on all occasions, but that I felt convinced that it was the desire of my Government that we should act as far as possible in concert; that perhaps an apparent discord might vanish in the presence of mutual explanations; and that I had accordingly brought for his perusal a précis of the language I had held on the previous evening, in which I had expressed my opinions I had expressed.

Nothing could have been more conciliatory than the manner in which M. Bédard met this advance upon my part; and I would wish to take this opportunity of informing your Excellency how sensible I am of my good fortune in having obtained such a person as M. Bédard for my colleague. It is impossible not to entertain the greatest respect for his judgment, intelligence, and sincerity of purpose; and I have every reason to hope that the friendly feelings which have arisen between us will long survive the discontinuance of our official relations. After reading through the paper I had presented to him, copy of which I have transmitted to your Excellency in my previous despatch of yesterday's date, M. Bédard asked me what were the motives which inspired the language I had held. To this I replied, that they were very simple ones, that he must not be actuated by any *arrière pensée* when I brought to the notice of my colleagues the considerations which in my opinion mitigated to some extent the moral culpability of the Druses, or that I extenuated their fault with any desire hereafter to claim on their behalf the privilege of retaining their Kaimakamship over the Mixed districts. On the contrary, that it was my great desire to see these people properly punished; that it was on that account I had pressed the subject on Fouad Pasha's attention, but that having taken upon myself so hateful a responsibility, it was but natural I should use every precaution to guard myself against any misapprehension existing as to the sense in which I made the requisition, that I mistrusted the Government, who would, perhaps, consider them to their reputation for energy cheaply purchased by a not too judicious effusion of Druse blood; and that, above all things, I was profoundly convinced of the force of the considerations which might be adduced in palliation of their crimes.

I then proceeded to insist, with the greatest earnestness, on the various points in their favour which I have already submitted to your Excellency, more especially enlarging on the fact that they had been threatened with extermination by the Christians on the one hand, and stimulated to the most savage resistance by their own Government on the other.

In conclusion, I remarked to M. Bédard that it was out of our power to separate the Druses from the Maronites, that, do what we could, they were destined to live together in the close intimacy of village life; that, therefore, it was of the most vital necessity to heal these intestine troubles with as little delay as possible, and that when once the due measure of punishment shall have been exacted, it would be in the interest of humanity and justice that an amnesty should be proclaimed.

To this last premise and its conclusion M. Bédard seemed very much inclined to object; and from an observation he let drop during a subsequent part of the conversation, it is evident he considers the expulsion of the Druses from the Mountain essential to his plan for its settlement.

As the disintegration of the Mixed districts would appear to those unacquainted with the country the most obvious mode of preventing a collision between the tribes that compose them, I would wish to take this opportunity of stating to your Excellency what are the reasons which render such a process quite inapplicable to the present occasion.

In the first place, I am decidedly of opinion that, as a general rule, when you have to deal with a large population, differing in their religious opinions, but perfectly assimilated in language, manners, and habits of thought, the principle of fusion rather than that of separation is the one

to be adopted. Religious belief ought not to be converted into a geographical question, and subject sects subordinating their polemical to their civil relations with one another. But apart from these larger considerations are others which are equally important. In the first place, the operation could only be effected by force, and would entail an enormous amount of hardship and suffering. Should the Druses of the Lebanon be compelled to emigrate, they would naturally join their brethren in the Hauran, and the result would be, the concentration of a numerous and warlike tribe within a district that completely commands Damascus, and the plains, which not only supply that city but the Lebanon itself with corn. The Porte, therefore, would have every right to object to an arrangement which in its consequences would extend far beyond the limits within which our task of reorganization is to be conducted. If a more limited operation is resorted to, and the Druse and Christian inhabitants are invited to aggregate themselves into distinct bodies, the one towards the North the other towards the South in ten years' time their mutual inclination to coalesce would probably result in as intimate an intermixture as that which exists at present.

In fact, before arriving at any conclusion on this subject, three things must be clearly understood: first, that the indisposition to assimilate between the Druses and Christians is not by any means so great as that between Christians and Moslems; secondly, that their feuds are not religious but tribe wars; and thirdly, that their social interests are identical.

It is the universal opinion of every person whose experience of the country entitles him to entertain one, that, if a tolerable Government existed, and no sinister influence were allowed to engender discord between them, the Druse and Christian populations would be inclined to live in peace.

I then proceeded to inform M. Bédard that I had in view the fact that the Druses and Christians are not only the two nations, when a measure of peace is established, but to be the only remedy we had at our disposal, and I left with the conviction that at our next meeting M. Bédard would be prepared to admit that, when once the most guilty shall have been duly punished, a full amnesty may be safely accorded to the remainder of the nation.

Nevertheless, at the conclusion of our conversation an expression dropped from my colleague which more than confirmed my opinion as to the feelings with which the French Government regards the Druse nation. "Cependant ils sont bien gênant, ces Druses," said M. Bédard; and, "when the Lebanon is erected into a Christian Principality, measures must be found to induce them to emigrate." As, however, this remark was connected with the plan which the French Commissioner intimated he was prepared to propose for the future settlement of the Lebanon, I shall have occasion to refer to it in a subsequent despatch. I will merely observe, for the present, that, although their right to govern the Mixed Districts must be considered to have been forfeited by the Druses as a nation, it cannot be pretended that it consequently lapses into the hands of their Christian dependents. Such a change would only perpetuate the evils of the present system. A particular tribe having proved itself unfit to exercise an exceptional autonomy, it naturally passes into the same category as is occupied by any other subject race, and the privileges with which it had been invested revert to the Crown. The Druse Kaimakamship being abolished, the authority of the Sultan at once extends itself over the vacated jurisdiction.

I have, &c.

Sgt. I. DUFFERIN AND CLANFHOYE

Inclosure 6 in No. 252

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the ninth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 25.

Protocol of the Ninth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beirut,
November 10, 1860.

LE Samedi, dix Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

L'ordre du jour est lu et adopté, après quelques modifications. L'ordre du jour appelle l'attention de la Commission sur l'état actuel de Damas et des réfugiés Damascains. Cet état est loin d'être satisfaisant. Les mesures d'urgence décrétées en principe telles que l'levée, sur la ville de Damas, d'une contribution dont le montant serait affecté à la reconstruction des maisons Chrétiennes et au paiement d'un acompte sur le montant des indemnités, restent en suspens. Le désarmement semble traîner en longueur, et les villages des environs qui ont pris une part active aux massacres de Damas, paraissent n'avoir pas été compris dans l'exécution de cette mesure. L'ensemble de ces faits n'est pas nature à rétablir la confiance parmi les Chrétiens; aussi le mouvement d'émigration, loin de se ralentir, augmente-t-il chaque jour. Les efforts persévérants de son Excellence Fuad Pacha ayant échoué jusqu'ici contre cette difficulté, il est du devoir de la Commission de lui venir en aide. Mais elle ne saurait le faire utilement, ni engager sa responsabilité à cet égard, avant d'avoir vu de ses propres yeux l'état actuel des choses.

Pour toutes ces raisons, M. Novikow croit devoir renouveler une motion déjà faite par le Commissaire Français, en proposant à la Commission de constater l'étendue des désastres qui ont frappé tant les nationaux étrangers que les Chrétiens indigènes. Ce voyage permettrait également à la Commission de visiter, chemin faisant, une bonne partie de la Montagne, de consulter, sur les lieux mêmes, les besoins et les vœux des populations, de réunir enfin les éléments qui lui sont nécessaires pour l'élaboration du travail relatif à la réorganisation du Liban.

Avant de statuer sur la proposition de M. Novikow, Lord Dufferin demande la permission d'adresser à son Excellence Fuad Pacha une interpellation dont le sujet se rattache à la question du voyage de la Commission.

Il faut que la Commission se mette à consulter un peu avant de pouvoir détourner son attention du Liban.

Il nous est permis de penser que, dans la situation actuelle, nous nous trouvons encore occupés de la partie la plus odieuse de la question, celle des massacres. Ce n'est pas le moment de nous occuper du plus privilégié, d'inaugurer une époque de conciliation et de paix. Mais il est inutile de songer à la conciliation, tant que des misérables, aux mains encore rouges du sang de leurs semblables, jouissent d'une immunité entière de toute punition. Pas un seul Druse coupable des massacres des Chrétiens n'a encore subi la peine de mort.

Son Excellence a expliqué ce délai par la nécessité d'assurer l'arrestation de ceux qui étaient les plus compromis; cette observation était juste, mais une hésitation plus prolongée dans l'exécution d'une punition

complète et définitive, est tellement contraire aux intérêts de l'humanité, qu'il importe à la Commission de prier son Excellence de vouloir bien nous accorder une explication de ses intentions. Les obstacles auxquels nous ne pouvons pas toucher, ayant destinés ces deux tribus à vivre ensemble. Ce délai, apporté à l'exécution des mesures, fait qu'envenimer la blessure, en maintenant d'un côté une haine invétérée, et de l'autre la conscience d'une culpabilité dont l'expiation n'est pas encore accomplie. Il est de la dernière importance que cet état prolonge davantage. Mais en se chargeant d'une responsabilité si lourde, où il s'agit d'une question de vie et de mort, le Commissaire Britannique ne voudrait pas être soupçonné de requérir une punition démesurée. Il faut surtout qu'on puisse poser certaines limites où la main se agresse

entre les trois classes de criminels aujourd'hui inculpés au tribunal de la Chrétienté. De ces trois degrés de culpabilité, il faut assigner le premier rang aux officiers Turcs qui avaient prêté la main aux atrocités qu'ils auraient dû prévenir. Après ceux-ci viennent les Musulmans de Damas, qui, sans querelle, sans provocation, se sont rués sur leurs concitoyens innocents, et les ont passés au fil de l'épée.

Les crimes des Druses semblent entrer dans une catégorie différente. Leurs excès, quelque horribles, proviennent d'une guerre provoquée par les Chrétiens, et n'étaient que le fruit fatal des traditions de leur pays. En étudiant les rapports officiels des lettres sanglantes et meurtrières échangées dans le Liban depuis vingt-cinq ans, on ne peut éviter la conviction que les préceptes de leur religion ont apporté, chez les Chrétiens, bien peu d'adoucessement à ces usages barbares; et d'après la connaissance personnelle du pays dans une époque antérieure à ces désastres, le Commissaire Britannique peut affirmer que cette politique d'extermination que les Druses ont adoptée, n'était que le développement d'un principe qu'ils appliquaient dès le commencement de la querelle. Les victimes les avaient menées de leur type de la moralité Européenne, comme mesure de la culpabilité d'un corps de paysans ignorants qui n'ont fait qu'obéir aveuglément aux

ordres de leurs chefs, Druse, Chrétienne et Arabe, ne peut trouver sa pareille que dans les luttes de Moïse.

Il faut donc faire la part de ces circonstances traditionnelles, tout en exigeant une justice ample et sévère pour pouvoir mettre un terme à la répétition de ces crimes.

Fuad Pacha, en réponse à l'interpellation de Lord Dufferin, renouvelle d'abord l'assurance déjà donnée par lui, que la répression sera aussi promptement, aussi exemplaire que possible. En ce qui concerne particulièrement les Druses, il n'a négligé aucune des mesures que les circonstances lui indiquaient. Lors de son arrivée en Syrie, il a dû d'abord se rendre à Damas, où la situation des Chrétiens réclamant impérieusement sa présence. Au retour à Beyrouth, il a pu s'occuper de la Montagne dont la pacification, étant d'un prétendu Traité entre les parties belligérantes, n'avait pas été reconnue par lui. Une Proclamation adressée aux Chefs Druses les a invités à venir rendre compte de leur conduite. Quatorze d'entre eux ont répondu à cette invitation. D'accord avec le Commandant-en-chef du Corps Expéditionnaire Français, il s'est ensuite dévoué à parcourir militairement les Districts Mixtes. Cette opération avait un double but: elle se proposait d'abord de répression, mais elle était aussi destinée à favoriser le rétablissement des Chrétiens dans leurs villages. C'est été ce dernier résultat que d'ouvrir les hostilités directes contre le

Des arrestations ont été faites.

mettre son projet à exécution. Fuad Pacha ajoute que déjà il s'est entendu avec le Général de Beaufort, et qu'il compte se rendre personnellement dans la Montagne pour présider aux arrestations. Retenu à Beyrouth par la nécessité de pourvoir au remplacement du Commandant des troupes dans le Liban, il a dû retarder son départ de quelques jours, mais il aura bientôt le regret de se séparer momentanément de ses collègues.

Quant aux fonctionnaires civils ou militaires qui ont manqué à leurs devoirs, tels que les Commandants des garnisons de Hasbeya et de Rasheya, ils ont été fusillés. Les autorités de Deir-el-Kamar n'ont pas encore subi la peine de mort, prononcée par le Conseil de Damas, parce que leurs relations avec les Druses devaient donner lieu à une instruction supplémentaire qui a fait ajourner leur exécution. De plus Kourchid Pacha, Yassv Kéoudi, Ahmed Kéoudi, Tahir Pacha, et autres, sont en prison et leur procès est à peu près terminé. Outre les quatorze C. D. Druses dont il a déjà été parlé, une soixantaine d'arrestations ont été opérées dans ces derniers temps. Cent soixante-dix individus environ se trouvent détenus à Beyrouth. Bientôt un certain nombre de jugements pourront être rendus, et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman déploiera, à cette occasion, autant de sévérité qu'il l'a fait à Damas.

Puisque cette question a été soulevée, ajoute Fuad Pacha, il y a lieu pour la Commission de lui donner son avis sur un point important. Bien que les dénonciations et les poursuites judiciaires n'aient pas cessé encore, le résultat de cet état de choses est une défiance et un antagonisme entre Chrétiens et Musulmans, qui empêchent le retour de la sécurité, mais, avec l'appui de la force militaire, le Gouvernement peut répondre du maintien du bon ordre. Dans la Montagne la situation n'est pas la même. Si l'on parvient à y arrêter à la fois tous les individus contre lesquels il existe des dénonciations, et s'il est décidé que, dans un délai déterminé, pareilles dénonciations ne seront plus admises, on peut arriver bientôt au rétablissement de la tranquillité. C'est précisément à ce sujet qu'il croit devoir consulter

Le Commissaire Autrichien dit avoir compris que Lord Dufferin, dans son discours, prétendait établir une différence entre la crime de rébellion résultant du fait de la guerre civile à laquelle auraient pris part les Maronites comme les Druses, et les atrocités commises par les Druses vainqueurs. De cette distinction même, résulte la nécessité de sévir rigoureusement contre les Druses. À ses yeux, ceux-ci ne méritent plus le nom de nation, et ont perdu le droit d'exercer une part quelconque

Fuad Pacha est d'avis qu'en tout cas on ne peut assuiler l'affaire du Liban à celle de Damas. À Damas, il y a eu un assassinat ou plutôt des assassinats commis par les Musulmans contre les Chrétiens. Dans la Montagne, on doit examiner s'il y a eu guerre civile ou soulèvement des Druses contre les Chrétiens. En cas de guerre civile, il reste à se demander quels ont été les agresseurs. Les Druses ne sauraient jamais être accusés des crimes dont ils se sont rendus coupables, mais le fait de provocation ou de répression soit contre eux, soit en leur faveur, une circonstance aggravante ou atténuante.

Une discussion s'élève à ce propos entre les divers membres de la Commission, il est généralement reconnu que le fait de provocation est une question sans importance, et à peu près insoluble, atténuante ou aggravante sur la date des premiers griefs.

M. de Weekbecker pense que le seul moyen efficace de pacification consiste à rendre le Gouvernement Ottoman aussi fort que possible sur toute l'étendue de son territoire, c'est-à-dire, dans la Montagne comme ailleurs.

Les Commissaires de France, de Prusse, et de Russie croient devoir faire des réserves contre cette opinion, qui d'ailleurs touche au travail de réorganisation, et n'est pas applicable à l'objet dont on traite actuellement.

M. Béchard, répondant au passage du discours de Lord Dufferin dans lequel il a été mentionné, dit qu'en effet ce n'est pas sans impatience qu'il attend le moment où la Commission pourra considérer comme chose la phrase des poursuites et des châtimens; c'est pourquoi il ne peut s'em-

de déplorer le peu de promptitude et d'énergie qu'on remarque aujourd'hui

Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte s'étant attiré de justes tourmens. Depuis lors son action semble ralentie. Suivant la remarque de Lord Dufferin, pas un Druse n'a encore été puni. L'enquête judiciaire ouverte à Beyrouth traîne en longueur, et a pris récemment un caractère tel qu'on ne saurait en prévoir la fin. Tout en motivant ainsi le vœu qu'il avait formulé, le Commissaire Français s'empresse de prendre acte de la communication faite par son Excellence Fuad Pacha relativement aux Druses. Puisque le temps est enfin venu de les frapper, il réclame répression vigoureuse contre des assassins qui se sont mis hors la loi, c'est-à-dire, au ban des nations. Sur ce dernier point, il est heureux de se trouver d'accord avec le Commissaire d'Autriche. Mais il n'admet pas la comparaison établie entre les Druses et les Chrétiens de Damas, ne pouvant s'appeler une guerre civile de véritables boucheries.

M. Novikow rappelle que des scènes semblables ont eu lieu à Rasheya et à Hasbeya. Il ne peut être question de guerre civile dans les atrocités commises par les Druses sur ces deux points. Elles n'ont eu pour cause déterminante que la soif du sang et du pillage, et les coupables doivent être classés dans la catégorie des criminels qui méritent une punition tout aussi sévère que les Musulmans de Damas. Ceux des Chrétiens de l'Anti-Liban qui ont survécu aux massacres sont encore aujourd'hui en butte aux insultes des Druses.

Le Commissaire Prussien croit devoir ramener l'attention de ses collègues sur la motion présentée au début de la séance par M. Novikow. Il croit qu'on offre le meilleur moyen de rassurer les Chrétiens de Damas et de les empêcher d'émigrer, serait que la Commission se transportât momentanément au lieu des deux. À cette occasion, M. de Retsuen donne lecture de quelques fragments d'une lettre du Consul de Prusse à Damas, qui indique les causes du malaise actuel.

La motion de M. Novikow est mise en discussion, et donne lieu à un échange d'avis différents. Tous les Commissaires, sauf son Excellence Fuad Pacha et M. de Weekbecker, pensent que la présence de la Commission à Damas est nécessaire, et peut seule produire l'effet désiré; et M. Béchard, étant l'objection qui lui avait été faite dans le principe, voudrait qu'avant de partir pour Damas, la Commission eût la satisfaction d'avoir obtenu quelques résultats sérieux.

Le Commissaire Français donne lecture d'une supplique adressée à la Commission, sous la date du 7 Novembre, par toutes les communautés Chrétiennes de Damas. Dans cette supplique, les Chrétiens se déclarent prêts à retourner chez eux, ainsi qu'ils en ont reçu l'ordre, mais à de certaines conditions. L'une de ces conditions consiste dans la garantie de la sécurité des Communautés.

M. Béchard, en achevant cette lecture, fait remarquer que le document dont il s'agit offre un caractère exceptionnel, en ce sens qu'il émane de la totalité de la population Chrétienne, représentée par les cinq communautés des différents rites.

Fuad Pacha s'élève contre la prétention des Chrétiens de Damas d'obtenir une garantie que la Commission ne peut leur donner, et qui indique de leur part une méfiance profonde à l'égard du Gouvernement.

Le Commissaire Français fait observer que cette méfiance n'est pas sans motifs, et que le Gouvernement a beaucoup à faire pour le dissiper. La demande de garantie des Chrétiens n'est pas non plus chose nouvelle, et on ne peut s'étonner qu'ils aient placé toutes leurs espérances dans la sollicitude dont ils se savent l'objet de la part de la Commission.

Fuad Pacha répond qu'il se rend très bien compte des sentiments inspirés aux Chrétiens par leurs malheurs, mais il n'admet pas que ses actes puissent être mis en suspicion. Pour donner aux Chrétiens la confiance qui leur manque, il prendra encore, s'il le faut, de nouvelles mesures, et à cet effet il accueillera toujours avec empressement les conseils de ses collègues. En outrepassant cette limite, la Commission enquêterait sur les droits de son Gouvernement.

M. Béchard dit qu'il ne pouvait se dispenser de faire parvenir à sa

Greeks; consequently any extension of its territory in that direction would introduce into the already sufficiently incongruous constitution of the Lebanon an addition to the anti-Maronite element. Yet it seems hard that those villages which have suffered more than any others in the late disturbances should be altogether excluded from the benefits of European intervention.

I have, &c.
Signed) DEFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Inclosure 9 in No. 252.

Lord Defferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, November 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that there is reason to believe the Russian and Greek interests in this country, foreseeing the possibility that they incur of finding themselves suddenly placed under the ascendancy of a Maronite ascendancy have been, lately, busy in devising in their own community a separate and independent

which they will have to encounter in the realization of such a project will probably prove very great. As yet, the happiest contrivance which has occurred to the ingenuity of their advisers seems to be the creation of a distinct Greek-Christian administration in the Lebanon.

The Greek community in the most numerous of any in Syria. The Christian population of Damascus almost entirely belongs to the Greek Church. The Christians of Hama and Raheya are also Greeks, while the towns of Tripoli and Sidon, and the districts in their neighbourhood, are largely peopled by the same sect. In the Lebanon itself, however, with the exception of certain Greek Christian villages whose inhabitants it is to be remarked, besides the Druses, the population is chiefly Maronite. In order to rectify this preponderance of numbers, I am inclined to think an endeavour is being made to extemporize a Greek ascendancy for the Mountain.

It is well known that the Consul of the King of Greece has been encouraging the exodus from Damascus, both by precept and example, and it may be just possible that the famous chalking of doors which lately took place in that city is a fact not altogether foreign to such a policy, while the idea which has been latterly agitated of transferring the Greek population of Hama from Mount Hermon to the Lebanon would be perfectly in accordance with the above presumption. Nevertheless, it is impossible to trace, with any certainty, the consequences of Christian intrigue in this country. I confess I can foresee nothing but failure in any attempt to constitute separate and independent religious jurisdictions over Syria.

I have already expressed to your Excellency that a union, and not a disintegration, of the population is what we ought to endeavour to accomplish. The hatred which exists between Greek and Maronite, as my Russian colleague has himself informed me, is as bitter as any between Maronite and Druse. If the Druse Kaimakamship is to be replaced by a Greek Patriarchate in the Anti-Lebanon, if such men as Bishop T. are to direct the Councils of the Maronites, and if it is still to remain the interest of the Turk to pit one creed against the other, we shall have effected but a small improvement on the previous arrangement.

I do not know who is the person whom M. Béchard may have discovered to be worthy of being crowned Grand Prince of the Lebanon but I can safely say that among the native families not a single individual exists who is fit to be trusted with the government of a village. For the present, the only temporary Kaimakam. He talks of nominating, provisionally, one Yusuf Kerami, a person educated by the Lazarists, and possessed of some little energy; but, though supported by the French, it is probable his appointment will cause great dissatisfaction among the Maronite Sheikhs, who dread his anti-feudal tendencies and despise his

mean extraction. Yet I find, on inquiry, it is impossible to discover any one else who can pretend to compete with this man's modest qualifications.

the destinies of an independent State, or even of commanding for a day the obedience of his ill-assorted subjects. To such an authority the Greek interest would never submit. If, on the other hand, it were possible to give to the Greeks a separate autonomy, there is every reason to suppose the administration would be characterized by a corresponding impotence, and the result would be, the juxtaposition of two disorderly communities, between whom it would still remain the interest of the Turk to engender the bitterest animosity. The sobering impressions caused by late events once obliterated, their dormant rivalry would again burst forth, and the Mountain must inevitably become the theatre of fresh disturbances. I have, therefore, little hesitation in saying that Turkish supremacy under the conditions I ventured to describe in my despatch of the 4th instant would be a preferable arrangement to this sinister duality.

I have, &c.
Signed) DEFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Inclosure 10 in No. 252.

Lord Defferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrouth, November 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I have reason to believe M. Béchard entertains a faint expectation that the Yusuf Kerami I mentioned in my last despatch may be worked up into a Prince of the Mountain.

may be looked upon as the tool of Basha Taha and the Maronite clergy. His appointment to the Kaimakamship will prove distasteful to the aristocratical portion of his own nation while the extension of his jurisdiction over the members of the Greek community would be considered by the Russian interest as intolerable indignity.

From a conversation I had to-day with M. Novikow, it is very evident he dreads the consummation of such a plan as has been devised by M. Béchard, but I am not as yet prepared to say whether, if unable to carry out his idea of an independent Greek autonomy, it would be to the domination of the Turks or to that of the Maronites he would prefer to deliver over his co-religionists. Hostile as he is to the former, I think his horror of the latter is still greater, and I am decidedly of opinion that the interests of the Greek Church would be more gravely compromised by the creation of a Maronite Principality than by such a continuation of Turkish rule in Syria as I have ventured to suggest.

In regard to the rearrangement of the Lebanon Proper, should our efforts be unavailing, M. Novikow seems to desire the execution, on a small scale, of his more ambitious project, and it is possible he may contemplate the conversion of the Druse into a Greek Kaimakamship. At all events, it is pretty certain Russia will not behold with pleasure the undisputed ascendancy of the Maronites in the Lebanon.

Under these circumstances, I purpose to encourage the French and Russian Commissioners to urge their respective propositions. Should it become apparent that their views are irreconcilable, it might then be a not unfitting opportunity to propose the adoption of that plan which, to my mind, offers, with all its drawbacks, the least objectionable solution of the difficulty.

I have, &c.
Signed) DEFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Inclosure 11 in No 252

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November 17, 1860

I HAVE the satisfaction of being able to inform your Excellency that at the tenth sitting of the Commission it was unanimously admitted by my colleagues that as soon as a due measure of punishment shall have been inflicted on the more notorious authors of the late massacres at the Mountain, an amnesty shall be accorded to the Druse nation.

M. Bédard reserved to himself the right of hereafter recommending that, in consideration of the atrocities they had committed, the Druses should be required to suffer in their political privileges.

I replied that by an amnesty I intended nothing more than that when once the penalty shall have been paid, all judicial action against the Druses shall be discontinued, and the nation shall remain unmolested in their civil and social existence. After what has passed, it must be admitted that it will become a question as to whether they can be any longer allowed to exercise political jurisdiction over Christian subjects of the Porte.

I trust that your Excellency will not consider that I have done wrong in thus conceding the possible necessity for abolishing the Druse Kaimakship in the Mixed districts. I could not conscientiously have done otherwise. Although I consider the Druse nation more capable of self-government than any other race in Syria, although they are undoubtedly a brave, industrious, and intelligent people, with a future still before them, although their moral guilt on the present occasion may be much extenuated; and although interested motives undoubtedly influence the conduct of France, Russia, and the Porte towards them,—yet their position is such a false one, the crimes they have committed are so atrocious, that had I even thought it right to insist on the maintenance of their independent jurisdiction such a pretension upon my part would have only roused the indignation of all my colleagues, embarrassed my future action, and compromised that reputation for strict impartiality which I am sure it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government I should endeavour to preserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No 252

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November 18, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that at the last sitting of the Commission, a plan originating with M. Outrey, the French Consul at Damascus, for the valuation of the losses sustained by the Christian inhabitants of that city, was submitted to our consideration by M. Bédard.

The principle of M. Outrey's scheme consists in the distribution of all the houses of the city into different categories, according to their reputed size and splendour. Each house will then become the relative standard, according to which the loss in clothes, furniture, jewels, and other destructible property, possessed by its owner or occupier, will be estimated.

The amount of indemnification to be adjudged to the proprietor of one particular house having been ascertained, a similar sum will be apportioned to the owners or occupiers of every other house in the same category.

M. Outrey considers that 1,230,000*l.* sterling is a moderate estimate of the amount of compensation the Christians have a right to demand, and he divides the habitations of the claimants into ten categories: each of these categories he has assessed at a particular sum.

Though, of course, some injustice must attend the application of this scheme, more especially as it affects the richer citizens, yet, on the whole, the uniformity of domestic existence among persons of the same rank is so exact in the East, that when once you have arrived at an accurate notion of the moveable property in the possession of one individual of a trade or of a profession, you may safely reckon that his style of living did not differ much from that of others of his craft, so that the adoption of M. Outrey's principle will possibly prove a not unsatisfactory means of assessing the amount of damages.

The only other plan would have been a specific examination of each individual claim; firstly, by a Mixed Native, and then by a European Commission. This mode of proceeding would have involved an interminable delay, and it is doubtful whether, if we take into account the disregard to truth by the Christians of this country, any greater accuracy of estimation would have been obtained.

As it is, we may now hope that within ten days the Government will be in the advantage of being able to declare to the Christian inhabitants of Damascus that each individual's loss has been estimated by a process which has been approved of by a European Commission, and thus to afford them an unmistakable assurance of their eventual compensation.

At the next sitting we are to consider how the necessary sum is to be raised. It is to be hoped, in a great degree, by a heavy tax on the Moslems of Damascus. Such a measure would be a more effectual means of punishing those wicked persons than even a further infliction of capital punishment.

The Commission having acceded to the principle of M. Outrey's plan, I proposed that before we committed ourselves to the calculations of a single individual, however intelligent or expert, it would be advisable, for our personal satisfaction, to test their accuracy by reference to other sources of information. This proposal was agreed to. On the whole, however, I have little doubt M. Outrey's estimate is pretty just. I find that it is almost exactly corroborated by the opinion of Mr. Robson.

Before concluding, I would wish to remark that an attempt was made by M. Novikow to insist upon the amount of the losses sustained by the Greek Ecclesiastical Establishments being determined by a separate Commission.

No very great favour, however, was shown to this proposal. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that the estimate submitted to our consideration was but an expression of M. Outrey's opinion.

Now it so happens, all the convents and churches in which the French are more immediately interested, such as those of the Lazarists, Capucins, and Monks of Terra Santa, fall under the protection of the Capitulation, and will therefore receive compensation through the direct intervention of the French Government; consequently it is not impossible M. Outrey may have dealt a little hardly with the native institutions of the same sort, more especially as the Maronite community of Damascus is not included.

In recommending, therefore, my colleagues not to pledge themselves to M. Outrey's figures without inquiry, I was anxious to give M. Novikow the case of his coreligionists.

I am anxious that a desire to restore confidence at Damascus, and to prevent the further emigration of members of the Greek community, has perhaps in some degree prompted the invention of this expeditious mode of estimating the losses sustained by the citizens of Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, November 18, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a Synoptic Table, drawn up by Mr. Cyprien, of various schemes which have been devised for the solution of the Syrian difficulty, together with the objections which may be alleged against the adoption of each one of them.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANFORD

Inclosure 14 in No. 252

Synoptic Table of the various Schemes which have been proposed for the future Government of Syria and the Lebanon.

Schemes

1. Syria an independent province under a foreign Prince

1. Strong opposition on the part of the Porte.

2. Disputes would necessarily arise in Europe as to the person on whom the choice should fall.

3. He must neither be of the Latin nor of the Greek Church.

4. Difficulty of finding an efficient

5. His army for a certain number of years must be foreign.

6. Difficulty of finding a sufficient number of Europeans well acquainted with the language and manners of the East, to fill the different offices of the administration which necessarily devolve on foreigners.

2. Syria annexed to some second-rate European Power.

1. Opposition on the part of the Porte.

2. Difficulty of deciding in Europe which Power should be entrusted with such a charge.

3. Doubtful whether any Power except Spain would accept the province, and this would be obviously objectionable to us.

4. Dangerous precedent.

5. Would probably after a few years lead to fresh difficulties.

3. Syria a Vice-Royalty under a native Christian Prince, who should pay a fixed yearly tribute to the Porte.

1. Opposition at Stamboul.

2. His creed an almost insuperable difficulty.

3. Impossible to find a man at all qualified for the post.

4. Syria not yet sufficiently advanced for self-government.

5. Perpetual intrigues which would be carried on by foreign Powers.

6. General corruption of his employees.

7. Total absence of patriotism or unity of action among his subjects.

8. Inability, without material

Objections.

support from without, to keep order in his province.

9. Consequent necessity of supporting him with a foreign force which would have to remain permanently in the country.

10. Some opposition at Stamboul.

2. Difficulty with regard to the organization of his army.

3. Difficulty of finding a competent

4. Greater difficulty of finding efficient men to work under him.

5. Danger of his becoming the agent of some great Power hostile to England.

6. The question of his religion, some difficulty.

7. The Moslems would be incensed at his appointment, feeling they had got the wrong way.

8. The foregoing objections.

9. The great families of the Algerian Moslems and their hatred of the Christians.

10. Abd-el-Kader being still in his own country, and his weight might be brought to bear on the Government by France, which would be naturally adverse to her agent and her slave.

1. Miserable state of finances in Egypt.

2. Inefficiency of the actual Viceroy of that country.

3. Danger at all times to England of Syria and Egypt being united under one rule, while the Sovereign is Oriental—either Christian or Muslim.

4. Behaviour of Said Pasha in particular does not tend to allay this feeling of danger.

4. Syria a Vice-Royalty under a Muslim Prince, tributary to the Porte.

5. Supposing the Viceroy to be a Turk.

6. Supposing the Viceroy to be the Emir Abd-el-Kader.

5. Re-annexation to Egypt.

The rest of Syria remaining as heretofore under the direct government of the Porte, the Lebanon, with the ports of Tripoli and Sidon, and all the seaboard lying between these ports, to be erected into a Principality—

6. Under one Maroutte Kaimakam.

1. No man can be found capable of governing the Kaimakam.

2. Impossibility of maintaining order without foreign aid.

3. Monasteries and educational establishments would spring up all over the province, these would be supported by France, and tenanted and presided over by clever men carefully selected for the duty, who under cover of their profession as pastors and instructors of the people

Objections.

would secretly carry out the ambitious policy of France more effectually than any lay agents she could employ.

4. Unfair towards the Christians of the Greek rite, who would be persecuted under this arrangement, and thus the spirit of bigotry—at all times rife in the East—would be made more bitter even than it now is.

5. The Druzes would be so terrified that they would either be driven to flight, or else be compelled to evacuate the Mount and thus turned from their homes, they would be likely to visit on the unfortunate Christians of other parts the vengeance they would feel against their Maronite torturers.

6. The Turkish Government would lose all opportunity of fomenting discord amongst the different tribes and sects in order, if possible, to produce a repetition of the scenes of this year, and to show to Europe that the State she herself has raised is no better governed than the Lebanon had been under the Ottomans.

7. So in every case in the end farther intervention would be necessary.

8. If this proposal were carried out France would become mistress of Syria.

9. The Christians from all parts of Syria would from the first emigrate to the Lebanon, and thus the rest of the country would be given up to the Moslems.

1. Difficulty as regards proper

2. Great influence France and Russia would obtain in the Mount.

3. Druzes would be persecuted and driven away.

4. Intrigues of Turkish Government.

5. Foreign support necessary.

6. Greek Christians in the East of Palestine would complain how unfairly they had been dealt with, in not being included in the arrangement. Russia would support their demands.

7. The ascendancy of France would become each year more marked in these countries—she would establish a centre of

8. Would be likely to cause

7 The same arrangement being supposed, that the Maronites should have one Kaimakam and the Greeks another.

Objections.

differences in all Asiatic Turkey, and no real benefit would accrue to the Christians by this move.

1. The Christians would almost all leave the Moslem Kaimakam.

2. This would at once give rise to fresh disputes.

3. The punishment would then fall on the sufferers from the late events, and not on those who had caused the mischief.

4. Bad effect on the minds of the Moslems.

5. The Turkish officials then would have as great a scope as before for carrying on their intrigues.

6. It would leave an open field for the intrigues of France.

(Signed) CYRIL C. GRAHAM

Beyrout, November 18, 1860.

Inclosure 15 in No. 2

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Russell

Sir,

Beyrout, November 18, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of Tables communicated to the Commission by his Excellency Fuad Pasha, which purport to give the annual revenues of the Departments of Damascus and of Saida.

Your Excellency will perceive that there is a great pretension to accuracy in these Tables, since not only have individual piastres been counted, but the compiler has even condescended to paragon the figures. In fact, however, many numerical errors will be detected, especially in Table 1, where the sum total of the revenues of the Department of Damascus is laid down at 400,000 piastres more than the sum arrived at by the addition of the figures in the Table.

On the whole, there is an artificial appearance in these accounts which does not inspire me with confidence. Nevertheless, the grand total of 125,000 and 125,000, respectively indicated as the annual revenue of the two Departments in question may not be far from the truth. Under proper management five times this sum might be obtained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Tableau (1).—Revenus Annuels de la Province de Damas.

Persons are also asked to indicate the number of projects they are currently working on.

Tableau (2).—Revenus Annuels de la Province de Saida, répartis entre les Sanjaks de Beyrout, Tripoli, Latakiah, Nablous, Akko, et les Kaïmakamoukhs Druse et Chrétien, d'après le Tableau suivant

Alba	..	..	..	..	696	345
Total	..	..	..	..	31,734	355

Perceptions en nature de la Province de Saïda.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—Received Nov. 11.

(No 24 Confidential)

My Lord,

Bevont, November 18, 1860

IX acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 2^d June, I beg to express my sense of your Lordship's kindness in obtaining from His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-chief an extension of leave for Lieutenant-Colonel Barnaby.

I need not say that the receipt of this intelligence gave me very great pleasure.

Captain Hurnaby has made himself so very useful since he has been in the country in assisting the peasantry to rebuild their villages,—his energy and experience have done so much towards providing habitations for those who would otherwise have remained destitute of shelter, that it is no exaggeration to say many lives will have been saved through his exertions.

Of this fact there is no one more sensible than his Excellency Fuzul Pasha, who only the other day expressed to me his regret that the expiration of Colonel Burnaby's leave necessitated his return to England.

With respect to that portion of your despatch in which your Lordship instructs me to make both General de Beaufort and Colonel Burnaby understand that his presence in Syria possesses no official character, I have the honour to state that, on his arrival at Beyrout, Colonel Burnaby at once informed me that he had come here merely for his own pleasure, and not in any official capacity.

Yesterday, General de Beaufort, when I mentioned the fact that Colonel Burnaby's extension of leave would enable him to continue his peaceful employment of re-roofing cottages, intimated his great satisfaction at the circumstance; and after expressing himself in terms very favourable to Colonel Burnaby, concluded by remarking what a fortunate chance it was that a mutual friend in England should have been the means of enabling him to make that officer's acquaintance.

In reply to a further observation of my own, M. de Hausfort stated that he was perfectly aware that Colonel Burnaby's visit to this country was entirely unofficial.

I have, &c
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received November 30.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord,

Damascus, November 13, 1860.

IN my report No. 9 of the 20th October, I had the honour to inclose a communication from his Excellency Fuad Pasha, received as the mail was closing, to which I then stated I should revert at a future opportunity.

I have now to report that certain prisoners of position sent to Beyrout; the charges alleged against them, and the sentence awarded, together with sundry remarks by Fuad Pasha on the latter points.

Pre-eminent among these was the Sheikh Abdullah-el-Halabi, principal Sheikh of the great Mosque of Damascus, regarded by the Christians of this city as a principal, if not the chief, instigator of the fearful massacre to which so many of them fell victims, and who, in their estimation, ought therefore to have been one of the first criminals executed. I believe that all, or nearly all, the European agents concurred with the native Christians in this view, not that either could produce distinct evidence in Court in proof of his guilt, for a Christian dare not, and a Moslem at the instance of a Christian would not, testify against a man of the Sheikh's position. Nevertheless, a general conviction prevailed, that from the great veneration in which this man was held by all Moslems, and the powerful influence he wielded among them, a general massacre never could have been ventur'd upon, without his consent or connivance having been previously obtained.

Fuad Pasha has constantly complained that he could procure no evidence against the Sheikh. It is not hitherto known to what extent this has been either sought or obtained; yet I cannot but think that the Sultan's Representative, clothed with the authority and influence he undoubtedly possesses, ought to have been able to procure testimony against a man whose relations were so extensive and whose guilt was so universally evinced. Where a Christian is to suffer by the evidence, there is no dearth of Moslem witnesses in Damascus.

After having been kept in semi-confinement for upwards of two months—submitted occasionally to a desultory kind of examination without eliciting anything of importance, as was constantly asserted—Sheikh Abdullah and his companions were suddenly condemned, during a passing visit of Fuad Pasha to Damascus, at a time when European agents were making efforts to secure the punishment of at least the Sheikh.

Fuad Pasha appears to have departed from his usual course on this occasion, and himself condemned and sentenced these persons, as he says, "J'ai espoussé cause, &c." Hitherto, he had always left that duty to the Extraordinary Tribunal, and when pressed regarding the punishment of prisoners, invariably replied that whatever sentence the Tribunal might pronounce, it would be his duty and his wish to carry out.

It has long been a general opinion here, that Fuad Pasha himself, in effect represented the Tribunal, and that the Court condemned those alone who, after being submitted to his Excellency's preliminary examination, were by him intended to be condemned. His own treatment of the accused, in the present instance, notwithstanding as he continues to assert, the absence of serious evidence against them, gives colour to such a supposition, and leaves room for regret that the same promptitude and summary procedure was not adopted on his first arrival here. My opinion is, that with power and opportunities as such, that I feel constrained to attribute to him, with few extenuating circumstances, the blame of the inefficient and inadequate punishment hitherto inflicted on the murderers.

I have now to report that certain prisoners of position sent to Beyrout; the charges alleged against them, and the sentence awarded, together with sundry remarks by Fuad Pasha on the latter points.

European or other authority to reopen them hereafter. This remark especially applies to the mode in which the questions arising out of the massacres and other massacres have been treated.

The strict secrecy maintained by the public functionaries, apparently by order of Fuad Pasha, although not himself uncommunicative, has rendered it almost impossible to obtain any information in his absence, until it has been too late for interference. His Excellency having now taken his seat in the European Commission at Beyrout, will, without doubt, be required to adopt a more systematic and effectual course of action.

In this city all arrests connected with the late massacres have ceased, and the authorities manifest a disinclination to entertain accusations occasionally made by Christians against individuals whom they recognize as having robbed them, or having been engaged in the massacre. The Local Government itself is utterly effete, the Governor Mohammed Pasha, to whose inefficiency I have repeatedly had occasion to refer, not having yet been removed, nor, so far as I am aware, has any one been definitively named as his successor. It is of the most vital consequence to this province that the authorities at Constantinople should spare no pains to find a trustworthy and active man for this post, Damascus having now, more than ever, become a centre from which influence for good or evil will spread over the greater portion of Syria.

A measure of general disarmament was announced for the city, some weeks ago, and an attempt to carry it out has met with but scanty success. The people having become aware of the intention, secreted their valuable, and delivered their useless weapons. It is calculated that the inhabitants possess 40,000 stand of arms; 1,000 only have been surrendered, 500 of which were taken from a dealer in arms. Threats of fine and imprisonment have been held out against the recusants but neither have been enforced.

The troops in the Pashalik are still cantoned in the various villages along the line from Damascus to the Hauran, whence patrols are kept up, to maintain local tranquillity, as well as to search for plunder, or to seize any property they have sought security for themselves and their booty, taken from Damascus or Lebanon, among the more secluded villages. The Commander-in-chief still maintains his headquarters at Damascus.

During the comparative inaction of the army, I have been employing myself in connection with Lord Dufferin, in pushing forward the repairs of the villages of the Anti-Lebanon, burned or otherwise destroyed during the late outbreak, as well as in procuring bedding and other covering for the inhabitants, measures rendered urgent by the approach of the winter.

I am now proceeding to Hasheva and Rasheya, principal outposts of the army, where there is yet much to be done to re-establish the scattered Christian inhabitants, whence I join Fuad Pasha in the Lebanon, to which point he is shortly about to proceed from Beyrout, for the purpose of making sundry arrests among the Druses.

I have &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 33. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

I HAVE to inform your Lordship that I approve of the step which you took to place yourself on a confidential footing with your Provincial colleague M. de Rehfues, and the language you held to him on the Syrian question, as reported in your despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of the 16th ultimo.

of which you sent me a copy in your confidential report No. 26 of the 10th ultmo.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 256

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 31)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

I HAVE to acquaint your Lordship that I entirely approve of the course which you took at the eighth sitting of the Syrian Commission, as reported in your despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of the 13th ultmo, and that I agree in your observations as stated in the interpellation which you addressed to Fud Pasha with regard to the punishment of those connected with the massacres in Syria.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 257

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 35.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that I concur in the remarks which you made to M. Delard with a view of producing an agreement of your views, as reported in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 14th ultmo.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 258.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 36.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

WITH reference to your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 13th ultmo, reporting the nature of the French Commissioner's scheme for the settlement of the Lebanon, I have to instruct you to report to me the number of Maronite and Greek Christians in the Lebanon.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 259

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 37)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of the 15th ultmo, respecting the projects of your French and Russian colleagues for settling the Lebanon, I have to state that I consider your plan for the settlement of that country to be by far the best.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No.

No. 260

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 38.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople of the 17th ultmo, I have to acquaint you that I approve the line you took with regard to the punishment of the Druses at the tenth sitting of the Syrian Commission.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 261

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 39.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1860.

I HAVE received a copy of your despatch of the 18th November to Sir Henry Bulwer, enclosing a copy of a Table of the several plans for settling the Syrian question, and the various objections to the adoption of each of them; and I have to state to you that the Table in question is very useful.

I am, &c.
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 262

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — (Received December 5.)

(Confidential)

My Lord,

Beirut, November 23, 1860.

WITH reference to the complaints preferred by General de Beaufort against Fud Pasha's supposed connivance at the escape of the Druses, and your Lordship's despatch No. 26 of the 9th instant, I would like to state that such an accusation evinces a singular want of appreciation on the part of the French General of the motives which may be reasonably supposed to influence his Excellency's conduct.

It is perfectly certain that, whatever leniency political considerations may induce Fud Pasha to exhibit towards the bulk of the Druse nation, it is the evident interest, as it has always been the desire, of the Turkish authorities to compass the ruin of their Chiefs.

What reason, then, could induce his Excellency to connive at the escape of men whom he undoubtedly looks upon in the light of obnoxious vassals, when no good an opportunity presented itself for destroying their power and confiscating their estates?

There was another motive, moreover, which notoriously influenced his Excellency. For the first time in his life he entered upon the exercise of those military functions with which he has been invested, and undertook the conduct of troops. At considerable personal inconvenience he passed, by forced marches, towards Hasbeya, and personally superintended the measures taken to surround the band of fugitives. The difficulties of the wind, his lack of accurate information, and the superior agility of the Druses, defeated his intentions, but it is not likely he would have exacted such a price, and placed himself in a ridiculous position, had he really intended to destroy the Druses.

That the French General should look upon all his Excellency does

with a prejudiced eye does not surprise me. M. de Beaufort came to this country with the idea that its settlement was to be the result of his own activity and intelligence. Fuad Pasha he looks upon in some sort as a rival, and even the creation of the Commission does not seem to have been very congenial to his wishes. Neither is it possible that there should be absent from his mind a secret desire that Syria might become a field for the acquirement of military distinction. All these motives naturally lead him to depreciate Fuad Pasha's exertions, and perhaps, in some degree, now that simplicity of purpose with which he ought to engage in the restoration of harmony and order. I must add, with regret, that I cannot discover among any of my colleagues, except M. Weckbecker, that willingness to make allowance for the difficulties of Fuad Pasha's position which

With a precipitation but little becoming a man of business, M. Bécarré tries to drive his Excellency to levy, in eight days, an impossible tax on the town of Damascus, while M. de Rehfues loses no opportunity of assailing him with grave accusations, supported by very feeble evidence. It was only at the last sitting of the Conference that this latter gentleman stated that a caravan of camels, laden with powder and shot, had been sent from the Government stores of St. Jean d'Acre to the Druses in the

I that two English gentlemen had been witnesses of the fact, but, on further inquiry, it appeared that it was with the native dragoman of two British travellers that the story originated. I propose to examine

In conclusion, I beg to state that, although many of Fuad Pasha's measures may be open to criticism, although the march of his administration may be dilatory and feeble, although it may be difficult to attribute to him the lofty patriotism and that scrupulous integrity which characterize European Statesmen, yet, if we take into consideration the ambiguity of his position as champion of his Sovereign's authority and executor of the behests of Europe, if we make allowance for the paucity of his troops, the emptiness of his Treasury, the loneliness of his situation, the imperfection of his instruments, and the extreme gravity of the crisis, it must be admitted that he has displayed an amount of intelligence, courage, temper, and sincerity of purpose, which fairly entitles him to a greater amount of sympathy and indulgence than he receives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 263

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received December 3.)

No. 33,

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 23, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch of this day's date which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, inclosing a plan drawn up by M. Outrey, for the valuation and compensation of losses suffered by the Christian inhabitants of Damascus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 263

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, November 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, at the last sitting of the Commission, M. Outrey (copy of which I have the honour to inclose) for the assess-

ment of the penal tax to be imposed on the town of Damascus, should be adopted by the Commissioners.

At a previous meeting I had already declared myself very favourable to the principle of M. Outrey's scheme, but in compliance with a suggestion I had ventured to make, it had been agreed that before we committed ourselves to the calculations of a single individual, however worthy of our confidence, it would be well to postpone our decision on the subject until we should have time to compare them with those of other gentlemen to whom we might desire to refer.

Yesterday, however, M. Bécarré so far forgot this understanding as to propose that the total amount of the proposed tax, which, according to M. Outrey's plan, was to be paid in three instalments, extending over a period of fifteen months, should be levied within a week. This operation Fuad Pasha declared to be a simple impossibility, and corroborated his statement by the opinions he had taken of some of the leading Christian merchants of Damascus.

M. Bécarré persisted and threatened a division, stating that every one knew Damascus was a rich town, and that if compelled to sell the jewels of their wives, its Moslem citizens would easily furnish the amount within the time he mentioned.

I replied by stating, that it would be unwise to rush ourselves prematurely to so important a decision; that I quite agreed in thinking the tax should possess a penal character and that I was not even sure whether it might not be expedient somewhat to increase M. Outrey's total; but that we should only overreach ourselves, if our desire to exact an adequate amount of retribution led us into the adoption of measures so extreme as to become impracticable. As yet we were destitute of information.

M. Outrey must have had some good reason for selecting the method of payment by instalments in preference to a more summary process. Would it not be well to acquaint ourselves with his motives? If we were prepared to place such implicit confidence in his accuracy as to adopt almost without discussion his elaborate scheme, would it be wise capriciously to deprive it of one of its most important features, without so much as giving its author an opportunity of explaining his motives for its insertion.

As for myself, I had come so little prepared for that if M. Bécarré persisted in going to a division, I was content, that the Commission should first place itself

This view was supported by the Russian and the Austrian Representatives, the latter of whom stated that his Council had informed him that it would be impossible to effect an instantaneous collection of the entire sum; and a rather warm discussion between M. de Rehfues, M. Bécarré and Fuad Pasha, was concluded by my suggesting to M. Bécarré the expediency of bringing the Commission into direct collision with his Excellency on a point in which there was room for a very reasonable difference of opinion, until we should be in a position to meet his arguments by more positive data than the reputed wealth of an Oriental city.

To this proposal M. Bécarré very courteously acceded, and the question stands over for Monday next. In the meantime I have had a very long consultation with Mr. Rolson, Mr. Bunt, and Mr. Frey, one of the richest and most intelligent Christian merchants in Damascus, whose beautiful house has been burnt to the ground and who certainly cannot be suspected of any undue tenderness for the Moslems.

According to M. Outrey's estimation, the damage done at Damascus can be compensated by a sum of 1,500,000 piastres, or 1,200,000/ of this sum 34,000,000 piastres, or 280,000/, is to be levied on the city, 700,000/ on the villages in the neighbourhood, and 263,000/ to be contributed by the Porte. With M. Outrey's estimate of damages, Mr. Frey

their yearly income might be raised from its Moslem inhabitants without paralyzing the industrial energies of the city. According to a rough calculation I have made, it would appear that the tax proposed by M. Outrey would come to about 16 per cent. Since, therefore, M. Outrey's

estimate of damages does not fall short of that arrived at by a person interested in placing them at the highest figure possible, and as the assessment of the imposition he proposes is only a third of what a respectable though undoubtedly prejudiced man considers reasonable, we may conclude that his calculation possesses the merit of being on a liberal scale towards the Christians, and not immoderately severe upon the Moslems. With respect to the question of immediate payment or by instalments, Mr. F. is of opinion that no matter how violent might be the process, 10,000,000 piastres, or 50,000*l.*, is the utmost which could be wrung out of the inhabitants at a single squeeze.

It would seem, therefore, that the Commission would have been precipitate had we committed ourselves without inquiry to the principle insisted upon by Mr. Beard.

The moderate wealth of the inhabitants of Damascus may perhaps surprise your Excellency, but it must be remembered that, with the exception of perhaps five or six individuals, the most wealthy inhabitants enjoy an income of from more than 7000. to 1,0000 a year, although they may possess a certain amount of jewellery, valuables, and late val. in the present state of things, such articles could not be disposed of, even at a very degree of val.

I have, &c.

(Signed) **DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE**

Enclosure 2 in No. 403

of the City of the Association of a Local Taxation to Town of Hamden, Co

The committee on planning are elected by the

No 264

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell—(Received December 6.)

(No. 20. Confidential)

My Lord,

Beirut, November 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a confidential despatch, dated the 20th instant, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte respecting a conversation I have held with Count Bentivoglio, French Consul at this place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 264

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, November 20, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday Count Bentivoglio, the French Consul at this place, mentioned to me that during the course of a circuit he has been lately making in the Monotash he met a party of Christians on their way to Beirut. On enquiring of their business, he was informed that they were about to appear before the Extraordinary Tribunal in order to give evidence on behalf of Said Bek Jumblat. Upon this a conversation ensued, during the course of which it would appear that the Count pressed to know whether they really thought the Druse Chief innocent, and, on receiving an answer in the negative, he exhorted them to change the favourable testimony they were prepared to advance when he met them, into evidence damatory to the prisoner.

It is a circumstance for which hitherto I have been unable to account early part of Said Bek Jumblat's trial, some surprise at persons whom he himself had summoned into Court, the contrary of what they might under the circumstances be asserted. Since my conversation with Count Bentivoglio

Although it might be difficult to prove their identity, that they were the witnesses whom he met in the Mountain.

Should my conjecture be correct, I cannot but consider Count Bentivoglio's conduct on this occasion very imprudent. It is just possible that notwithstanding his helpless condition, influences may still exist sufficiently powerful to induce even Christians to bear false witness on behalf of the fallen Chief. So little regard is paid to truth in this country, that the prospect of a very slender and remote advantage is enough to secure any amount of perjury. It is conceivable, therefore, that these persons were sincere in their admission, when they told the Count they were on their way to state that which they knew to be untrue, but be that as it may, the effect upon the native mind of a mere whisper from a Consul is known to be so forcible, so acute are the least intelligent in detecting the hidden intention of a leading question, that persons in Count Bentivoglio's position should be careful not to act in such a way as unwittingly to lay themselves open to the charge of tampering with evidence on which is to depend the life of a human being.

When the time arrives for reviewing, in conjunction with my colleagues, the *procès-verbal* of the trial of Said Bek Jumblat, I shall take care that due allowance be made for this particular feature in the case. In the

I would venture to suggest to your Excellency that this it should be considered confidential

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 265

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell—(Received December 6.)

No.

My Lord,

Beirut, November 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have been in communication with the directors of the Ottoman Bank, with a view to recommending to them the negotiation of a loan of £1,000,000 at a very reasonable rate of interest.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 265

Lord Dufferin to Mr. Gilbertson.

My dear Mr. Gilbertson,

Beirut, November 21, 1860.

I SHOULD be very much obliged by your informing me whether, in the event of the finance of Syria being in any way detached from the monetary system of the Ottoman Empire, the revenues of the province would be considered security sufficient for a loan on reasonable terms of from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000.

I should be happy to receive, at the same time that you are kind enough to answer this inquiry, any observations you may have to make on the commercial prospects of this country.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

He is a young man of about 33, speaks French, and seems pretty intelligent; but I observed nothing in his conversation or countenance

that impressed me with the notion that he differed in any degree from the ordinary run of Maronite Emirs.

The antecedents of his family are obscure. His father was the first of the race who assumed the title of Sheikh, and Yusef himself only shared a Mulk with his elder brother.

Neither do his achievements seem more illustrious than his birth, when the only exertion he appears to have made during the late war consisted in collecting a body of 300 or 400 men, and remaining safe within the limits of the Kharouan while Zahleh was being besieged, within a short distance of Latakia.

Nevertheless, it is admitted it might be difficult to find a more capable person.

Under these circumstances, I trust your Excellency will consider I judged rightly in abstaining from offering the slightest opposition to his appointment when I was given to understand he would be acceptable to the French.

Moreover, as Yusef Karam is supposed to be very much in the hands of the Bishop Tobia, I did not think it inadvisable to allow the Greek portion of the Lebanon to have an opportunity of ascertaining the kind of the whole Mountain consigned to

Novikow has assured me in confidence that, unless constrained by government, he would never consent to have his co-religionists in the way of such a enter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inlosure 2 in No. 20

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,
Beyroul, November 21, 1860.
I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the tenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 14th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inlosure 3 in No. 20.

11th Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyroul, November 14, 1860.

Le quatorze Novembre, mil huit cent soixante.
Les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyroul, sous la présidence de son Excellence Fuaï Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi et demi.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques légères modifications.

Fuaï Pacha propose ensuite à la Commission d'examiner les diverses questions relatives à la répression et au châtiement des Druses. Les discussions vont commencer dans la Montagne; M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte y présidera lui-même. Mais auparavant il croit devoir prendre l'avis de la Commission sur le meilleur système de procédure à adopter, sur le nombre et la nature des peines qu'il infligera, sur les moyens qu'il y aura lieu d'employer pour arriver à la découverte des coupables. Chacun de ces points soulève de difficiles, et dans le sentiment qu'il a de la lourde responsabilité qui pèse sur lui, Fuaï Pacha demande à la Commission de vouloir bien l'éclairer de ses conseils.

Et d'abord quelle procédure devra-t-il adopter? Il y en a deux qui s'offrent à lui: l'une sommaire et expéditive, l'autre régulière, méthodique, et conforme aux lois régulières du pays. La première fournit de prompts

résultats, mais elle ne donne pas le temps de peser les preuves, et ne permet pas toujours de proportionner exactement la peine au degré de culpabilité. La seconde a l'inconvénient, non moins grave dans les circonstances présentes, de trop suspendre le châtiement. Peut-être à une situation exceptionnelle faut-il une justice exceptionnelle. Fuaï Pacha hésite entre ces deux systèmes. s'il use de la procédure sommaire, on l'accusera, comme à Damas, de frapper aveuglément; s'il a recours aux formalités de la procédure régulière, on l'accusera de tomber dans l'excès.

M. le Commissaire Français n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'il est, pour sa part, fermement convaincu que le système de la procédure sommaire est le seul qu'il soit non seulement convenable, mais même possible d'appliquer. La procédure régulière et l'application des règles ordinaires de la justice entraîneraient, sinon la condamnation, au moins l'arrestation et la mise en accusation de tous les Druses, car tous ont trempé plus ou moins dans les crimes.

Les Druses en ont répandu de si nombreux, qu'ils s'exposeraient au reproche de barbarie.

M. le Commissaire Prussien partage complètement l'opinion de M. Hédard. Il insiste sur cette considération décisive à ses yeux, que la répression des Druses ne sera efficace qu'un le châtiement est prompt et sûr.

M. Novikow est du même avis. Il fait remarquer d'ailleurs que la procédure régulière ayant été suivie à l'égard des Chefs Druses actuellement détenus à Beyroul, cette circonstance est de nature à mettre Fuaï Pacha dans une situation difficile.

Quant à l'inférieur qui n'a pas été arrêté, il faut nécessairement procéder avec ménagement, mais toutefois les excès ne doivent pas recommencer.

M. le Commissaire Autrichien est également d'avis que la procédure régulière ne peut être appliquée.

M. Hédard. Il est évident, dit-il, que la culpabilité étant partielle chez les Druses, il est impossible de procéder régulièrement. Il faut se contenter de frapper vite et fort. Quant au reste de la nation Druse, M. de Weckbecker est d'avis qu'il y aurait un moyen indirect de l'atteindre, en la privant à l'avenir de tous les droits politiques dont elle était autrefois en possession. M. de Weckbecker ajoute que la solution de la question, posée par la Porte, est de nature à être résolue.

En aux crimes et délits commis par les Druses. Si la Porte les considère comme des délits purement civils, et d'individus à individus, il ne semble guère que la procédure régulière puisse être abandonnée. Mais si au contraire la Sublime Porte voit dans les massacres des Chrétiens par les Druses, un acte de rébellion, un crime de lèse-majesté, alors il est clair que le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, tant que durera l'état de siège et de rébellion de la Montagne, doit procéder contre les Druses sommairement, militairement, et dans le libre exercice de ses pleins pouvoirs, sans être lié par les règles de la procédure ordinaire.

Son Excellence Fuaï Pacha fait remarquer à ce sujet que les quatorze chefs Druses actuellement détenus à Beyroul sont en effet poursuivis par deux chefs: premièrement, comme coupables de n'avoir point obéi au mandat qu'ils avaient reçu de pourvoir, en qualité de Souverains, à la sécurité de tous les habitants de leurs districts; secondement, comme complices des crimes commis contre des particuliers. Quant aux autres Druses, ils sont poursuivis par contumace.

Lord Dufferin trouve que le mode de procédure qui a été approuvé par ses collègues est en effet le seul que les circonstances permettent d'adopter, choix pénible sans doute, mais inévitable, puisque le mode d'une procédure régulière serait inapplicable. Mais Lord Dufferin croit devoir ensuite faire observer que les deux systèmes étant inconciliables, le choix du système de la procédure sommaire exclut complètement l'emploi de la procédure régulière. Si donc on inflige aux Druses, d'une manière sommaire, un châtiment qui semblerait découler du principe barbare de la décapitation, ce sacrifice accompli, les Druses qui auront survécu devront être protégés contre de nouvelles poursuites par une amnistie générale.

Ce dernier vœu exprimé par Lord Dufferin, et le mot amnistie en par sa Seigneurie, ayant il me semble lieu à des interprétations diverses, le Commissaire Français n'étant élevé avec énergie contre toute pensée d'une amnistie politique au profit de la nation Druse, M. le Commissaire développe son idée, et il résulte de ses explications qu'il veut dire une garantie à donner aux Druses pour la conservation de leurs droits civils, mais que, en ce qui concerne leurs droits publics, étant parfaitement d'accord avec ses collègues pour reconnaître que le Gouvernement avait le droit de frapper dans ses privilèges politiques (tribun qui avait commis des crimes si abominables).

Les Représentants des cinq Patriarches ayant tous exprimé un avis favorable à l'adoption du système de la procédure exceptionnelle et sommaire, Fuad Pacha crut devoir poser à la Commission d'autres questions subsidiaires, se rattachant à celle qui vient d'être examinée. Devra-t-il diriger sur Beyrouth et y réunir tous les Druses qui seront arrêtés dans la Montagne, ou instituer une sorte de tribunal ambulatoire qui se transportant successivement dans les diverses parties de la Montagne, jugera et fera exécuter les coupables sur le théâtre même de leurs crimes?

M. Beclard, répondant à cette question, est d'avis que la justice sommaire, telle qu'on en principe doit être rendue sur les lieux, pour que son effet soit à la fois plus prompt et plus sensible.

Aucune discussion ne s'élève sur ce point, que tous les membres de la Commission envisagent de la même manière.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha pose ensuite la question de savoir, s'il devra établir dans la Montagne, comme à Damas, plusieurs catégories de coupables, correspondant à plusieurs catégories de coupables, et appliquer la mort, la bagne, la réclusion, l'exil, selon le degré apparent de culpabilité.

Sur ce point encore M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte

se prononce en faveur de la procédure sommaire, et il est d'avis que, quoique l'on doit avoir recours au système de la procédure régulière, on ne doit pas l'appliquer aux Druses, car ils ne sont pas des coupables ordinaires, mais des coupables exceptionnels, et leur traitement doit être différent.

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M. Novikow fait observer que c'est là un danger contre lequel M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire peut se prémunir. Ce n'est pas une question de vie ou de mort, mais de la dignité du Gouvernement du Sultan. Ce n'est pas une question de vie ou de mort, mais de la dignité du Gouvernement du Sultan. Ce n'est pas une question de vie ou de mort, mais de la dignité du Gouvernement du Sultan.

nation. La répression des Druses devant encore moins consister dans des peines individuelles que dans un ensemble de mesures propres à rétablir la nation entière à l'impuissance de nuire aux populations chrétiennes. On pourrait par exemple, dit M. le Commissaire Russe, condamner à mort tous ceux qui passent pour avoir commis des atrocités et plus d'assassinats.

Lord Dufferin saisit l'occasion qui s'offre à lui, de rappeler que les Druses n'ont exercé aucune violence contre les femmes.

M. le Commissaire Français, résumant la pensée unanime de la Commission, propose d'établir trois catégories de coupables, passibles de la peine de mort :

1. Les instigateurs, ayant ou non pris part personnellement aux massacres.

2. Les chefs de bandes qui ont dirigé les assassins et les incendiaires.

3. Les individus dénommés par la voix publique, comme ayant commis le plus grand nombre de meurtres, ou comme ayant agi dans des circonstances qui aggravent leur culpabilité.

Ces trois catégories de coupables, passibles de la même peine, étant admises, Fuad Pacha demande, s'il y aura d'autres degrés de culpabilité auxquels pourraient correspondre des peines de second et de troisième

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M. Bédard, sur la prière de ses collègues, donne lecture d'un rapport de M. Outrey, Consul de France à Damas, et de deux Tableaux annexés à ce rapport, établissant, le premier, la répartition de l'impôt extraordinaire à lever sur la ville, la banlieue, et la province de Damas; le second, la répartition du montant de cette contribution.

La Commission décide qu'une copie de ces deux Tableaux sera communiquée à chacun de ses membres. Elle entend ensuite la lecture de plusieurs autres projets, élaborés par son Excellence Fuad Pacha. Elle en demande également communication.

Avant que la séance ne soit levée, M. le Commissaire Français appelle l'attention de la Commission sur une question qui a déjà été posée dans la séance précédente, celle de l'impôt du recrutement auquel, pour la première fois, la population Chrétienne de la Syrie vient d'être soumise. M. Bédard trouve au moins inopportun l'établissement d'un tel impôt dans un moment où les peuples de Syrie sont accablés par tant d'infortunes. Il craint que la Sublime Porte, en imposant cet impôt, ne cherche à prouver à ces populations qu'elle leur porte ombrage, en remettant à des temps meilleurs la perception de cet impôt d'une légalité douteuse. Un tel ajournement aurait d'ailleurs, aux yeux de M. Bédard, l'avantage d'empêcher qu'il ne soit préjugé en rien sur les dispositions que la Commission aura à prendre ultérieurement pour la réorganisation politique et administrative de la Montagne.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha répond à M. Bédard que l'impôt de recrutement n'est pas un impôt exceptionnel à toutes les populations Chrétiennes de l'Empire; on peut regretter assurément que cette charge vienne se joindre, dans les circonstances présentes, aux autres charges de la Syrie, mais la Syrie est elle-même appelée à bénéficier du produit de cet impôt, puisque ce produit constitue une des ressources qui seront consacrées au soulagement des victimes de la guerre.

Dans l'état présent des choses, ajoute Fuad Pacha, le Gouvernement est obligé de faire appel à toutes les ressources dont il dispose légalement, et c'est à cette conclusion seulement qu'il pourra faire face à toutes les exigences de la situation. Quant aux abus de perception, il n'en produit, la Sublime Porte ne saurait en aucune façon en porter la responsabilité, attendu que ce n'est pas elle qui opère cette perception. Elle se fait par l'intermédiaire des Chefs de chaque communauté, auxquels il est demandé une somme totale qu'il leur est loisible de répartir entre tous les membres de la communauté, comme bon leur semble, et suivant telle règle que leur suggère leur propre équité.

M. le Commissaire Français observe, en terminant, que cette question n'a d'ailleurs aucun trait à la Montagne et à sa réorganisation à venir, puisque la Montagne, en vertu des règlements particuliers qui la régissent, ne peut être et n'est soumise à aucun autre impôt que l'impôt unique et fixe, pour le paiement duquel les Maronites et les Druses sont en retard de deux années.

M. Novikow fait observer qu'il serait selon lui convenable de considérer les populations Chrétiennes du littoral de la Syrie, dont les intérêts ont été gravement compromis par les événements de la Montagne, comme devant être, momentanément au moins, exemptes de l'impôt du recrutement.

Fuad Pacha objecte que, si certaines localités du littoral se trouvent dans ce cas, c'est aux Chefs de la communauté dont elles relèvent qu'il appartient de les épargner dans la répartition du montant total imposé à la communauté.

La discussion sur cet objet n'étant pas poussée plus avant, la séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 4 in No. 206.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrouth, November 22, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Excellency copy of an extract of a private letter from a very respectable American Missionary, containing an account of a most extraordinary circumstance, before crediting every particular I should like to make Mr. Benton's report the subject of further inquiry, with the result of which I shall have the honour of acquainting your Excellency by next mail.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLARKEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 207.

The Rev. W. Benton to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.)

November 22, 1860.

ALLOW me herewith to submit my statement that the French gentleman M. Portia, of Betathir, on charge that the people of Betathir had received in their village Druse property, demanded from every tax-payer the presentation of six cattols of rams, and a certain quantity of wheat and barley at his factory at Betathir within six days from Saturday last, and threatened if it was not done to come with French soldiers and plunder the village. And on Friday of last week he took by force some ten centars, 1000 cattols of rams, twenty cattols of wheat, and other property from the house of the Orthodox Mr. Athir, and whipped him and his wife, and used uncivil language to his search for Druse property.

I most certainly believe and depose and say that this statement is faithful and true, and I respectfully do commend the same to the special consideration of his Lordship the English Commissioner.

Inclosure 6 in No. 207.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrouth, November 22, 1860.

IT IS likely that the Greek Ch. and complain to my Russian colleague M. Novikow, that the Greek Ch. of the Lebanon were to be arbitrarily exempted from a share in them? If we were to force from the Porte a

concession which would virtually compromise the independence of the province, would it not be better to make the most of our bargain and extend the advantages to be derived from European intervention, not only to the Maronites, but to all the Christians of the country?

An independent Lebanon implied a Maronite ascendancy: a Greek and Maronite duality being simply impossible. But by assimilating the position of the Maronites to that of the other Christian sects, a more united sympathy would be created in Europe in behalf of the entire Christian community of Syria; whereas, if the French were allowed to retain an exceptional supremacy for their own protégés, it may be expected they will become indifferent to the fate of the members of the other rites.

It would be preferable therefore to decrease the degree to which one sect of Christians were to be rendered autonomous in order to spread a more limited independence over a larger surface.

This, after all, might be easily effected. If only the province were conducted on the principle of its individual responsibility, our object would be attained. With such security for its good behaviour, this method would imply, a Turkish administration would prove not merely the only possible, but the only desirable, medium for the conduct of affairs. And under these circumstances a single ruler for the whole province might be preferable to a levy of subordinate Pashas constantly sheltering themselves behind their instructions, and refusing to redress the most crying evils until they shall have communicated with a distant capital.

To all this M. Novikow gave a very satisfied attention, and I think I may assert that unless his private opinion is modified by what he hears from home, my Russian colleague would be willing to adopt all the main features of the scheme I had the honour to submit to your Excellency's consideration in my despatch of the 4th instant.

That M. Novikow still clings to the notion of a Greek Christian republic cannot be denied, yet, when I reported to you that he had diminished the responsibility of the Chief, and that he had sought to tempt him to trouble the system you had imposed, so perpetuating the worst features of the old organization, he seemed to waver in his views, and finally consented to accede to the principle I was anxious to establish, provided only the Christianity of the Mountain was declared to be inviolable.

So thus I replied that the Mountain had never yet been wholly Christian, and the conversation concluded by my saying that I had little to settle all matters of detail provided the imperial responsibility and consequent supremacy of the Government was fully acknowledged.

I reason to believe that M. de Weckbecker coincides in the above views. Consequently had I authority from your Excellency to submit to the Commission the plan proposed in my despatch above mentioned, there is a considerable probability of its meeting with the approbation of my Turkish, Russian, Prussian, and Austrian colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

No. 267

(Consul-General Colquhoun to Lord J. Russell.—Received December 6.)

(No. 155.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, November 25, 1860.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 149 of the 7th inst. I enclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a private communication from Cherif Pasha on the subject of assistance given to the sufferers at Beyrout.

Your Lordship will observe that Sanli Pasha has generously given 500 ardels (about 2500 bushels) of wheat. I have made arrangements

with a highly respectable shipping agent here for putting this wheat in sacks, and for distributing it as seed, and thus, for, as the quality is of the best, it will be distributed as seed, and thus, perhaps, we may avert what is at present very threatening, namely, a famine next year.

I have conveyed, through Cherif Pasha, my grateful sense of the Viceroy's generosity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT G. COLQUHOUN

Inclosure in No. 267

Cherif Pasha to Consul-General Colquhoun

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général,

Caire, le 17 Novembre, 1860

MON Altesse le Viceroy, auquel mon Excellence Kâim Bey n'a pas eu l'honneur de donner communication de la lettre par laquelle vous priez mon Altesse de fournir des vivres et des vêtements aux Chrétiens de Syrie, m'a chargé de vous répondre que pour ce qui concerne le riz, il se trouve dans l'impossibilité absolue d'en envoyer dans cette contrée, parcequ'il n'en est point approvisionné pour le moment. Mais, à défaut de riz, mon Altesse, toujours disposée à venir au secours des malheureux, a donné immédiatement des ordres pour que 500 ardels de blé fussent expédiés du plus tôt en Syrie.

Quant aux vêtements mon Altesse serait également dans l'impossibilité de répondre à votre désir; car elle ne borne habituellement à faire venir les dits vêtements, tels que pantalons, capotes et autres, au fur et à mesure des besoins de ses troupes, et ne peut ainsi en avoir un approvisionnement.

Mon Altesse regrette vivement que les circonstances ne lui permettent de satisfaire entièrement à vos intentions généreuses; mais elle est persuadée, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, que vous tiendrez compte de ces circonstances, et que vous verrez avant tout qu'elle a fait tout ce qu'elle peut faire pour le moment.

Je suis, &c.
CHERIF PASHA

No. 268.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 40.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 7, 1860

WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd ultimo to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, I have to acquaint your Lordship that I approve the language which you held to M. Novikow relative to the expediency of settling the question as to the Lebanon in accordance with the principles laid down in the plan which you have proposed for that purpose.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 269.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 12.)

(No. 1,593.)

My Lord,

Paris, December 11, 1860

I HAD a conversation of some length yesterday with M. Thouvenel upon the affairs of Syria.

To sum up the result as succinctly as possible, M. Thouvenel repeated

I replied that I received M. Thouvenel's assurances with satisfaction, and that I would convey them to Her Majesty. I added that I feared that General Beaufort did not quite understand the position in which he was placed, and that, with an impatience which, perhaps, was not altogether unnatural, he seemed at times on the point of taking matters into his own hands. But I must recall to M. Thouvenel's recollection that the French troops in Syria represented European troops, and that beyond the necessary authority which every General must exercise for the safety of his troops, General Beaufort was not a free agent, and ought to take no step without the concurrence of the Commissioner sitting at Beyrout. Moreover, I said, General Beaufort's language sometimes implied that he was in Syria for an unlimited length of time, whereas

P.S.—I think it necessary to add, after reading over my despatch, M. Thouvenel, while pronouncing himself in favour of the Lebanon giving its own autonomy, does not mean to insist that the populations be nominally under the Porte's Governor in Syria.

Il est inutile de vous dire, M. l'Ambassadeur, combien la Sublime Porte est satisfaite de voir Lord John Russell partager à cet égard
~~une opinion qui concorde avec celle du Gouvernement britannique~~
 l'opinion que la mesure proposée produira son effet, nous n'en doutons pas, et préviendra
 nous d'une difficulté ultérieure dans cette malheureuse question de la
 Syrie. La Sublime Porte n'a jamais considéré l'intervention Européenne
 comme nécessaire ou utile ; et, si elle y a adhéré, c'était uniquement par
 déférence pour ses alliés et pour donner une preuve nouvelle de sa
 confiance illimitée dans leurs dispositions à son égard. Mais si, à une
 époque où l'Europe voyait toute la Syrie être en feu, cette mesure pouvait
 se justifier, aujourd'hui elle n'a plus sa raison d'être, après que la bul-

poursuivi a été en grande partie atteint, et que les villes qui ont été...
par le seul prestige de l'autorité du Sultan, représentée par son Excellence
Fuad Pacha.

Il en résulte que l'intervention, perdant ainsi de jour en jour
caractère d'un secours accordé à la Sublime Porte, ne pourrait plus
comme vous l'avez si bien fait remarquer à Lord John Russell, qu'un
embarras et un obstacle à la pacification de la Montagne et au rétablisse-
ment complet de l'ordre.

Les Puissances ne peuvent manquer de s'en rendre compte; et
l'appréciation de la question par le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique
nous est un sûr garant qu'aucune suite ne sera donnée au projet d'
prolongation de l'occupation, et d'une augmentation quelconque des so-
ciétés en Syrie.

Veuillez, M. l'Ambassadeur, exprimer nos remerciements à sa S...
pour ses dispositions à l'égard de ce projet, et agréer, &c.

(Signed) 1111

No. 271

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 15.)

No. 34.)

My Lord,

Beirut, November 28, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's infor-
mation, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's
Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 271

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's
information, copy of the Protocol of the eleventh sitting of the Sy-
rian Commission held on the 17th instant.

I have &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 271.

Protocol of the Eleventh Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beirut,
November 17, 1860.

Le Samedi, dix-sept Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les
Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth, sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha,
la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté, après quelques modifications.
L'ordre du jour appelle ensuite l'examen des questions relatives à la
réparation des dommages soufferts par les Chrétiens de Damas. Son
Excellence Fuad Pacha fait observer à ce sujet qu'il y a deux principes
à considérer : le premier, d'une somme fixe, approximative, et déterminée à l'avance, et le
second, d'une enquête judiciaire préalable, de nature à permettre
d'établir rigoureusement le chiffre des dommages soufferts par chaque
en particulier.

Une conversation s'engage entre MM. les Commissaires sur les avan-
tages et les inconvénients de ces deux systèmes, et après une mûre délibé-
ration il est entendu que l'on adoptera le principe d'une somme fixe et

déterminée à l'avance. La Commission est unanimement d'avis
qu'il faut s'en tenir au principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée, après la
répartition de laquelle toute réclamation en indemnité ou complément
d'indemnité sera interdite. M. Novikow propose à la Commission de
fixer, du moins une réserve en faveur des établissements religieux. Ces éta-
blissements, dit-il, méritent qu'on leur témoigne un intérêt spécial. Leurs biens
mobiliers et immobiliers proviennent en majeure partie de fondations
pieuses, et cette circonstance ne permet pas de les placer sur le même pied
que les biens des simples particuliers. La transaction que ceux-ci peuvent
accepter ne semble pas possible avec les établissements religieux, qui
ne sauraient transiger avec la volonté des donateurs qui n'existent plus. En
outre, les établissements religieux pouvant être assimilés pour le matériel
de leurs pertes aux propriétaires privés les plus modestes, il est juste et moral
d'établir une distinction entre les bijoux, la vaisselle d'or ou d'argent qui
ont appartenu à de simples particuliers, et les vases sacrés ou autres
objets précieux, servant aux cérémonies du culte et entourés de la vénéra-
tion de tous les Chrétiens. Il serait donc convenable, selon M. Novikow,
de créer une exception en faveur des établissements religieux, et de les
mettre à même de recevoir, non point par catégories, mais individuellement,
le montant intégral des pertes qu'ils trouveraient avoir souffertes.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha remarque que la motion de M. Novikow
peut être considérée comme étant jusqu'à un certain point résolue par la
décision prise par la Commission, d'établir une distinction entre les établis-
sements religieux et les simples particuliers. Il observe que la Commission
a déjà décidé que les pertes des établissements religieux seraient évaluées
séparément, et qu'elle ne saurait admettre une somme fixe et déterminée
pour tous. M. Novikow répond que son intention n'est pas de proposer une
exception, mais de proposer une somme fixe et déterminée, comme minimum,
à ajouter à la somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance, comme minimum, une
sorte de réserve extensible, moyennant laquelle on pourrait indemniser
ceux que l'on reconnaîtrait plus tard ne l'avoir pas été suffisamment.
C'est là, selon M. Novikow, un tempérament utile à apporter à la rigueur
du système sommaire adopté par la Commission. M. le Commissaire
Russe fait observer que cette restriction devrait, dans sa pensée, s'appliquer
principalement aux dernières catégories, composée d'individus névrosés
pour lesquels une différence de quelque millions de piastres ne
paraît pas être importante.

M. Bédard est d'avis que l'idée de M. Novikow, si elle était réalisée,
ne constituerait pas seulement une modification, mais entraînerait le
renversement complet du système dont la Commission juge l'emploi
nécessaire. Ce que veut la Commission, c'est régler promptement et
régler d'urgence, en évitant la longueur interminable des procès particu-
liers, une grande question d'intérêt public. C'est pour cela qu'elle croit
devoir garantir aux victimes une somme totale d'indemnité dont e-
lles se contenteront, dès qu'elles n'auront plus à en espérer d'autres. A
l'on ajoute à cette somme fixe un fonds indéterminé, destiné à payer des
indemnités oubliées ou des compléments d'indemnité alors on retombe
dans l'incertitude et dans l'inconvénient des procès particuliers, per-
sonne ne sera satisfait de son lot, le fonds de réserve deviendra le point de mo-
de toutes les contestations. La question de réparation traînera en longueur
et l'on perdra ainsi tout le bénéfice politique et moral du système que la
Commission a cru devoir adopter.

Les divers autres membres de la Commission étant également d'avis
qu'il faut s'en tenir au principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée, après la
répartition de laquelle toute réclamation en indemnité ou complément
d'indemnité sera interdite, M. Novikow propose à la Commission de
fixer, du moins une réserve en faveur des établissements religieux. Ces éta-
blissements, dit-il, méritent qu'on leur témoigne un intérêt spécial. Leurs biens
mobiliers et immobiliers proviennent en majeure partie de fondations
pieuses, et cette circonstance ne permet pas de les placer sur le même pied
que les biens des simples particuliers. La transaction que ceux-ci peuvent
accepter ne semble pas possible avec les établissements religieux, qui
ne sauraient transiger avec la volonté des donateurs qui n'existent plus. En
outre, les établissements religieux pouvant être assimilés pour le matériel
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pour tous. M. Novikow répond que son intention n'est pas de proposer une
exception, mais de proposer une somme fixe et déterminée, comme minimum,
à ajouter à la somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance, comme minimum, une
sorte de réserve extensible, moyennant laquelle on pourrait indemniser
ceux que l'on reconnaîtrait plus tard ne l'avoir pas été suffisamment.

établissements, comme des Consuats et des propriétés mobilières des sujets étrangers. Le chiffre total de l'indemnité collective dont s'occupe actuellement la Commission, ne saurait donc en tout état de cause s'appliquer qu'à trois espèces de personnes: (1), aux sujets Chrétiens du Sultan, protégés ou non par une Puissance étrangère; (2), aux sujets étrangers, en ce qui concerne leurs biens immobiliers; (3), aux établissements religieux indigènes.

Sans émettre aucun doute sur la différence fondamentale qui existe entre les propriétés étrangères et les propriétés indigènes, M. Novikow a unanimement admis, pour l'indemnité, une somme totale à répartir entre eux par catégories.

Il est trop nombreux pour que l'évaluation exacte de leurs pertes, et par conséquent qu'eux-mêmes préféreraient recevoir une indemnité inférieure peut-être à ce qui leur serait rigoureusement dû, mais payable de suite, plutôt que de supporter les délais d'une enquête judiciaire, longue, et minutieuse. Ce motif n'est pas pour les communautés religieuses, qui ne sont qu'au nombre de cinq, et qui ont la faculté d'attendre, plus que de simples particuliers, le paiement de tout ce qui leur est dû, pourvu toutefois que la vérification ne tarde pas trop en longueur. M. le Commissaire Russe ajoute que son Excellence Fouad Pacha pourrait se faire renseigner à cet égard par les Chefs mêmes de ces communautés, et il termine en déclarant qu'il maintient sa proposition.

M. le Président de la Commission invite alors chacun des membres à s'exprimer, successivement et par ordre alphabétique, son avis sur la proposition de M. Novikow.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche admet la convenance d'une enquête préalable à l'égard des établissements religieux, mais il demande à quelle nature de ressources on fera appel pour les indemniser, si le chiffre de leur indemnité n'est établi que postérieurement à l'imposition extraordinaire et en dehors de cet impôt. M. de Weckbecker exprime alors la crainte que, placés en dehors de cette grande mesure de l'impôt qui seule garantit l'indemnisation, les établissements religieux ne souffrent en réalité de la proposition que M. Novikow vient de faire dans l'intention de les favoriser.

M. le Commissaire Français pense que la Commission doit se tenir, aussi fermement attachée que possible, au principe du système qu'elle a déjà adopté. Il est avantageux, dit M. Bédard, que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman puisse faire connaître, en une seule fois et le plus tôt possible, le montant total, c'est-à-dire le chiffre complet des indemnités que son Gouvernement garantit aux populations Chrétiennes. L'effet moral en sera plus grand. Mais la Commission peut, sans abandonner le principe convenu, donner à l'enquête sur les pertes subies par les Chrétiens, et notamment par les établissements religieux indigènes, tout le degré de réclamation désirable. Le projet qu'il a eu l'honneur de soumettre à la Commission dans la séance précédente, et qui a servi de point de départ à la discussion, n'est qu'un simple document. La Commission a pu en adopter le principe, mais elle n'est pas tenue pour cela de le suivre dans tous ses détails, et chacun des membres de la Commission, d'après ses propres informations, sentira peut-être le besoin de proposer d'autres chiffres que ceux qui sont indiqués dans les deux tableaux annexés au rapport de M. Outrey. En ce qui concerne les établissements religieux indigènes, M. Bédard pense que, sans rendre interminable le règlement de leur indemnité, par l'adoption à leur égard du principe de la réclamation judiciaire et individuelle, la Commission ferait bien de réunir, dans une de ses prochaines séances, toutes les informations que ses membres auront recueillies séparément, et de fixer seulement alors le chiffre des sommes qui seront payées à ces établissements.

M. le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne réserve à son tour le droit qui appartient à chacun des membres de la Commission, de rechercher par elle-même quelle peut être au juste l'étendue des pertes éprouvées par les habitants civils ou religieux de Damas. Il cite en substance les renseignements

qu'il lui ont été fournis par une personne digne de confiance, et d'après laquelle une somme de 1,240,000 sterling serait suffisante pour servir à l'indemnisation générale des Chrétiens de Damas. Lord Dufferin ne peut donc qu'adopter le moyen terme proposé par M. Bédard.

M. le Commissaire Prussien déclare également l'adopter, mais sans avoir égard à la nature religieuse des établissements dont il s'agit, et quels à ses yeux ne peuvent prétendre à aucune faveur. S'il y avait ajouté expressément M. le Commissaire Prussien, une différence à établir entre les biens religieux et les biens civils, elle devrait être au profit de ces derniers, car l'Eglise peut être pauvre, et les établissements religieux vivent à la rigueur de leurs richesses, tandis que les familles, pourvues non seulement de leurs objets de luxe, mais de tout ce qui est indispensable à la vie, lui paraissent devoir inspirer une plus grande pitié.

M. le Commissaire Russe déclare que le principe de la réclamation qu'il réclamait pour les établissements religieux indigènes étant admis pour toutes les catégories, il y adhère complètement et appuie la proposition de M. le Commissaire Français.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, voyant la Commission toute entière se rallier à cette proposition, en résume les termes, et il est entendu que chacun des Commissaires apportera, à la séance de Mercredi en huit ou Samedi prochain, si faire se peut, le résultat des informations qu'il aura recueillies sur la nature et l'étendue, aussi précises que possible, des pertes éprouvées par les établissements religieux indigènes de Damas.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures)

Inclosure 3 in No. 271.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, November 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th inst. in relation to the statement made by M. de Heffner at the last sitting of the Conference, that ammunition from the Government stores of Acro had been lately forwarded to the Druses of the Hauran. I am glad to hear that the statement is all the more important as it was perfectly voluntary on the part of M. Keram, and was in no degree a reply to a leading question.

I have, &c.
Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE

Inclosure 4 in No. 271.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, November 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter I have addressed to Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers relative to the statement made by M. de Heffner at the last sitting of the Conference, that ammunition from the Government stores of Acro had been lately forwarded to the Druses of the Hauran.

Your Excellency will perceive by Mr. Rogers' reply, copy of which I have also the honour to enclose, that the statement has no ground to have been an adequate foundation for so grave a charge.

It is certainly to be regretted that more care should not be taken in sifting evidence upon the faith of which facts so damnable to the Turkish Government are formally submitted to the consideration of the Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 271

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Rogers.

Sir,

Beyrout, November 24, 1860.

A REPORT having reached me that a caravan of camels, laden with ammunition supplied from the Government stores of Acre, was seen proceeding, accompanied by Druses, in the direction of the Hauran, I should be glad to know whether such a circumstance has come to your knowledge.

I address this inquiry more especially to you, as I am told the fact was certified by a dragoman in the service of two English travellers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 271

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's letter of this day's date, and, in reply, to state that a short time before I left Caïffa, two English gentlemen, named Dr. Hooker and Mr. D. Hanbury, arrived there, and I was informed by them, and by their dragoman Gabriel Schenbr, a Maltese resident at Jerusalem, that on or about the 1st instant, at or near Medjdel Kirun, they had observed a caravan going eastwards, that the dragoman asked the camel-driver, who happened to be a Druse, what he was carrying, but he received an evasive answer, he then asked a Turkish soldier (but whether he was a Regular or an Irregular I do not remember), who told him that the camels were laden with ammunition. The said dragoman's suspicions were raised by these circumstances.

As soon as I had an opportunity, I made inquiries at Caïffa, from people who had been in Acre, and I was distinctly informed that the ammunition in question was being forwarded to Damascus, and I was satisfied that the circumstances did not merit further investigation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS

Inclosure 7 in No. 271

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, November 28, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Excellency's information, copy of a report by Mr. Vice-Consul Rogers of the disagreeable occurrence alluded to in my previous despatch of the 22nd instant, as having lately taken place in the neighbourhood of Bhamdon.

It would seem that Mr. Benton's statement is fully borne out by the facts of the case. A private person professedly armed with authority by

the French General, and supported by French troops, though in no way recognized by Fuad Pasha, descends upon a Christian village, beats the French soldiers, and drives the Christians from their houses, giving up to the French soldiers the inhabitants under pain of their houses being given up to the French soldiers.

Under the auspices of the Commander of an auxiliary force in a friendly country it is not to be expected that the authority of the Native Government can be long respected.

When I requested M. Bédard to account for the circumstance, he stated that the gentleman in question must be considered merely to have acted as an interpreter to the French officer in command, while M. de Beaufort seemed inclined to make light of the occurrence, inasmuch as L. Excellence Fuad Pasha had consented to accept his disavowal of all complicity in the transaction.

To say one, however, admitted, like myself, to the confidence of his Excellency, it is very plain that these acts of intolerable violence and usurpation render him justly indignant. He has even taken some not very effectual measures to reassert the outraged dignity of his Government, but it is evident that the ambiguous and independent position of the French General imposes on his nervous susceptibilities, and keeps him in a state of perpetual embarrassment.

Perhaps it might be an exaggeration to assert that M. Porta's conduct is an ordinary instance of the system practised by French Agents in this country, but it may be undoubtedly accepted as a true, though not a typical, instance of the system. It is a system which tends to bring the Government into contempt, to stimulate discontent, and render the districts they occupy as little amenable to Turkish control as possible, and appear to be their unremitting endeavour.

Under these circumstances, I beg to express my opinion that the continuance of the occupation of the Lebanon by the French force is highly prejudicial to the interests of the Porte. As I have already observed in my letter to Major Fraser, a wound irritated by the presence of a foreign substance would sooner heal than the troubles of the Mountain be composed so long as the French army remains within its precincts. Full authority should be given to Fuad Pasha to order its return to Beyrout. Its presence is not necessary to the preservation of peace or to the security of the Mixed districts. Indeed, so pernicious am I beginning to consider its influence, that I am almost prepared to say it would be well that it should be at once withdrawn from the country. Upon this extreme contingency, however, I should be glad, for the present, to reserve my opinion.

In this place, a universal opinion prevails among all the Europeans, that immediately on its departure a massacre of the Christians would ensue. Such a fear I believe to be entirely unfounded. Though undoubtedly its presence was at first quite a necessity, I have long been convinced that Fuad Pasha is in a position to exercise perfect control over the most fanatical portion of the population.

But when I consider the means of agitation at the disposal of the priesthood, the real panic still extant among the Christians, and the determination of the French to resort to the least reputable means at their disposal for creating such appearances as may seem to render their departure impossible, I am disposed to think that unnecessary as is their presence as long as Fuad Pasha exercises unlimited control, it will require considerable deliberation to prepare the way for their final evacuation of the country.

The reconcentration of the whole French army in the neighbourhood of Beyrout is, however, a most important and desirable preliminary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 8 in No. 271

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin

My Lord,

Beyrout, November 26, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I went to Bhandun, where I visited Mr. Benton, from whom I gained necessary information, and on the following morning I proceeded to Metathur, where I found the French flag hoisted over a building in connection with M. Portalis' factory, and many French soldiers lounging about.

Arrived at the house of the Greek priest Mikhael, I made inquiries about the recent proceedings of M. Portalis and of the French soldiers. I took the depositions of the said priest, his wife, and his son Elias, which agree in all essential points.

The evidence is to this effect:—About ten days ago M. F. Portalis sent for the Christians of the village, and told them that if any of them had property belonging to the Druses they were to keep it, subject to his orders, and not to restore it to the owners. Elias, son of the priest, answered M. Portalis, informing him that a long time ago a Druse named Khalil Hakim had hired a room from him, but that he had lately fled to the Haurna leaving a little property in the room, and before starting he had thrown the key to his (Elias') mother. That when he Elias found the Druse had left the key and gone away, requiring more space for his harvest of ramsin, he stored some in the said room. M. Portalis was apparently satisfied with this statement, and said that he only required Druse property.

When the soldiers came to search the Christian houses he (Elias) reminded M. F. Portalis of what he had told him before. He demanded a list of the property belonging to the Druse. Elias answered that a list could be very easily made, but he did not like to make it himself, saying,

"Everything here belongs to the Druse excepting these ramsins." The searching party found several mattresses in the rooms, and amongst them two which they considered were Christian property, so they took them away.

On Friday, 17th instant, three men named Yusuf Ahlad, Khalil Kha, and Yusuf Tamou, accompanied by Enclalla, the Commandant of the dragoon, and a number of French soldiers and M. Portalis' servant, came to the house of the Greek priest. They carried away from the small room all the property belonging to the Druse as indicated by the priest, but they left the rest. They then went to the residence of the priest, who immediately gave up some property belonging to other Druses, namely, some wheat and a few bags of ramsin. M. Portalis then presented himself, and with him a female searcher named Nôde. He said to the priest, "Oh you pig! will you dare to conceal Druse property?" and struck him with the point of his stick on the stomach. The priest answered, "No, Sir, this is not just. I have shown you the Druse property, but this is really mine." In answer M. Portalis struck him again with the point of his stick in the chest, by which he was hurt, and thereupon his wife came to interpose, saying, "This is really our property." The female searcher pushed the priest's wife down on the ground, and when she rose M. Portalis struck her one blow on her back; the priest interposed, and he then struck him on the shoulder a hard blow. The priest then left the room, saying that even if they took away everything belonging to him, he would not stand by and be beaten. They took away about sixteen cantars of ramsin belonging to the priest, and what little they left, in jars, was declared by M. F. Portalis to be confiscated, and he defied the priest to touch it. Some of this property was taken to M. F. Portalis' store-room, and some left in the room which had been hired by the Druse Khalil Hakim, the door of which M. Portalis sealed.

The priest's wife spat blood almost immediately after the blow, her son asked M. Portalis for some remedy; he replied that another blow would cure her.

M. Portalis has placed four relations of the said priest under arrest, and they are still confined in his factory. They are accused of having

stolen Druse property. They are not allowed to communicate with their friends. Their names are Tames-abo-Shakra, Murad-abo-Shakra, and Khalil Hakim.

Khalil Hakim is the only one who has been seen by the inclosed document in Arabic bearing M. F. Portalis' signature.

Mari-aho-Abu and Kassa Rizk, of the same village, deposed to their having been severely beaten by M. Portalis, and a quantity of their own wheat taken from them.

I have the honour also to inclose a literal translation of the same.

I would add that M. Portalis appears chiefly to levy these contributions amongst the Greek community, leaving the Druses unharmed.

The peasantry expressed their disapproval of the proceedings, owing to the presence of French troops under his command.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. T. ROGERS

Inclosure 8 in No. 271

M. Portalis to the Sheikh of Shâne

(Translation.)

November 16, 1860.

To our dear friends the (Christian) Sheikh of Shâne.

ACCORDING to the instructions given to me by the General commanding the French troops, that I should exert myself to recover all things that were plundered from the Christians, and as this order refers to all kinds of plunder, its execution will require a long time to effect. I have deemed it necessary to begin by recovering wheat and oatmeal for the preservation of the life of God's servants, and afterwards we purpose exerting ourselves for the recovery of the rest of the plunder, even to a minkal (a very small weight). I therefore hereby inform you that you, who pay the Government taxes great and small, are required to pay six mids of wheat, three mids of barley, and ten rattols of ramsin each. These articles must be clean and of the best quality. I grant you a term of five days from this date, within which time you are to deliver the said contributions. Otherwise I shall march upon you with soldiers, and you will have to pay double the amount. This is sufficient for your information. May you be preserved!

(Signed) FORTUNE PORTALIS
President of the Relief Committee of Hamidna.

Inclosure 10 in No. 271.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, November 28, 1860

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency copy of a despatch I have addressed to Major Fraser, who, in conformity with the instructions he has received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is about to accompany his Excellency Fuad Pasha to the Mountains.

I trust that the views I have submitted to Major Fraser's consideration will be such as to meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 11 in No 271

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser

Sir,

Beirut, November 28, 1860.

At the request of the Turkish High Commissioner since his arrival in the country, I am inclined to think that there is one particular in which it has been specially defective.

The late events had created grave suspicions that the sympathies of the Turkish Government had been to a fatal degree on the side of the Druses. Before public confidence could be restored the impression had to be effaced. It might have been supposed, therefore, that the agent of the authority of the Massarah in the Mountain was the first in his duties he would be anxious to have done with. Nevertheless, up to this moment, not a single assassin has paid the forfeit of his life.

Such a circumstance materially stimulates the passions, and affords their priesthood an occasion for exultation against the authority of the Sultan, and supplies the army with an excuse for maintaining their position in the Lebanon as quarrels in a quarrel which still remains unsettled. So sensible was I of the false position Fınd Pasha thus created for himself, that I addressed to him the interpellation I have had the pleasure of communicating to you. The result has been, that an understanding has been come to between his Excellency and the Commissioners that the sword of justice is no longer to be held in an idle suspense over the heads of a whole nation, but that those most obnoxious to punishment should at once be seized and dealt with in such a manner as their degree of guilt may justify. This operation once completed, an amnesty is to be published in favour of the Druse nation which will re-enter into the full enjoyment of their civil rights and privileges. It is to be hoped that by such a display of justice and clemency, it will become possible to inaugurate for the Lebanon an era of peace and reconciliation.

In considering, however, the features of this humane project, it must not be forgotten that there are many influences at work calculated to oppose its consummation. It is possible, for instance, that the Christians, who have already taken advantage of the occupation of some of the Mixed villages by the French army to commit the most barbarous atrocities on Druse women, children, and old men, may rekindle their fury on this occasion, and repeat the very crimes for which their enemies are being punished.

It is in the remote anticipation of such an event that I have addressed to the Turkish Commissioner the letter copy of which I have the honour to inclose. It seems to me there is no precaution which ought to be omitted to guard against so unfortunate a contingency.

Another danger against which it will be well for his Excellency to guard arises out of a perceptible inclination on the part of the French to forestall the decision of the Turkish High Commissioner by sending the Druses of their own accord to the mountains, where they would pretend it would be a great advantage to them.

In future his Excellency should take advantage of M. de Beaufort's presence in the country, and should engage in what is, after all, a detail of police, to which the force at his Excellency's disposal is more than equal.

Should, on the contrary, an arrangement be made under which it

would be competent for the French troops to enter villages, burst open houses and capture prisoners, it will be almost impossible to prevent pillage, violation, and bloodshed in every locality they visit. It might even happen that, driven to despair, the Druses would hazard a show of resistance—but too likely to result in a massacre.

Such a wilful exaggeration by the Druses of the French army's agency would be competent for the French troops to enter villages, burst open houses and capture prisoners, it will be almost impossible to prevent pillage, violation, and bloodshed in every locality they visit. It might even happen that, driven to despair, the Druses would hazard a show of resistance—but too likely to result in a massacre.

What precautions may be adopted to avoid this risk cannot be determined until your arrival on the spot shall have acquainted you with the details of the situation; but in my opinion his Excellency ought never to be allowed to forget that he, and he only, will be held responsible for all unnecessary or unauthorized bloodshed.

In connection with the foregoing remarks, there is another circumstance to which I would beg to call your attention. The Commissioner having recommended his Excellency to adopt a summary method with an agent whom he may seize, it was suggested that no account should be received unless sworn to before the Bishop of the rite to which the witness might belong.

It is possible, however, that, notwithstanding the pains which have been taken to secure the capture of none but the most guilty, the agents to whom his Excellency may confide the execution of the necessary measures may not be over-scrupulous in their selection of prisoners. Due care should therefore be had that only those whose hands are deeply dyed in blood should be required to expiate the guilt of the nation.

With the unanimous consent of the Commission his Excellency has announced his intention of terminating the ungrateful task upon which he has about to engage, by the immediate promulgation of the amnesty I have already alluded to. It would be well that this grace should be conveyed in such ample terms, and with such circumstances of solemnity, as may best fit the dignity of the Sultan, and command the observance of all the authorities, whether Turkish, Syrian, or French, now present in the country.

As soon as the exhibition of the Imperial prerogative shall have restored the Mountain to its normal state, it might be desirable for his Excellency to invite the French Government to re-concentrate his forces in the neighbourhood of Beirut.

Some such arrangement is on every account most desirable.

Few things can be more fatal to the internal economy of any State than that the military force of another nation should be held for an indefinite period by its population. The machinery of government is clogged, and the prestige of its authority damaged, by the introduction into its composition of so unnatural an element. It would be unreasonable to expect the healing process to begin over a wound still irritated by the presence of a foreign substance as that the troubles of the Lebanon should be composed while French agents usurp the functions of native magistrates, and French influences endeavour to degrade the majesty of the Sultan, and to stimulate the discontent of his subjects.

I cannot conclude without expressing a hope that your experience in dealing with barbarous tribes and the various contingencies incident to an unsettled territory will enable you to afford his Excellency the most valuable assistance in the discharge of a duty which, however arduous and critical, may result in the restoration of peace to the people and authority to the Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOYE

Consul Skene to Lord J Russell.— (Received December 15)

No 68

My Lord,

Aleppo, November 27, 1860.

A CURIOUS document, secretly circulated amongst the Mussulmans of Aleppo, has come into my hands, and I have the honour to inclose a copy in Arabic, with a translation of it, for your Lordship's information.

Although its purport states it to be the production of the Ulema of the Mussulmans of Damascus, the style and bad spelling would indicate its origin. One might admit the possibility of its having been composed by Christians who fear a renewal of hostile feelings towards them on the part of the Mahometans, and take this means of drawing attention to their danger, but there are indications of its having emanated rather from a European than from a native source, and this opinion would give it a more serious interest, as involving the idea of justifying the adoption of further measures for the security of the foreign.

Abul Khatib is mentioned without the expression "be peace" which is always subjoined by Mahometans to the names of Prophet and the first four Caliphs. Ali, moreover, was not El Khatib which was the patronymic of the Caliph Omar, and such a name has not been shown by any of the Ulema. The word "khatib" is used several times, and it is never used by Mussulmans. The word "khatib" is applied to the holy cities of Islam, while it is only used by Christians for their sacred places or things. The word "khatib" is in the sense of "because" as it is by Christians, "han" being the Mussulman expression. The name "Sourin," which appears in the paper, is not used by Mussulmans, who employ the word "Arabistan." In short, without multiplying verbal criticisms, it may be stated that the diction is general different from that which would have come from the Ulema alleged to have written it.

The manner in which historical events are recapitulated is too concise and defective to be consistent with the usual style of writing of natives, whether Christians or Mahometans. The document contains passages parallel to portions of Holy Scripture, such as the 31st verse of the 24th chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the 48th verse of the 11th chapter of St. John's Gospel, which would certainly not be known to Mussulmans, and very improbably even to Christians of this country.

The paper is said to have come here from the town of Hamah, but it is impossible to trace the course it has taken, or in what quarter of Aleppo it first appeared.

I do not perceive any change in public feeling in consequence of its circulation, and I am glad to be able to report that there are no symptoms of probable disturbance here.

I have given a copy of it to the Governor-General, who will take such steps as may seem necessary or expedient under the circumstances.

I have, &c.
Signed J. H. SKENE

Inclosure in No. 272

The Ulema of Damascus to those of Hamah

(Translation.)

AFTER our salutation to you, (know) that the Christians, from the beginning of the reign of Abd-ul-Mejid, began quarrelling, and piercing and destroying the integrity of the law of Mahomet; and they pass it and transgress the obligations imposed on them from old time by the Imam Abul Khatib, and they have begun in this time to strive violently with the Mussulmans in every matter which brings a curse on them in the things which the rules of the just law and the Cornu-el-Shercef forbid; and

they hurt them in their religion, overturn the obligations laid on them, which Christians ought to obey, and they transgress the privileges of the Mussulmans by sitting above them in official places, and so on. And the great and small among them mock the Mussulmans, and their greatest desire is to treat the Mussulmans on equal terms and resemble them, and do not know that the Mussulmans are plotting to uproot them and destroy their race, and that for the following lawful reasons:—

First Reason.—The shedding of their blood, the violating of their houses, is lawful on account of the abolition of the tribute.

Second Reason.—Many Fetwas from the books "Fetwa-el Hindié" "Fetwa-el Boharié," where it is stated strongly that it is not proper to weaken the strength of Christians, and that the destruction of Christians is necessary for the Mussulmans, by whatever means, such as the destruction of their crops and their fruits, and their occupations.

Third Reason.—It is not right to honour the Christians. May God curse those who dress them with robes of honour!

Fourth Reason.—The nation of infidels is one nation. In the sect of Nakehlendi there exist books, which contain an honourable position should not exist, and it is not proper for Christians should be witnesses against Mahometans (but it is proper that Ansarehs should bear witness against Christians). And we will quote the saying of God, "Do not be cowardly before the nation of infidels, and throwing amongst them enmity and hatred unto the day of"

Oh, nation of Islam, awake from your deep slumber, and come now, let us exterminate the worshippers of the Cross from these holy cities which they defile, and let not the name of Christian be again mentioned in them. And we have heard from the great officials that the Powers cannot engage in a war, for they have been weakened by the Crimean war. This is the time to seize the opportunity: the time to conquer the Greeks; for the day of their destruction has arrived, for their doings raise violence and if we leave them for two years more they will become stronger than we are, and will take our place and destroy our race; and for this reason we have begun now to show ourselves, and have made friends with the officials; and we have learnt the disturbances which took place in Constantinople last year, which are, first, that the greatest part of the men of Government have agreed unanimously to destroy the Sultan and all the Christians on the face of the earth in our country, for reason that the Sultan is a man who turns aside from the law of Islam.

And we have heard from the great officials that the Powers cannot engage in a war, for they have been weakened by the Crimean war. This is the time to seize the opportunity: the time to conquer the Greeks; for the day of their destruction has arrived, for their doings raise violence and if we leave them for two years more they will become stronger than we are, and will take our place and destroy our race; and for this reason we have begun now to show ourselves, and have made friends with the officials; and we have learnt the disturbances which took place in Constantinople last year, which are, first, that the greatest part of the men of Government have agreed unanimously to destroy the Sultan and all the Christians on the face of the earth in our country, for reason that the Sultan is a man who turns aside from the law of Islam.

order to help their entrance into these cities. And, having verified this from every quarter we consulted the Ulema and the officials in order to destroy all the Christians in the Mountain, Damascus, Aleppo, and the rest of Syria, by whatever means possible. And thus we have intrigued in the Mountain until we destroyed them and dispersed them in every direction: and now the same has taken place

at Damascus, and we have also destroyed and dispersed them. And you do: if anything takes place in your part, do not help them, but turn your eyes away from them.

And answer us, in order that we may instruct you how to act henceforth; and, secondly, peace be to you!

signed) **Your Brothers the Ulama of Damascus.**

No. 273

Acting Consul French to Lord J. Russell.—Received December 15.

(No. 391)

My Lord,

Dominicus, November 28, 1850.

[illegible]

The day before yesterday, on the occasion of the French Consul paying a visit to Shaker Pasha, by appointment, he was absent at the Mevlia. After some delay, M. Outrey was told to enter the Council, he was there treated, before all the members, with such marked discourtesy that he rose to depart, giving the Rein clearly to understand his reasons for so doing. On the latter's assurances that no slight was intended M. Outrey was induced to remain to take a cup of coffee, but would not enter on the business about which he had come.

On Shakti Pasha's conduct being represented by M. Outrey to the Maharaja, his Excellency immediately sent for him, the result of which was that the following day he called on M. Outrey and apologized for his want of politeness.

I have, &c

Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 271

Acting Consul Wernich to Lord J. Russell — (Received December 15.)

(No 39)

My Lords,

Demascus, November 29, 1960.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of my despatch of this day's date to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte

I have, &c.

(Signed) **WILLIAM H. WRENCH**

Inclusion in No. 271.

Acting Consul French to Sir H. Bulwer

612

Danvers, November 29, 1860.

IN continuation of my report on the passing events of this Pashake dated the 5th November, I have the honour to report to your Excellency that, in disregard of the order of the authorities that no Christian should leave for Beyrout without being furnished with a pass from the G

upwards of twenty families have since quitted, the difficulty of a pass by a small present to the guards stationed at the town. On the other hand, almost the only Christians that return

at 1000 x 1000 ft. here, they do not bring their families, and
as the day is over, the birds will permit.

The disarmament of the Damascenes proceeds but slowly, and I am assured that the number of arms collected does not equal that plundered from the Christian quarter, and is not 2 per cent. of the arms actually in the possession of the Mussulmans of the town.

A new question has now arisen in connection with this measure, namely, that the Algerines employed by the Emir Abdel Kader during the outbreak of Damascus are required to give up their arms. The Emir himself makes no opposition to this order, although by his manner it is very evident that he considers it as a most ungracious acknowledgment of the services he and his men rendered to the cause of humanity. The case has been referred by the French Consul to his Commissioner at Aleppo, who will doubtless be discussed by the Representatives of the five

In these instances, it would be presumption in me giving an opinion on the subject, but I might be allowed to remark that Christians of the higher as well as of the lower classes declare that nothing shall be done to deprive the instructors in the late disorders of their arms, the Mamluks of the town being meantime in possession of the greater part of their arms. There is also another consideration: that the arms of the Algerines were furnished them at the expense of the French Government.

The troops in the neighbourhood of Hama and Raschyn have lately been making prisoners of Druses. About twenty have as yet been brought to Damascus, and nine sent to Hama. It appears that those remaining in their villages, whether suspected or not, are not molested, but any leaving the villages are immediately seized.

Major Fraser left Damascus on the 17th ultimo for Haleb, and has since, at the request of Lord Dufferin, proceeded to Beirut.

1 have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH

278

Count Brunt to Lord J. Russell. (Received December 15.)

My Lord,

Hebron November 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a private note I addressed to Fund Pachá, and his Excellency's rc :

No complaints have been made to the Consulate of Danang on the subject; I feel persuaded, therefore, that no cause for such exists.

(signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure 1 in No 273.

Count Brent to Fund Peace.

Beirut, le 26 Novembre, 1860

J'ai l'honneur de prévenir votre Excellence que j'ai reçu une dépêche du Gouvernement, et une aussi de l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté, demandant des renseignements sur les plaintes des Juifs, qui l'accusent d'avoir participé dans les meurtres de Damas. J'ai vu que votre Excellence avait déjà déchargé les Juifs détenus en prison, et reconnu leur innocence. Pour prévenir des accusations dénuées de fondement contre les Juifs à l'avenir, je prie votre Excellence de donner des ordres aux autorités de Damas de ne pas accepter des plaintes de cette nature trop légèrement, et dans tous les cas de permettre au grand Rabbin d'assister à l'examen des accusés.

Je n'ai pas besoin de suggérer aux autorités de Damas que les Juifs ont le même droit à leur protection que les Chrétiens.

Je profite, &c
(Signé) JAS. BRANT

Inclosure 2 in No 273.

Fond Pasha to Consul Brant

My Consul,

Beirut, le 27 Novembre, 1860.

J'ai reçu la lettre confidentielle que vous m'avez adressée hier à sujet des Israélites de Damas qui avaient été arrêtés sous la prévention d'avoir contribué aux derniers événements dont leur ville avait été le

Vous n'ignorez pas, M. le Consul, qu'à la suite de ces événements nous avons pris pour règle de conduite d'arrêter même sur une simple accusation les personnes qui nous étaient désignées comme ayant trempé d'une manière ou d'autre dans cette agitation contre les Chrétiens. Plusieurs Israélites ayant été accusés par ces derniers le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Damas n'a pas manqué de les arrêter pour les examiner. Le Rabbim de la ville a été appelé à assister à tous les interrogatoires, qui ont démontré l'innocence de ces prisonniers, qu'on a immédiatement relâchés. Il n'y a qu'un seul Israélite qui ait été retenu en prison, de nombreuses accusations pesant sur lui et des témoins à décharge ne s'étant pas présentés. Pour empêcher que des arrestations de ce genre, qui peuvent avoir des conséquences graves et tiennent toujours la ville dans un état d'agitation continuelle, ne renouvelent, j'ai donné les ordres nécessaires aux autorités locales pour qu'elles n'opèrent la saisie de corps que sur les personnes qui auront à leur charge des accusations justifiées. Vous pourrez d'ailleurs, M. le Consul, assurer tant le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine que son Ambassadeur à Constantinople que je ne négligerai rien en vue d'assurer la tranquillité des sujets de Sa Majesté le Sultan, à quelque religion ils appartiennent, et que j'userai de tout mon pouvoir pour éviter qu'on les moleste, à quelque manière.

Agreez, &c
(Signé) FVAD.

No. 276

Consul to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord,

Beirut, December 1, 1860.

HIS Excellency Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer made some inquiries of me as to Syria, to which I replied, and I have the honour to transmit the copy of my despatch.

I did not think it necessary to enter more deeply into the subject, as the Commission appointed for that purpose, and now engaged in its inquiry, will, without doubt, accomplish the object of its research in the most complete manner.

I have, &c
(Signed) JAS. BRANT.

Inclosure in No 276

Consul Brant to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, November 13, 1860.

I HAD the honour to receive your Excellency's despatch No. 13, and was glad to learn that my No. 48 was approved.

I think that Fend Pasha has quite settled that the Hadj shall never more assemble at Damascus.

As to the re-organisation of the province of Syria it is a difficult question, and the details require much examination and discussion.

I have long since expressed my opinion that it should be placed under a permanent ruler not liable to be removed like an ordinary Pasha. The selection from among the Pashas of the Porte of one to be trusted was the main difficulty at the time, and a fresh one has since been superadded, namely, the large sum of money required to put matters on a proper basis, as a fresh starting point.

To this end a special loan to Syria, secured on the revenue of the province, seems indispensable, for a considerable sum of money is required to repair damage done to property, and to compensate, in part, those who have lost their all, and thus enable them to re-establish their commerce.

Without this confidence will not revive, and without confidence in the future nobody in Europe will venture to make a loan, so that it appears necessary that some friendly nation should assist the Turks to enable them to take this preliminary step.

If that be accomplished, I see no difficulty in restoring prosperity to Syria, and, if such a Governor as is demanded be found, innumerable

I think your Excellency appears to exaggerate the fear of existing Muslim population to an attack on the Christians by the severity of the punishments inflicted. An outbreak was considered as not improbable at Bagdad, when the news of the executions at Damascus checked it. It was the same in some of the European provinces, as also at Exeter. A natural disposition is inherent in the Muslim to fall upon the Christian, when, from the weakness of the Government, he thinks that he can do so with impunity, and it is only the vigour shown by the authorities in punishing crime that will ever keep the Muslim within bounds.

I am quite of your Excellency's opinion that, in the re-organisation of its Government, Syria must be considered as an integral part of the Empire, and not as an independent province. It is only on that view that other its dismemberment would have commenced.

I have, &c
(Signed) JAS. BRANT

No 277

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 15.)
(No. 12.)

My Lord,

Beirut, November 30, 1860.

I HAVE had the honour to receive, at Beirut, Mr. Hammond's despatch of the 9th November, expressive of your Lordship's wish that I should continue at Damascus until further orders.

As will be more particularly detailed in another communication, I visited Damascus for Hasbeya nearly a fortnight ago, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of affairs in that portion of the Anti-Lebanon. At the request of Lord Bulwer, I have come to Beirut, in order to consult with his Lordship, before accompanying Fend Pasha in an expedition against the Druses. This duty being of a very important nature, and as

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Lord Dufferin is at present on his way to Damascus, where all was quiet. I believe I shall be able to bring your Lordship's attention by completing my present duty as already arranged with his Excellency Fud Pasha and with Lord Dufferin when I shall return to Damascus as directed. I trust that this course may meet your Lordship's approval.

With regard to the inclosure in my despatch No. 9, I am at a loss to account for its non-arrival at the Foreign Office, having with my own hands sent it through Lord Dufferin. The inclosure has not been found amongst his Lordship's papers.

I very much regret this accident, the more so that in my despatch No. 11 I made special reference to the missing document, of which I now transmit a duplicate copy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

Inclosure 1 in No. 277

Fud Pasha to Major Fraser

Damas, le 20 Octobre, 1860.

Les personnes qui ont été envoyées ce matin à Beyrouth appartiennent à la noblesse de cette ville, et quelques uns étaient membres du Conseil Provincial. Ils avaient été arrêtés il y a plus d'un mois sous la prétexte de leur direction de la population Musulmane lors des derniers troubles. L'instruction de leur procès a duré assez longtemps, le Tribunal Extraordinaire cherchant à trouver des preuves réelles de leur culpabilité pouvant entraîner le maximum des peines portées par la loi et pour déceler si les tristes scènes passées étaient le fruit d'un complot. Aucune preuve ne venant peser à leur charge jusqu'à présent, j'ai dû les renvoyer les uns à la détention perpétuelle ou à temps, et les autres à un exil à temps. J'ai fait aussi arrêter toute dernièrement quelques notables qui ont été aussi condamnés pour n'avoir pas fait leurs devoirs de citoyens, n'ayant pas usé de leur influence sur le peuple pour arrêter le mouvement contre les chrétiens.

Je les ai envoyés à Beyrouth et de là ceux qui ont été condamnés à temps seront dirigés à l'île de Chypre, pour qu'ils soient à ma portée, et que je les fasse revenir pour leur infliger une punition plus forte si l'on parvient à découvrir qu'ils ont été pour quelque chose dans ces événements. Je vous envoie ci-joint une liste relatant les noms de ces personnes, et le genre et la durée de leurs condamnations.

Je vous prie d'agréer, &c.
(Signed) FUD

Inclosure 2 in No. 277

List

Sheikh Abdallah Halebi, condamné à la détention perpétuelle, et sa famille et ses proches ont été bannis de la ville.

Nassouh Pacha Zadi Abdallah Bey, Hasseln Zadi Achmet Efendi, Adnè Zadi Muhammed Bey, à quinze ans de détention dans une citadelle.

Mufti Tahir Efendi et Khazè Zadi Entner Efendi, à dix ans de détention.

Azmi Zadi Abdallah Bey, Ali Bey son fils, Achmet Efendi Nakib, et Farrouk Zadi Abdoul Haddè Efendi, à trois ans d'exil.

Les noms des personnes qui ont été condamnées à l'exil à temps sont ci-joints.

No. 278.

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell — Received December 15.

(No. 13.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, December 2, 1860.

ON the 17th ultimo I left Damascus for the purpose of ascertaining by personal inspection the present condition of the country around Mount Lebanon, regarding which no certain information had recently been obtained. This great mountain range, a principal stronghold of the Druses, I found surrounded by a cordon of Turkish troops, posted in three camps, occupying the commanding positions of Katana, on the south-east; S..., on the south-west; and Deir-el-Kamar, on the north of the range. The average strength of each camp amounted to about 2,000 Regulars, mostly Infantry, in serviceable condition, besides a small force of Irregular Cavalry.

From these centres patrols were constantly kept up, and night-rides made upon such villages as were suspected of harbouring Druse lives inculpated in the late massacres, or of being receptacles for plunder. In this manner prisoners were taken daily during my stay in that region, and stolen property, to a small amount, recovered. The Turkish Commanders, so far as a short stay enabled me to judge, appearing anxious to do their duty faithfully.

The great majority of the Druse inhabitants were occupying their villages; those who had fled to the Hauran, during the move on Lebanon. Fud Pasha and the French forces, having returned to their homes, with the exception of the more notorious criminals. Yet, a feeling of uneasiness prevailed, in consequence of these occasional arrests, although conducted with the least possible disturbance, and the attitude of the Druses was one of expectancy, but apparently without any thought of offering resistance—at least to the troops of the Sultan. I met some of their principal men, who intimated to me that if any attempt were made to inflict capital punishment on their Chiefs now under trial at Beyrouth a general rising of the whole tribe would follow. I assured them that if they courted their entire destruction as a people, they could adopt no better plan to secure it; and I believe my remark had the effect intended.

On inquiring of them how their countrymen had escaped when driven out of Lebanon before Fud Pasha and General de Montfort, I was informed that they had not passed through the second Turkish line, as asserted by the French, but had passed to the southward between the two lines, whose respective flanks were unconnected in that direction. They thus at once gained the uninhabited and marshy region of the Haleb, whence they easily reached the Hauran.

In order to ascertain the actual condition of such objects being to ascertain the actual condition of such yet remained in the district, on my arrival at Rasbeya I called together those found in that village, they amounted to 80 men, with 250 women and children—85 of the women being widows whose husbands had been slain in the massacre. They had received little or nothing from Government for their support, and lived upon what remained of property they could recover, or upon charity.

I called upon the Local Governor to amend this state of affairs, when he of flour was made the same day, and regularity in this respect promised for the future.

It being desirable that accommodation should be found for such persons as might choose to return from Beyrouth, I inspected the houses which had escaped the conflagration; had the roofs repaired, where damaged, and the houses cleaned and locked up, under Government seal, that they might remain ready for use when required. I requested the officer in charge to send to Fud Pasha a list of the accommodation disposable, which was ample for about 1,500 persons.

At Rasbeya I found pretty much the same state of things, except that the ruin and subsequent desertion of the village had been more complete. The Christian population now numbered but 25 men, and about 100 women and children; six months ago it amounted to 3,500 souls. Here, also, I secured the issue of rations for these unfortunate persons.

among whom, as well as at Rasheya, I distributed pecuniary assistance. I have also been engaged in procuring from among the Druses coverlets, beds, &c., for the use of the Christians during the winter. I have also undertaken to do without delay for about 700 persons, in addition to the above-named numbers.

I had much conversation, both here and at Rasheya, with the most intelligent among the Christians regarding their prospects for the future. Those now in the villages seem bent on quitting them, unless the Druses be signally punished, and the whole population, now refugees at Sidon and Beyrout, return again; their houses being rebuilt, and their losses compensated. They manifest little inclination to employ themselves in the manufacture but propose to live at Beyrout or elsewhere at the cost of Government, or by the aid of European charity, and had no plans for the future should these resources fail them. Those who had been at Beyrout had evidently been imbued with very extravagant ideas of foreign intervention in their favour. I tried to dispel these, and to induce them to take a more sober view of their position, but I fear with little success.

I regret to add that no grain has been sown, and there is every reason to fear want and misery must ensue during the coming year. During my stay at Hasheya an order arrived from Fuad Pasha, the Governor of the great Druse Chouk, where her brother is now under trial. This lady, who has been sheltering many Christians in her house during the massacre, and whose lives were saved. On receiving Fuad Pasha's order she requested to speak with me. I went to her house, when she told me why she was sent for, and what I would advise her to do. I told her I was ignorant of Fuad Pasha's object, but she must undoubtedly at once comply with his orders, which she did the same day. I now learnt that numerous Christians had demanded her arrest, as they now do her execution, on the plea that she was the chief instigator of the massacre at Hasheya. My own inquiries on the spot lead me to form a very different opinion, which, with its grounds, I have expressed to Fuad Pasha.

At Hasheya I also procured the names of upwards of 200 Druses, of more or less note who attended the great political meeting or conspiracy at which the massacre was resolved upon only a few hours before execution, the meeting having been held after the funeral of a certain Sheikh Ahon Saleh much esteemed among the Druses, and who had died of wounds received in an attack upon the Christians previously. These names, by the desire of Fuad Pasha, I have forwarded to your Excellency.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
consulting with his Lordship before I
a further expedition.

of being permitted to blow with the Druses, which will, he asserts, in no way settle the difficult question of meeting out due punishment to the people. Whether the desire for an opportunity of acquiring distinction, or the hope of gaining ulterior political advantages connected with the possession of Druse territory, be influencing motives in the formation of such an opinion, it is hardly necessary to consider. It is certain that such a course would prove highly dangerous to the general peace of Syria, and cannot, therefore, be entertained. Fuad Pasha being anxious to induce General de Beaumont in an amicable way to forego his wishes, has delayed his own departure until this preliminary be arranged of the satisfactory accomplishment of which I hope to hear.

The European Commission, including Lord Bull, arrived at Damascus on the 20th instant, it being proposed to levy a heavy fine on the city by way of indemnity in aid of the Christian losses. A sum of

320,000*l.* has been named, and provided this amount be adhered to, and payment be enforced within a limited though reasonable time, I feel assured that the general nature of this infliction will produce a far more marked and lasting effect upon the Damascenes than any capital punishments which have yet been inflicted in their city.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 279

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 1,243.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 15, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 630 of the 10th November, directing my attention to the copy enclosed in Lord Dufferin's despatch, addressed to me, dated the 26th of October, respecting the present condition and future prospects of the Christian population of Damascus; and I have to inform your Lordship that the Porte has written to Fuad Pasha to give his opinion on the measures best calculated to secure the objects in view.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 280.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 17)

No. 812.

My Lord,

Constantinople, December 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 630 of the 10th November, directing my attention to the copy enclosed in Lord Dufferin's despatch, addressed to me, dated the 26th of October, respecting the present condition and future prospects of the Christian population of Damascus; and I have to inform your Lordship that the Porte has written to Fuad Pasha to give his opinion on the measures best calculated to secure the objects in view.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 281

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

No. 43.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 17, 1860.

I HAVE to state to you that I approve the instruction which you addressed to Major Fraser on his proceeding to join Fuad Pasha's expedition to the Mountain; a copy of which is enclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 630 of the 10th November.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane.

(No. 51.)

Foreign Office, December 18, 1860

I ENCLOSE herewith to you a copy of a despatch which has been addressed by Lord Dufferin to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the Province of Syria. You will communicate this paper to Count Rechberg and view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably. They are disposed, however, to think that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the five Powers.

I am, &c
J. RUSSELL

No. 283

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 35. Secret and Confidential.)

My Lord,

Damascus, December 3, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a despatch of the 29th ultimo, marked Secret and Confidential, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte, reporting a conversation I had the honour of holding with His Excellency Fuad Pasha respecting the course to be pursued towards Khorsah Pasha.

DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure in No. 283.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, November 29, 1860

DURING the course of a very confidential conversation I had yesterday with Fuad Pasha, his Excellency discovered to my great surprise, a manifest inclination to save, if possible, the life of Khorsah Pasha, and even went so far as to ask me whether, in the event of that unhappy man being condemned to death, it would be a possibility of inducing the Commission to intercede for a commutation of his sentence.

I briefly replied that in my opinion his Excellency would be committing a great imprudence if he endeavoured to throw his mantle over a man whose misconduct had caused so much bloodshed, and whose guilt had been so universally recognised, and that it was out of the question to expect that the Commission, or any member of it, would interfere on his behalf.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 284

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 36.)

My Lord,

Damascus, December 5, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 5 in No. 284

Inclosure 1 in No. 284

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrout, November 29, 1860.

AT the last meeting of the Commissioners the question as to the amount of the penal tax to be imposed on the Musulman population of Damascus again came under our consideration.

A marked change was to be observed in the language held by M. Béchard on this occasion, to be attributed probably to the more accurate information he has received from his Consul as to the real amount of the disposable wealth in that city. M. Outrey has in fact frankly stated that a collection of 35,000,000 piastres (291,666*l.*) within a week, as proposed by the French Commissioner, is a simple impossibility. By the end of a month he thinks two-thirds of the sum might possibly be obtained, but even this could only be accomplished by having resort to the extraordinary expedient of ordering the French army up to within a few miles of the gates of Damascus.

My own inquiries have led me to form the opinion that 10,000,000 piastres (83,333*l.*) a month is the most rapid rate at which any tax can be levied, and that 50,000,000 (416,666*l.*) is the highest amount we could demand without permanently paralyzing the industrial energies of the population.

The difference between 50,000,000 and 35,000,000 reduced to a percentage upon income would be as 16 to 23 per cent.

I, therefore, ventured to propose 50,000,000 piastres to be collected within five months as the maximum amount in money and the minimum rate in time on which we could insist.

M. Béchard expressed himself satisfied with even less than this, and suggested 35,000,000 in four months. Fuad Pasha stood out for a delay of nine months. A long discussion which then ensued was finally concluded by my suggesting that we should adopt the mean of the extreme terms which had been severally proposed in money and in time, viz., 40,000,000 as a compromise between the 35,000,000 recommended by M. Outrey and the 50,000,000 suggested as a maximum by myself and eight months as a middle period between the four months of M. Béchard and the fifteen of M. Outrey.

This proposition seemed to meet with general acquiescence.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 284

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, December 3, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the European Commissioners have taken advantage of Fuad Pasha's absence from Damascus to discuss the subject of the proposed tax. Damascus had been frequently suggested by the Russian and Prussian representatives, but more pressing business, M. Béchard's indisposition, and other circumstances, have hitherto stood in the way of its accomplishment.

Although my previous visit to this city, as well as the advantage I have enjoyed at Beyrout of daily communication with Mr. Brant, rendered such an expedition less incumbent on me than on my colleagues, I have always expressed my readiness to join the party whenever the majority should have decided on undertaking it. It was therefore with the greatest readiness that I acceded to the proposal made to me by M. de Reuss that we should occupy the interval which must occur before Fuad Pasha could resume his duties as President of the Commission by a joint inspection of one of the chief centres of the late disturbances.

Before giving my final consent, however, I felt it was necessary to

come to a distinct understanding as to the circumstances under which the journey was to be performed, more especially as I had been given to understand that M. de Bonfort was good enough to propose that we

Such an arrangement seemed to me very objectionable. The expedition to Damascus had been advocated on the grounds that our presence would allay the fears and inspire the confidence of its Christian inhabitants, but for the Commissioners to appear before the gates of the city, hedged in by foreign bayonets, seemed to me an unlikely way of producing a reassuring effect. I therefore expressed my decided opinion that it would be more consistent with international usage, as well as with the requirements of this particular occasion, that we should dispense with so unnecessary a precaution and make our entry into Damascus with such a guard of honour as the courtesy of the Turkish authorities might induce them to furnish. To this proposal M. B'elard, with the amiability he never fails to exhibit, at once assented, and we have come hither unattended save by our cavaliers and household servants.

I can say that it has been very disagreeable to me to mount upon this apparently chivalric condition. None of my colleagues took the same view as myself, and I have little doubt but that my objection to a French escort has been attributed to the most paltry motives.

Nevertheless, I can assure your Excellency that I should have held exactly the same language had the troops in question been those of Her Majesty. If I have rightly comprehended my instructions, it does not appear that our Government intended that the European Commissioners should be in any way accorded to the people of Syria. Our functions are deliberative, and our action is restricted to the exercise of a certain moral pressure on our colleague the Turkish High Commissioner, we surround ourselves therefore by European troops, and with all the pomp and ceremony of a military procession, to make a triumphal entry into a principal city of an independent Sovereign contrary to the manifest desire of his Viceroy, seems to me as great a breach of decorum as it is a misapprehension of the real nature of our mission. This view of the case

was naturally proved somewhat distasteful to M. de Bonfort and his friends, and it has required no little compulsion to meet the eager though friendly remonstrances with which I have been assailed by the French General and his Staff for having induced the Commission to let slip so brilliant an opportunity of displaying themselves to the eyes of the Damascus crowd clothed in the terrours of European war.

My previous convictions, however, have only been confirmed by these amiable discussions, for I find that even the accompaniment of Artillery would not have been considered by some of these gentlemen inappropriate adjuncts to our state.

We reached Damascus on Saturday the 1st instant. A guard of honour had been sent the day before to the spot where it had been arranged we should encamp, and a Pasha accompanied by several officers of rank rode out to meet us as we approached the city. Our entry was conducted with every circumstance of courtesy the occasion could be considered to require; the guards were turned out, the bands played, and the line of march was duly maintained by soldiers and policemen.

The populace appeared curious and orderly, and sprigs of rosemary as tokens of peace and welcome were handed to us as we passed along. Nevertheless it cannot be doubted but that our arrival is a source of alarm to the Moslem population, and my own observation enabled me to detect among the silent spectators that lined the streets occasional symptoms of their hatred and disgust.

The town is perfectly quiet, and Christian life and property was probably never more secure.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEDOFF.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 539.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, December 11, 1860.

I HAVE read with much attention Lord Dufferin's despatch of November 4, relative to the settlement of Syria, which seems to me to contain the most sensible views as to the government of that Province put forward.

But it appears to me desirable, first, that any plan suggested should be put forward, without too great a difficulty, the assent of the Porte, and secondly, that no plan should be at once adopted of an irrevocable and permanent character.

It is difficult in these experiments to say at first what will or will not answer the end intended, and one is perpetually liable to get hampered by engagements which experience may show, as they develop themselves, to be opposed to policy and good sense.

If we wanted any proof of this, I should point to the old arrangement as to Mount Lebanon, on which the French Government still thinks itself bound, although that arrangement really is and has proved itself to be a great deal less for governing the Mountain than for not governing it.

That a Governor-General for Syria, with very extensive powers, should be named for five years, the Porte consulting the Great Powers as to the choice.

Secondly I should be disposed to invert Lord Dufferin's financial position, and instead of saving a certain tribute to go to the Porte and the rest of the financial resources to Syria, I should stipulate that the Syrian expenditure, placed on a certain scale, should be paid out of Syrian revenue, and that the residue should go to the Ottoman Government.

I could bring forward many arguments in favour of this change, as being humiliating to Ottoman pride, and more satisfactory as to Syrian Administration, but it seems to me these arguments will be apparent.

A certain difficulty occurs, however, here, namely, the pledge as to the Syrian revenue which the Porte has already made with Mirza and others.

This, however, might, I think, be got over.

Thirdly As to indemnities: I cannot think that this question can be settled in Syria solely by the Commissioners.

I think they should give their opinions both as to the amount and the mode of raising it, and that their views should then be referred here, and the Porte's sanction obtained, or its objections listened to.

A loan would certainly be the best way of settling the matter properly, and if the Commissioners named any reasonable sum, and the Great Powers guaranteed the loan on some fair security, and on the condition that they should control its application, this affair, otherwise so difficult of arrangement, might be settled.

Fourthly, I think if the Maronite Principality is to exist, the Druse should exist also. I consider it would be a great injustice, and an act of great impolicy, to crown the plans of the Maronites, who, it is said, prepared the attack against the Druses, with complete success.

The two Kaimakams should be suppressed or maintained, and some fair arrangement made as to the Mixed Districts, independent of late events, for if the Druses are to be blamed for their cruelty when provoked, the Maronites are to be blamed for provoking them.

Fifthly I should leave the Commission for six months after the arrangement is concluded, in order to see that it is properly carried out, and my own opinion is that an additional security might be given to Europe by leaving 1,200 troops of different nations stationed at or near Beyrout for a certain period; or by the Porte taking into its pay an European force of

1,000 or 2,000 men, who would furnish a force independent of the power which, it must be expected, will for a time agitate the country.

I should, however, add that the Ottoman Government would be to either of these measures, and I do not know how Her Majesty's Government would view them.

There is one consideration which, however, I beg to bring at once under your Lordship's notice, and which M. Thouvenel's remark to Lord Cowley makes more imperative.

It is desirable, undoubtedly, that the French occupation should cease at the same time desirable that some settlement as to the future condition of Syria should simultaneously be arrived at, and it is probable that the Commissioners were charged with giving ideas on this matter. But if the cessation of the French occupation is to be dependent upon a decision of the European Commission, it is clear that the term of six months was an illusory one, since that term will have to be fixed by the termination of a labour to the completion of which no date is assigned.

It seems to me, moreover, that though the opinions of the Commissioners may be most valuable, and that their concurrence would be highly desirable, that after all it will be for the Porte and the Powers to regulate this matter, and that it might even be easier for the Commission to arrive promptly at some result on a project submitted to it by the Ottoman Government than simply as the consequence of their own deliberations.

I therefore, led to suggest that the Porte itself in noticing that the time is drawing near at which, according to the Convention, the French troops have to be withdrawn, should lay a fair and reasonable scheme for the future government of Syria before the consideration of the Government.

This, if your Lordship should prefer it, might be done through Fud Pasha, but there are reasons of a delicate nature which might make it difficult for him to initiate proposals, and I am also inclined to think that the Sultan would not like to give him the power of doing so.

If your Lordship is of opinion, then, that the Porte should itself take the step referred to, and that immediately, I would venture to ask to hear from your Lordship, by telegraph, to such effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 284

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 22.)

(No. 845)

My Lord,

Constantinople, December 12, 1860

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a despatch which I have this morning addressed to Lord Russell, on the subject referred to in my despatch to your Lordship No. 839 of the 11th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 284.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Constantinople, December 11, 1860

I HAVE read with great attention your Lordship's able despatch of November 4th, relative to the settlement of Syria, which seems to contain the most sensible views as to the government of that province yet put forward.

The only observations I think it necessary to make are, that any plan

suggested should be calculated to obtain, without too great a difficulty, the assent of the Porte, and that no plan should be at once suggested of a permanent and irrevocable character.

It is difficult in these experiments to say at once what will or will not answer the end intended, and one is perpetually liable to get hampered by engagements which experience will show, as they develop themselves, to be either impolitic or impracticable.

If we wanted any proof of this, I should point to the old arrangement as to Mount Lebanon, on which the French Government still thinks itself bound to insist, although that arrangement really is, and has proved itself to be, an arrangement far less for governing the Mountain than for

My notions, then, would be, first, that a Governor-General for Syria, with very extensive authority, should be named for five years, the Porte consulting the Great Powers as to the choice.

Secondly, I should be disposed to invert your financial proposition and instead of saying a certain tribute is to go to the Porte, and the rest of the Syrian revenue to the Syrian Government, I would assign a certain revenue to Syria for its own expenditure, and stipulate that only the residue of its contributions should be remitted for general purposes to Constantinople.

I think this would be more agreeable to the Sultan as bearing less the appearance of severing this peculiar province from the Empire, and would provide as certainly at least for the wants of the Local Government.

It would give, moreover, a general interest to the Porte in the good government and welfare of the province.

We are not, indeed, to lose sight of this fact, namely, that having the intention to support the Ottoman Empire, and its maintenance being only possible on the ground that reforms are to take place in its general organization, it would be unwise and inconsistent to base our proceedings on a contrary belief, and separate Syria from the rest of Turkey, on the ground that all that is bad in the government of that country generally is to remain as it is.

It seems to me most important to bear this steadily in mind, for if we card it, we commence—and on a principle which must and will extend—the dismemberment of the Empire as a whole, and the constitution of a variety of insignificant States, which will have no weight in the balance of power in Europe, and be, on the contrary, the theatre of constant rivalries and conflicts between the different Great Powers.

There will be a difficulty as to the Syrian revenue, owing to the Mirás loan, for which it furnishes a guarantee; but this may be arranged by a substitute.

Thirdly, as to indemnities, I cannot think that they should be settled in Syria solely by the Commissioners. I think they should be settled by their opinions both as to the amount and the mode of raising it; and that their views should then be referred here, and the Porte's sanction obtained, or its objections listened to.

A loan would certainly be the best way of settling the matter properly, and if the Commissioners named any reasonable sum, and the Great Powers guaranteed the loan on some fair security, and on the condition that they should control its application, this affair, otherwise so difficult of arrangement, might be settled.

Fourthly, I think if the Maronite Principality is to exist, the Druse should exist also.

I consider it would be a great injustice and an act of great impolicy to crown the plans of the Maronites, who, it is said, prepared the attacks against the Druses, with complete success. Thus, I think that the two Kamakams should be suppressed, or maintained, and some fair arrangement made as to the Mixed districts independent of late events, for if the Druses are to be blamed for their cruelty when provoked, the Maronites are to be blamed for provoking them.

Fifthly, I should leave the Commissioners for a month after the arrangement is concluded, in order to see that it is properly carried out, and my own opinion is that an additional security might be given to

Europe by leaving 1,200 troops of different nations at or near Beyroot for a certain period, or by the Porte taking into its pay an European corps of 1,500 or 2,000 men, who would furnish a force independent of the passions which it must be expected will for a time agitate the country.

I should, however, add that the Ottoman Government might be adverse to either of these two measures, and I do not know how Her Majesty's Government would view them.

There is one consideration, which, however, I beg to bring strongly under your Lordship's notice, and which a remark of M. Thouvenel to Lord Cowley makes more imperative.

It is desirable, undoubtedly, that the French occupation should cease, it is at the same time desirable that some settlement as to the future constitution of Syria should simultaneously be arrived at, and it is certain that the Commissioners were charged with giving their ideas on this

of the French occupation is to be dependent upon the decision of the European Commission, it is clear that the term six months was an illusory one; since that term will have to be fixed by the completion of a labour to the completion of which no date is

It seems to me, moreover, that though the opinions of the Commission, and that their concurrence would be in

ble, that after all it will be for the Porte and the Powers to regulate this matter; and that it might even be easier for the Commission to arrive promptly at some result on a project submitted to it by the Ottoman Government than simply as the consequence of its own discussions.

Consequently, I cannot but think it would be well that the Porte, has already so many materials on which to ground some plan. I prepare and have one ready to submit to the Great Powers previous to the period of the occupation ceases, so that if at that time the Powers have not themselves come to any decision, the Porte may itself, in requiring the fulfilment of the stipulation relative to the departure of the French troops, have a project ready to suggest for the Government of Syria when those troops are withdrawn, and the stipulation allied to it can be set out.

I think it well also to observe that Fuad Pasha might find some difficulty in suggesting, or even concurring warmly in any plan which was mentioned here, and which might seem to have for its

It is true, the populace at the city of which I am speaking were excited by fanatical feelings, or made such feelings a pretext for their disorders, but the misdeeds of a populace should hardly be held as giving colour to the character of a creed or nation, the more especially when it is reflected how many circumstances apart from religion told on the transactions; that in Turkish history no similar act is to be found, and that Christian mobs have at various periods equally disgraced, with the

passions unnoticed or unheeded; whilst I am likewise, I confess, opposed to the treatment of the affair which is now under your general consideration, as a purely religious one. To do so will, I think, not obliterate but plant more deeply and irrevocably, the seeds of religious discussion. Murderers and robbers should, I think, be punished as murderers and robbers, not as Mussulmans or Jews, or as belonging to any religious sect. Indeed, if the Mussulman mob plundered and massacred at Damascus, many of the Mussulmans of a higher order did their best to calm the tumult, and restrain their co-religionists, and give succour or shelter to Christians.

Abel-el-Kader was himself a Mussulman, and no Christian could have acted in a more Christian spirit.

It is true, the populace at the city of which I am speaking were excited by fanatical feelings, or made such feelings a pretext for their disorders, but the misdeeds of a populace should hardly be held as giving colour to the character of a creed or nation, the more especially when it is reflected how many circumstances apart from religion told on the transactions; that in Turkish history no similar act is to be found, and that Christian mobs have at various periods equally disgraced, with the

name of the God of Mercy in their mouths, the purer doctrines of the Christian faith.

The Turkish Government, as a Government, is responsible for what passed, and ought to have passed, under its authority. Criminals of every class and country should have their guilt inquired into, and pay dearly the penalty for the atrocities they committed; but I frankly own that according to my notions, both on religious and political grounds, I would be averse to make religion the difference between the ruffian and his victim, since such a conviction could only make each feel that there was a gulf of blood between them.

You know that I have not the power to give you instructions; you know also, the high sense I entertain, not merely of your abilities, but of your generous, tolerant, and manly principles, and strict sense of justice. I neither pretend, therefore, to lay greater stress upon my personal sentiments than they are entitled to, nor do I even think that there can be a very great difference between the ideas I entertain and those which you will also have formed, but faithful to the principle which I said should regulate our correspondence, I write to you frankly on all matters, and only attach that value to what I say which I think always belongs to the opinions of a man who writes dispassionately, and from a distance, to one who is placed amidst strongly exciting local circumstances, which are almost certain to have a tendency to bias his mind in one direction. In the meantime the views you will receive from Her Majesty's Government at home, and which of course are those by which you have to be guided, will always serve as a correction to any erroneous ones I may express.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 287

Lord J. Russell to Karl Cowley.

(No. 1,250.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 19, 1860

I ENCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch from Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer, and of its inclosures,* respecting certain acts of violence committed by the French in the neighbourhood of Hama.

Lord Dufferin's report appears to Her Majesty's Government to render it desirable that the French force should be concentrated near Beyroot, and should evacuate Syria at the end of the stipulated six months, if Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha undertake to answer for the tranquillity of the provinces, and especially of the Mountain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 287*

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — Received December 22.

(No. 1,647)

(Extract.)

Paris, December 21, 1860.

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 1,243 of the 14th inst., I have the pleasure to send you M. Thouvenel a copy of Lord Dufferin's despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer, containing a sketch of a scheme for the future settlement of the Province of Syria. On asking M. Thouvenel yesterday whether he had had time to consider it, his Excellency replied that he had read it with much attention, and that Lord Dufferin's ideas concided very much with his own. His Excellency, however, expressed doubts whether it would be possible to engage the Porte to divest itself of the powers which it was proposed to confer upon the Governor of Syria.

270,
No. 258.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 22)

No. 1,645.)

My Lord,

Paris, December 21, 1860.

AFTER the receipt, yesterday, of your Lordship's despatch No. 1,250 of the 19th instant, inclosing copies of despatches from Lord Dufferin relative to certain acts of violence committed by the French in Syria, I spoke very seriously to M. Thouvenel, both with reference to those proceedings and to the stay of the French troops in that country but, knowing how useless it would be to deal in generalities, I entered into some details of what had occurred; and it is further my intention to furnish his Excellency with a memorandum upon the subject.

Government come from the usual Consular Agents, I might, knowing the jealousies which, unfortunately, had become part and parcel of the Consular correspondence from the East, have thought less of them; but that, when they emanated from Lord Dufferin, who was incapable of stating anything of which he had not previously convinced himself, whose whole correspondence evinced a desire to avoid accusations of every kind, I was obliged to consider his statement as impossible contradiction. I proceeded to notice the conviction which had been alluded to. From having been in the beginning almost a warm partisan of the necessity of employing a foreign force in Syria, he now all but arrived at the conclusion that no proper authority could be restored so long as the French force remained there. At all events, I said, Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that the troops should be immediately brought back to Beyrout.

I have no doubt that M. Thouvenel spoke the truth when he assured me that this was the first he had heard of the events to which I had called his attention, and he promised that if I would furnish particulars he would cause an inquiry to be made into them; but I should deceive your Lordship if I were to lead you to expect that this promise will be followed by any result. In fact, M. Thouvenel would not venture to interfere in any matter relating to the military service.

With regard to bringing the troops back to Beyrout, his Excellency observed that they were most usefully employed in the Mountain in the mountainous and habitations of the Maronites.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 259

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

No. 46.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.

IN my despatch No. 28 of the 22nd of November, I authorized your Lordship when the proper time arrived, to propose to your colleagues the adoption of the plan for the settlement of Syria sketched out in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 3rd of that month.

I have since received from Sir Henry Bulwer a copy of his despatch to you of the 11th instant; and with that despatch before me, I have addressed to his Excellency the despatch of which I inclose a copy for your information and guidance.

You will observe that Her Majesty's Government see no reason to depart from their opinion that you should formally submit your plan to the Commission, and I have only now to add that I should wish you to do so without loss of time.

I understand from Lord Cowley that M. Thouvenel has informed him that the views expressed in your despatch coincide with those which he

himself entertains, and it is probable, therefore, that M. Bernad will be instructed to support them in the Commission.

I am also informed by Count Flahaut that M. Thouvenel shares the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it would be inexpedient to transfer the settlement of Syrian affairs to Constantinople.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 260.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 47)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Fuad Pasha respecting the case of Khourad Pasha, as reported in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 24th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 261

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 48)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.

I HAVE to state to your Lordship that I approve the course pursued by you at the meeting of the European Commission when the amount of the contribution was determined, as reported in your despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of the 24th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 262

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 49)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.

I HAVE to state to you that I approve your Lordship's proceedings on the occasion of the visit of the European Commission to Damascus, as reported in your despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer of the 3rd instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 263

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 743.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 26, 1860.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatches Nos. 839 and 845 of the 11th and 12th instant, the first containing your observations on Lord Dufferin's plan for the settlement of Syria explained in his despatch to you of the 4th November; the second inclosing a copy of a despatch which you had addressed to his Lordship on the subject.

I have to state to your Excellency that after fully considering the proposals of Lord Dufferin, Her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that they are well-fitted to promote the pacification and well-being of Syria. Lord Dufferin has accordingly been empowered to lay his proposals before the Commission.

Her Majesty's Government would be content to see the appointment

by the Sultan of a Governor-General of Syria. But they would think it a most improvident arrangement to make the duration of his appointment only five years. Your Excellency is aware that the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia used to be appointed for seven years, and that at the approach of the termination of each seven years, the political market was crowded with Boyars, and that the traffic in that market was as notorious as that in the slave-market at Constantinople. Her Majesty's Government do not wish to see the Government of Syria disposed of to the highest bidder every five years.

Her Majesty's Government would be well satisfied to see Fuad Pasha appointed Governor-General of Syria, but they think his powers should be extensive, and his tenure either for life or for a period of ten years.

The Ministers of the Porte ought to be aware that if the massacres of Syria are renewed, foreign occupation will probably again take place; and that no jealousies will prevent the Great Powers from taking effectual measures for the preservation of the property.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

In speaking to Aali Pasha, your Excellency will use language in conformity with that of the present despatch.

As to the remaining suggestions in your despatch No. 839, I have only to say that I think the Commission may agree upon a Report before the end of January. When that Report shall be confirmed by the Porte a foundation will be laid for the future peace of Syria. But if the Porte is not prepared to take this course, Her Majesty's Government must reconsider the subject.

I enclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Dufferin.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 291

Consul-General Moore to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29)

(No. 52)

My Lord,

Beirut, December 10, 1860.

AN incident has just occurred here which, presenting as it does some features of public interest, I beg, in Lord Dufferin's absence at Damascus, to report to your Lordship.

The Maronite community decided upon giving a native theatrical entertainment, by subscription, in honour of the French General and army of occupation.

General d'Hautpoul having accepted the invitation, others were sent, at the suggestion, it is understood, of the General, to his Excellency Fuad Pasha and to the foreign Consuls. It was hoped that the Commissioners would have returned from Damascus in time for the occasion—a hope, however, which was not realised.

The entertainment took place on the day appointed. The arrangements and decorations, so less than the subject of the piece performed, were the appearance of a political demonstration. French soldiers mounted guard at the entrance of the house, and a French military band supplied the music. In front of the stage was a device, with the names of the Powers thus grouped—"France, Russia, and Prussia," and "Turkey, England, and Austria," and underneath, "La nation Maronite reconnaissante." The drama performed was taken from the history of the Caliphs of Bagdad, and was a satire upon misgovernment.

No. 292.

General d'Hautpoul, accompanied by about sixty officers and Count Bentivoglio, with his Staff, having arrived, the performance commenced with the reading of an Arabic address in the name of the Maronite community, expressive of the acknowledgments of the Christians of Syria to the Porte for sending such a distinguished personage as Fuad Pasha to Syria, and to the Great Powers of Europe for the sympathy and aid which they had extended to the suffering Christians, for which they must be eternally grateful. The Emperor of the French was mentioned by name, and his humanity, generosity, and power extolled, whilst the other Sovereigns of Europe were alluded to in general terms, as "les autres." I have, &c.

Fuad Pasha, whom I subsequently met at Count Bentivoglio's, alluded to the subject, and expressed, in strong terms, his disapprobation and annoyance at the arrangements and character of the whole affair, adding that he had made his escape ("esquiver") as soon as possible from the whole scene.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. WRENCH.

No. 293.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29)

No. 40

My Lord,

Damascus, December 12, 1860

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH

Inclosure in No. 293.

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, December 12, 1860

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that on the 1st instant the Commissioners of the five European Powers arrived at Beirut. It will not be necessary for me to make any remarks on their conduct, as Lord Dufferin will already have acquainted your Excellency with the arrangements made by the Turkish authorities for their reception, and with his own impressions on the present state of the city.

On the 8th instant the Commissioners left together for Beyrut, which place they reached on the 10th.

The day previous to the arrival of the Commissioners the authorities received orders from his Excellency Fuad Pasha to clear the Christian quarter of the remains of the fallen houses. Immediately 1,000 labourers and 200 animals were impressed for the work.

The last time I visited the Christian quarter, on the 7th instant many of the streets had been cleared of the earth which encumbered them, and which was, in many places, to the depth of six feet. The workmen are still engaged in clearing the remaining streets, but it is said they will not, at present, remove the earth from the interiors of the houses. Many skeletons have been disinterred, and the bones buried in the Christian burial-ground outside the town. I have not heard that any valuables have been discovered. The workmen are paid from 7 to 8 piastres a-day (1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d.), which is levied on the Mussulmans of the city.

Since I last had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the 29th of November, three Christian families have returned from Beirut, but the heads of these families being Government employés, their return was compulsory.

On the other hand, the Christians in Damascus are still continuing to leave, although not in such large numbers as formerly. The Government allowance of 50 paras (2½d.) a-day to all adult Christians is more than forty

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days in arrears, and almost the only assistance they now obtain from the Turkish authorities is two small loaves of bread per d.

At the present moment they are very badly supplied with beds, but I hope, through the representations of Lord Dufferin, that before many days are over a large quantity of beds and coverlets will be distributed. Charcoal is also very scarce among them, although the Government has distributed a small quantity.

The disarmament seems almost to be forgotten; the possessors of arms have either hidden them in their houses or sent them to the villages, and their recovery now will be very difficult. Extremely severe measures must be adopted by the authorities before any success will be attained in the matter.

A few Druses have been taken in the neighbourhood of Rasheya and sent here; no Druses are tried here, but, when a certain number is collected in Damascus, they are sent under guard to Beyrout.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 29.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — (Received December 29)

(No. 37)

My Lord,

Damascus, December 4, 1860.

I HAVE the satisfaction to announce to your Lordship that M. Ferrette, my delegate for the reparation of the burned villages, has reported to me that he has completed the roofing-in of all the houses in the Christian villages of the district assigned to him.

The consequence of this timely measure has been that the inhabitants have returned to their agricultural operations, that the progress of mortality and disease among them has been greatly checked, and that affairs in that part of the country are beginning to assume a more cheerful aspect.

I need not say what pleasure I have in being able to communicate intelligence of this nature to your Lordship. I have, however, to regret that the progress of the work of reconstruction is not so rapid as I had hoped for. The want of funds, arising from M. Ferrette's operations, has been a serious obstacle to the progress of the work.

The want of funds, arising from M. Ferrette's operations, has been a serious obstacle to the progress of the work. The want of funds, arising from M. Ferrette's operations, has been a serious obstacle to the progress of the work. The want of funds, arising from M. Ferrette's operations, has been a serious obstacle to the progress of the work.

It is perhaps to be regretted that from the first some steps should not have been taken to winnow, by means of a labour-test, the destitute masses that came crowding into Beyrout. So sensible was I of such a necessity that immediately on my arrival in Syria I commenced a little road-making on my own account, and at the same time suggested to Foad Pasha that he should adopt, on a more extensive scale, a similar method of checking the demoralizing effects of a pauper system.

The difficulties, however, in the way of the application of such an idea seem to be almost insurmountable on the present peculiar occasion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — (Received December 29)

(No. 28)

My Lord,

Damascus, December 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter which I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Burnaby, giving an account of the satisfactory way in which the work of reconstruction has been progressing in his district.

The statements Colonel Burnaby makes in regard to the tardy nature of the assistance afforded by the French army of occupation, though unconfirmed by my own personal observation, agrees with the accounts I have received from other quarters.

Should the conduct of Colonel Burnaby and M. Ferrette have met with the approval of your Lordship, I should be glad to be permitted to convey to them so flattering an announcement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 297

Colonel Burnaby to Lord Dufferin

My Lord,

Am Hamade, December 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that it is now three weeks since the forty-three villages of the Great Meten District of Mount Lebanon have been provided with shelter for their inhabitants against the approaching winter.

I have also to report that no less than one-quarter of the houses have been recently reconstructed.

As upon my duties seven weeks ago, I found that the total was quite sufficient to bring about the reconstruction of the district, but I have been obliged to re-adjust the detail of the entire estimate; for I found that the valuations of many individuals as to several villages had been unfairly estimated. The Arab valuers, in connection of a bribe, had been induced to favour many, and in order that

giving a just valuation to others, from whence would have arisen a great injustice, which I am happy to report has now been set straight.

The difficulty experienced by the Porte of immediately paying the cost of the valuation has been no slight impediment to a speedy reconstruction. It was in consequence of this that I proposed to the Pasha the following proceeding, which he authorized me to adopt, viz., that the timber required for the villages should be cut from the extensive forest, and that the necessary number of trees should be levied, not as a tax, but in order to prevent speculators withholding them unless the price were paid (which they were doing), and that these trees should be distributed, in lieu of a certain payment, to the burned villages.

Thus the bad debt, the payment of which was so urgently required by those who stood in immediate need of it, has been transferred to the proprietors of the trees, who can better await its payment.

By the adoption of this proceeding, the whole of the money that was able to be spared by the Treasury of the Porte became available, without having to employ it in the purchase of timber, which was the most expensive article of construction.

The normal condition of the people of the villages, has been a matter which I have been anxious to bring about as soon as possible. Therefore, directly the work of reconstruction has been provided for them, I abstained from employing the labour power of the district, which I have endeavoured to induce to return to its agricultural and other former occupations, which for the last six months have been entirely neglected. In releasing the people from working at their houses I have not in any way diminished the number of hands, nor the activity required to complete the reconstruction of the villages; I have simply employed labour from afar, instead

I am happy to be able to inform your Lordship that in many cases I have been able to rebuild the houses at a lower rate than the estimate allowed, and I have received the permission of the authorities of the Porte to distribute grain and seed in lieu of the balance which the Treasury was unable to pay, but which in value, I had ascertained, happened to find itself in several of the Turkish granaries along the coast.

There is a matter I am anxious to bring before your Lordships' notice in connection with the district under my superintendence, which I consider important should be known, inasmuch as it serves to illustrate how little has been the desire of the French to bring about a speedy reconstruction of the villages of the Lebanon, which could so well have been done within the limit of the six months' occupation, had they wished it particularly with the assistance of 8,000 French soldiers, who, whether serving at home or in Africa, are always employed in various constructive or not on emergencies, but as a rule.

When I first entered upon my duties, I found the village of Hammona, which is situated within my district, already occupied with French troops, whom General de Steaufort informed me he had stationed there for the express purpose of reconstructing that place and its enviro-

ance in my power which, however, General de Beaufort told me I could not stand in need of.

I subsequently visited the place in question, and I was much concerned to find that little or no progress had been made in its reconstruction, and I was informed that the chief portion of its inhabitants were, in consequence, yet in Beirut.

Now perhaps no village of the Great Melen District presented such facilities. It has good roads around it to the various forests, which are close by, and it has had an intelligent soldiery at hand; and, nevertheless, I regret to state that its aspect and that of its environs is demonstrative of great neglect, and that no advantage has been taken of these facilities of transportation.

It is duty of men to be good, as a good man will
 come before his duty, as a good man will be
 good where the duty is.

[illegible]
$$C_{\text{eff}} = \frac{C_{\text{eff}}^{\text{max}}}{1 + \frac{C_{\text{eff}}^{\text{max}}}{C_{50}}} \quad (1)$$

The first two villages, *Changshu* and *Wuxi*, are in the *Yangtze River Delta*, the most developed region in China. The other two villages, *Yongqiang* and *Yongqiang*, are in the *Yangtze River Delta*, the most developed region in China.

It is my duty, your Lordship, that no opportunity shall be lost on my part to bring about the speedy welfare of these people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWYN S. BURNABY.

No. 294.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received December 29.)

No. 39 f

My Lord,

Beirut, December 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c. .
(Signed) **DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.**

Inclosure 1 in No. 298

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Damascus, December 4, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, translation of a petition addressed to the European Commissioners by the heads of the Christian sects inhabiting this city.

In examining this document, your Excellency will observe that, in addition to the demand for vengeance and compensation, a vehement note is expressed in the concluding paragraph that the Province should permanently occupied by an European force.

I am disposed to think that this exclusion of distrust in the will and the ability of the Turkish Government to protect them is not a factitious sentiment, but the expression of their genuine feelings stimulated to an extravagant degree by their priests and other designing

As the question thus opened up in one of considerable gravity, I propose in this despatch to convey to your Excellency my opinion on the value of the arguments adduced for the necessity of such a precaution. I have already intimated my conviction that if the Province of Damascus to be administered according to the ancient system, its Christian inhabitants may appear justified in entertaining considerable misgivings as to its future security, and from the tenour of the previous communication I have had the honour of addressing to your Excellency, you will perceive that I am not blind to the more remote contingencies by which the safety of those we have been instructed to consider our clients may be compro-

I now take upon myself the responsibility of stating my conviction that, under certain circumstances, the victims of the outrages may be recommended to put past all fear, and return to their homes, I trust I cannot be accused of a thoughtless inapprehension of the dangers which may be supposed to threaten them. I am thus anxious to make your Excellency aware of my thorough appreciation of the exigencies of the occasion, because I have reason to believe that the opinion thus expressed in direct variance with that of almost every European in the country. Nevertheless, I have no hesitation in saying that, as long as there remains in this Province a Plenipotentiary of the Porte, of capacity and courage, armed with due authority, and supported by a sufficient number of Turkish troops, there will not exist the slightest reason for alarm, or any danger that the horrors of the past summer should be repeated.

I am therefore of opinion that the European army of occupation is no longer necessary to the security of the Christian communities of Syria, that the expectations indicated by the petitioners should by all means be discouraged.

ad Pasha is, in fact, as far as the tranquility of the Province is concerned, completely master of the situation. His name inspires the most terror; and the Syrian population are of so vile a nature that it is a sentiment sufficiently powerful to master every other passion. As long, therefore, as Fund Pasha remains to terrorize Moslem fanaticism into inactivity, the Christians will be safe.

Successful, however, as his Excellency has been in convincing the Mahometan portion of the population of the risk they will incur by any repetition of their late excesses, he has undubiously failed to inspire their Christian fellow citizens with a corresponding feeling of security. This may be attributed to many causes. Among the foremost I would place the manner in which he has delayed the punishment of the Druses.

To the Christians of the Lebanon the onslaught of the Druses was but an exaggerated instance of one of those periodical calamities which from times past they have been accustomed to suffer or inflict, as the case might be, but in the eyes of the Damascenes it possessed a very different character. In its original position, as spectators of the tragedies enacted at Hasbeya, Hama, and Deir-el-Kamar, enabled them to appreciate with but too keenness the part played by the Lieutenants of the Governor of their city, and amid the carnage of mountain warfare the connivance of

the Turkish troops stood out to their imagination in terrible relief. To remove this impression the most energetic measures were required.

Unfortunately Fuad Pasha on his arrival inaugurated a system of retribution calculated rather to satisfy the public opinion of Europe than to convince the sufferers on the spot of the heartiness with which he espoused their cause. This impression has been confirmed by the plausible arguments afforded to those who had an interest in maintaining a state of anarchy by the questionable circumstances under which some of the Druse chiefs escaped to the Lailah, and the unaccountable impunity enjoyed by the tribe whom the inhabitants of Damascus had come to consider as thieves and tools of their treacherous rulers.

These misgivings thus excited are daily stimulated by instances, often true and always exaggerated, of the sympathy and partiality shown by Turkish officers to the Druses of the Anti-Lebanon and the southern plain. Only the other day a well authenticated report reached me that a detachment of Turkish troops having occasion to occupy a mixed Druse-Christian village in the neighbourhood of Damascus, the officer in charge quartered his soldiers on the Christian part of the population, and exacted from it whatever he wanted from its Druse inhabitants.

A circumstance which may have prevented the restoration of the outrages have been left by the Government. As your Excellency is aware, not a Christian roof remains standing in Damascus: in the course of forty-eight hours a population of 18,000 persons were turned into the street, beggared and destitute, with scarcely clothes to cover them.

To meet a crisis which would have embarrassed a far richer treasury and a better organized administration than Fuad Pasha had at his disposal, a certain number of Moslems were turned out of their houses, and an attempt was made to effect a restoration of some of the plundered property. Owing to the stupidity or corruption of the staff of officials entrusted with the execution of this operation, it has almost completely failed. It was found that even a pure Christian Commission, composed of the principal representatives of the various sects, could not be trusted with the distribution of the scanty dole it was in the power of the Government to dispense. The consequence has been that at this moment the remnant of the Christian population left at Damascus are destitute of many of the necessities of life.

During the last few months, I have invariably found that their supply of bedding, blankets, and cooking utensils were inadequate to their wants, and in many instances, that the daily pittance of 30 paras (2½ a-head), was in arrears.

The sense of discomfort which such a state of things entails they naturally attribute to the malevolence of the Government, and behold in their present misfortune a continuation of that system of persecution which the Moslems have inaugurated.

Business being at a standstill, their shops and stock burnt, their instruments and tools destroyed, all occupation is at an end, and their sole employment consists in stimulating each other's fears, and bandying from mouth to mouth the exaggerated rumours of ill-treatment.

To these two principal causes of mistrust others may be added, less powerful perhaps, but all tending in the same direction, the intellectual inferiority to which the Druse of this Government is being carried out as against the population, and the sinister alacrity with which the Government have taken advantage of it to deprive the followers of Abdul-Kader of their weapons; the disfavour and neglect displayed by the Government.

massacre, the liberation of some persons thrown into prison on the charge of murder; the rumoured return to Damascus of many who fled on Fuad Pasha's arrival; the appointment of Shukri Pasha to the post of Acting Governor of the city; the casual expressions of ill-will which fall from the Turkish soldiers, and similar circumstances which their fears alone will not with a suspicious character.

The enumeration of the above-mentioned causes of continued terror will, I think, both account to your Excellency for its existence, and at the same time convince you that it is an unreasonable sentiment. The delay in

punishing the Druses arises from no feeling of tenderness in Fuad Pasha towards that unfortunate nation, but it is to be accounted for partly by an unwillingness to break with the only native element upon whose valour he could count in case circumstances should place him in open hostility to the French, and partly by a feeling of compunction in dealing too harshly with a people whose excesses his conscience tells him have been encouraged by officers of the Porte.

As for the helpless condition in which the Christians are allowed to remain, it is simply the result of the utter poverty of the Government, and its deficiency in all materials for organizing a proper system of relief.

The ineffectual manner in which the Moslems are being disarmed is the natural consequence of the want of method and the hollowness of the promises appointed to superintend the operation; while the other circumstances to which I have alluded are either grossly exaggerated or destitute of the significance attached to them.

I am therefore of opinion that, as far as the city of Damascus is concerned, Fuad Pasha and the Turkish troops upon whom, I believe, all necessary reliance may be placed are sufficient guarantees for public security, and further investigation has convinced me that, if the Government could be placed in a condition to afford due compensation to the Christians for their losses, and that the reconstruction of their quarters in a few months would suffice to obliterate the impression which they

presently overpower them.

With regard to the Lebanon, if we inquire how far the ascendancy obtained by Fuad Pasha over the minds of the Moslem subjects of the Porte extends to the Druses, the answer is equally satisfactory. At this moment the Druse nation is prostrate at his feet. From all quarters of the country they are sending in acknowledgments of their guilt, and expressions of submission to any degree of punishment it may be his pleasure to inflict. The presence, therefore, of an European force in Syria is even less necessary to the tranquility of the Mountain than it is to the security of Damascus. Nay, truth compels me to assert that, each day that French troops are suffered to remain within the precincts of the province, all prospect of a return to peace and order is rendered more remote.

The childish insolence of the Christians is becoming every day more rampant, their priesthood openly avow their desire to throw off all allegiance to the Porte, and the conduct of the French officers and soldiery tends universally to degrade, in the eyes of its subjects, the authority of the Sultan.

In proof of this latter statement I may mention that, no later than yesterday, some Turkish soldiers were set upon and robbed of their arms by a party of French because they refused to give up a couple of Mousketeers, whose white turbans induced these latter to mistook that they were Druses.

Your Excellency will doubtless wonder how it comes to pass that Fuad Pasha should submit so tamely to such intolerable usage. I can only say that his want of spirit is to me inexplicable. I can only account for it on the supposition that his position at Constantinople is so delicate as to render him timid in the assertion of the prerogatives of his office.

To return, however, to the question of the continuance of European

Your Excellency will observe that there seems to exist, as far as an foresight can determine, reasonable grounds for the expectation that, provided Fuad Pasha, armed with his present powers, remains in the country, there is no longer any necessity for a foreign army in Syria.

As the occupation by a foreign force of the territory of an independent sovereign is, under any circumstances, attended with innumerable evils, its removal, as a matter of course, should take place as soon as the major necessity which occasioned its entry into the country shall have ceased. Since, therefore, the Turkish Government has triumphantly vindicated its ascendancy over its revolted subjects, and proved itself competent to the task which it was supposed might prove so far beyond its powers as to require extraneous aid, it is now both the interest and duty of the Sultan's

allies to relieve him of a species of assistance which becomes a burden when it ceases to be a necessity.

The immediate withdrawal of the French army would seem to be the natural conclusion from these arguments; but there are certain considerations which must modify, in manner and degree, the execution of such a step.

In estimating the nature of the ascendancy Fual Pasha has succeeded in acquiring, I have been careful to distinguish between the impressions his policy has made on the Moslems and Druses, and that which has been conveyed to the minds of the Christians. These latter I have described as still subject to a sentiment of terror, stimulated to excess by priests and other designing persons, but still sufficiently genuine to be worthy of attention. Now, in making arrangements for the return of the army of occupation to France, due weight must be given to the effect likely to be produced by such a measure on the minds of those who have come to look upon that army not only as the instrument which was to realize their dreams of domination, but as their sole protection against foes whom they believe to be biding the time when they can with impunity recommence the half-accomplished work of extermination. So profound is this latter conviction, that many of the richest Syrian Christians have already retired to Alexandria, and almost all those of the better class with whom I have conversed are only waiting to receive the compensation due to them by the Government to follow their example.

the indigenous inhabitants—it seems to pervade the European residents of this place; and I have been informed that the rumoured withdrawal of the army of occupation has even given rise to a proposal, emanating from the English and American portion of the public, that such an intention should be met by a formal protest.

I do not, myself, attach any importance to such expressions of local feeling. The atmosphere of this town is so impregnated with falsehood and discoloured by prejudice and intrigue, that it requires a considerable effort of the reason, as well as accurate information, for any one to emancipate himself from its disturbing influences, but I mention the circumstance because the native mind being so prone to exaggerate any impression prevalent among the Europeans the existence of such an opinion amongst the one will convey some idea of the intensity with which it is cherished by the other.

order, therefore, to avoid any increase of panic, whether among the Christian or the Moslem population, I think it would be advisable to ~~facilitate~~ ^{facilitate} the removal of the army of occupation in as gradual and uncontentious a manner as possible, so that no violent recast of sentiment should ensue upon their departure.

With this view it would be well to concentrate as soon as possible the various regiments scattered over the Mountain within the neighbourhood of Beyrout, where they could still be in a position to meet any tendency to reaction either on the part of the Government or the anti-Christian element. The publication of a general amnesty which, according to an engagement entered into by Fua'd Pasha with the Commissioners, is shortly to take place, might be a convenient occasion for this move towards the sea, as the pacification of the Lebanon once accomplished there is no necessity for their presence in the Mountain.

Restricted to Bayonet, with no prospect of further employment, a change of opinion would probably ensue in the minds of the General and officers as to the necessity of continued occupation, and the other Governments of Europe would be relieved from the complications arising out of differences of opinion on the degree of risk incurred by such a step, especially as the influence possessed by the French might enable them to fulfil whatever predictions they might make on this subject.

It is almost hopeless, however, to expect that Fuzul Pasha will have the courage to invite M. de Beaufort to retire on leave.

venture most respectfully to submit to your
engaging the Porte to recommend to
decided attitude in this matter.

[illegible]

According to the Convention the period of occupation should terminate by the end of February.

Whether or not it is advisable to insist upon the total evacuation of the country by the whole corps d'armée within the specified time, is a point I shall venture to discuss on a subsequent occasion.

In the mean time it would be satisfactory if the process of execution could be begun and conducted in a gradual manner. Were Fund Pasha once established as the head of such a Government as I have already alluded to your Excellency in my previous despatches there would be little cause for uneasiness. At present, destitute as he is of funds and of trustworthy subordinates, it is difficult to hope he will be able to prevent so flagrant a spectacle of order and good government in the province as it is desirable should have been evoked on the cessation of its intervention.

In conclusion I would ask your Excellency to excuse the length of this paper - nothing but the importance of the subject would have induced to trespass so long on your attention. I have endeavoured as far as I

endeavoured to avoid, on the one hand, a thoughtless disregard of the apprehensions for the future which are entertained by many resident authorities of experience and sagacity, while, on the other, I can conscientiously say I have not suffered my judgment to be warped by the exaggerated timidity which characterises what may be called the public opinion of this locality; and in corroborating to your Excellency the conviction which more extensive observation is daily confirming that Feroz Pasha is at the moment able (I will not say to maintain order, for frequent instances of murder and outrage are still occurring in the wider districts) but to prevent its flagrant disturbances, I am anxious to admit that it is difficult to predict with absolute certainty to what lengths the caprices of fanaticism may yet drive so impressionable a people as the

I have, too.

(Signed) **DEFFERIN AND CLANBOYNE.**

Enclosure 2 to No. 218

Journal of Interpersonal Violence

To Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner.

WE have the honour to state your Lordship that the calamities which befall us, by the massacre of our men and some of our females, the shedding of blood in different and most disastrous ways, of which no number can have been mentioned during the past centuries, the compulsion of renouncing our religion, the violation of our females, the plunder of our property, the burning of our churches, convents, and houses, — have been known to everybody either by hearing or seeing. We, therefore, do not at present like to grieve your Lordship by repeating its details, but as we become in consequence in a lamentable state, and are still deprived of all assistance from all parts, and as your Lordship has come to this country by royal orders to look into our state, and into the catastrophes which surrounded us, as the crying of widows, orphans, and the blood of the butchered reached the utmost of the world, we beg your Lordship to have mercy on your servants by giving us a perfect rest.

1. We demand the blood of our brethren which was innocently shed.
2. The punishment of those who violated our laws.

3. The compensation of all our losses.

1. Churches and convents.

2. Houses and other places according to their

value. A permanent security for the present and for the future, because we have no security for ourselves, property, harem, religion, churches, &c., if no permanent force which we may depend on would exist for protecting us.

We appeal and intreat your Lordship's Government for all here above mentioned. Have pity on us! Have pity on us! Have pity on us! for God's sake.

We beseech the Almighty that He may preserve and protect for Majesty's Government for ever.

Damascus, November 20, 1860.

(Signed)

KHURRI HANNAH ZAWA, Greek Orthodox Agent.

KHURRI KIRILLUS PAHAK, Greek Catholic Agent.

KHURRI FILIPPOS, Syrian Catholic Agent.

KHURRI IBRAHIM SHALHI B, Servant of the Eastern Catholic.

A. in and Chaldean Sects.

Chief of Old Armen.

Agent of Armen. Sect.

KHURRI SEMAN, Agent of Old Syrian Sect.

KHURRI MUSA, Maronite Priest.

Inclosure 3 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 11, 1860.

I WOULD venture to draw your Excellency's attention to a subject remotely connected with the Government of this country, and in regard to which perhaps, some measures must be taken.

As your Excellency is aware, the exiled Sheikh Abd-el-Kader has been for some time past a resident at Damascus. During the late disturbances he and the Algerines about him, to the number of 1,500 men, declared themselves on the side of the Christians, and were instrumental in saving many lives. This conduct has obtained for him the most flattering testimonials from almost all the Governments of Europe, including that of Her Majesty. But unfortunately the same circumstance has rendered his position at Damascus less agreeable than it had hitherto been. His Syrian fellow-citizens have come to regard him as an enemy, while the eminence he has attained in the eyes of Europe, and the project which has been agitated of creating him Viceroy over the Arab populations, has awakened to some slight degree the jealousy of the Turks.

If far too acute a man not to be aware of the way in which he is regarded, and the feeling of bitterness which such a course naturally engenders, has been further stimulated by the eagerness with which the Mudir has taken advantage of the pretext for the disarmament of Damascus, to deprive the Algerines of their weapons. The consequence has been that Abd-el-Kader may be looked upon henceforth as a personage likely to be both obnoxious and inimical to the authorities. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that he is exposed to hope.

French, a gracious opportunity for allowing him to return to his native land.

As far as I have been able to learn the Emir has upwards of 8,000 Algerine followers quartered in different parts of Syria. This foreign element, inclined to disaffection, would prove an embarrassment to any Provincial Government, and in the East the means adopted to escape from such a difficulty are often more summary than humane.

I spoke to Fual Pasha on the subject of the disarmament of the

Algerines, and nothing could have been more handsome than the terms in which he has offered to disarm them. He has offered to give them a body-guard of 200 armed men, but that it was out of the question to make an exception in favour of the whole 1,500. This is undoubtedly just, yet it is a pity it should be ever necessary to put a slight on a personage so deserving of consideration.

Moreover, I am afraid that unless the Algerine Chieftain be removed similar occasions of irritation will be constantly recurring.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANKROYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 11, 1860.

IN transmitting to Excellency copy of the Protocol of the twelfth sitting of the Commission I would venture to call your Excellency's attention to the somewhat unbusinesslike precipitancy with which my colleagues are prone to act in decreeing penal contributions against the Mussulman and Druse.

On these occasions I always endeavour to mitigate, as far as I can, the effect of the violent measures which are proposed in order that justice may not degenerate into persecution.

The collection of 35,000,000 piastres from the citizens of Damascus in the course of a week, as insisted upon by M. Bédard is a simple impossibility: 10,000,000 could hardly be collected in a week.

As, however, I perceived that the summary method with which the Damascenes had provoked a slight degree of irritation, I thought it advisable to wait for another opportunity before attempting to induce him to abandon the extravagant levy in kind he has devised against the Druses.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANKROYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 298.

Protocol of the Twelfth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beirut, November 21, 1860.

Le Mercredi, vingt-et-un Novembre, mil huit cent soixante, les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Fual Pacha,

ont délibéré sur les bases suivantes:—

On compte à Damas:—

13,354 maisons Musulmanes

7,000 " " "

2,000 " " "

15,000 " " "

2,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

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1,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

1,000 " " "

PIASTRES

13,354

7,000

2,000

15,000

2,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

Ce qui produirait ensemble 21,450,000

En ajoutant, à cette première somme, une contribution de 13,550,000 piastres sur les riches dont les revenus sont approximativement connus, on arriverait à lever sur la ville de Damas une contribution totale de 35,000,000 de piastres, chiffre proposé par M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman dans une des séances précédentes.

Tel est ce nouveau projet. Il diffère notablement de ceux qui ont déjà été soumis à l'examen de la Commission. Elle est d'avis que celui de Fual Pacha est le mieux conçu. En faisant reposer l'assiette de l'impôt sur la valeur locative des maisons, c'est-à-dire, sur une donnée déjà connue, et qui sert habituellement de base aux opérations du fisc, ce projet semble à la fois plus expéditif et plus pratique que celui de M. Outrey, qui répartit l'impôt en diverses catégories de maisons non encore établies. Il semble aussi à la Commission plus équitable, parce qu'il frappe toutes les classes de la population Musulmane, tandis que M. Outrey exclut le tiers contribuant ou les Musulmans des classes pauvres qui n'ont que de contribuer, dans une large mesure, sans doute, au pillage des maisons Chrétiennes de Damas.

Dans le projet de Fual Pacha, (Art. 4,) chaque individu paie en proportion de la maison qu'il possède et qu'il habite lui-même, ainsi que pour la boutique ou le magasin qu'il possède, et où il exerce un métier ou un commerce. Une somme équivalente au double de la valeur locative de sa propriété.

Art. 5.) Chaque individu paie pour sa maison, magasin et boutique, qu'il a loué à loyer, le triple de la valeur locative, inscrite dans le registre

Art. 6. Les propriétaires de bains, khans et jardins, qu'ils exploitent eux-mêmes, ou qu'ils afferment, paieront quatre fois autant que la valeur locative, inscrite dans les registres.

Art. 7. Ceux qui ne possèdent ni une boutique ou magasin de quelque industrie, ni une maison, ni un commerce, qui ne soient propriétaires, ont à payer comme impôt industriel, une somme équivalente au loyer d'un an de la propriété qu'ils occupent.

Dans ce système, l'impôt sur les maisons devra donner 21,000,000 de piastres, l'impôt sur les maisons, boutiques et magasins loués, les khans, bains et jardins 4,000,000 de piastres, l'impôt sur les marchands industriels 5,000,000 de piastres. La somme complémentaire, nécessaire pour parfaire le montant total de l'imposition de 35,000,000, sera levée sur les riches.

Ce projet a donc l'avantage de ne pas frapper indistinctement d'une même contribution tous les immeubles d'une même catégorie. Le projet de M. Outrey, au contraire, frappe tous les établissements ou immeubles d'une même nature, comme le troisième projet ci-dessus mentionné. Il y a lieu de se demander si la somme complémentaire qu'il prélève sur les riches sera plus équitable que dans ce dernier projet.

A ces divers titres, et tout en reconnaissant que les trois projets qui ont été soumis à l'examen de la Commission contiennent des indications utiles, la Commission a cru devoir donner son acquiescement à celui qui a été élaboré par son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Un premier point, touchant l'assiette et la répartition de l'impôt, étant ainsi élucidé, Fual Pacha exprime l'opinion que la perception ne pourrait avoir lieu immédiatement.

M. le Commissaire Français est d'avis qu'il faut au contraire le percevoir en une seule fois et immédiatement. Il craint de voir observer que les Musulmans de Damas n'ont point consulté les convenances des Chrétiens quand ils les ont massacrés, quand ils ont livré leurs maisons au pillage et à l'incendie. Il n'admet pas que l'on consulte les Chrétiens mêmes Musulmans, quand il s'agit de leur faire payer une contribution.

Il n'est rien, en comparaison du dommage réel et des souffrances éprouvées par leurs victimes. Et quand bien même la difficulté que les Damasquiens éprouveront à payer en une seule fois leur imposition serait aussi grande qu'on veut bien le dire, où serait le mal? Damas n'est pas seulement une ville dans laquelle on puisse; c'est une ville coupable que l'on châtie. En la frappant d'un impôt extraordinaire, on peut atteindre une multitude de ceux qui ont échappé au glaive de la justice, et ceux-là mêmes qui, sans avoir pris matériellement part au massacre, à l'incendie, au

pillage, se sont rendus coupables, par leur inaction, les crimes et les crimes. Ils ne méritent aucun ménagement, d'ailleurs les délais qu'on demanderait ne leur sont pas nécessaires. Il est possible qu'au lendemain d'un si grand désastre, l'argent se soit caché, qui se cache encore; mais il existe bien certainement, et à la première injonction il se montrera.

Il est hors de toute vraisemblance que Damas, peuplée de plus de 100,000 âmes, renommée par son luxe et pour ses richesses, ne puisse fournir d'un seul coup 35,000,000 de piastres, c'est-à-dire, seulement 7,000,000 de francs. M. Béchard conclut, en demandant que Damas soit contrainte de fournir cette somme immédiatement, et dans le délai d'un mois.

Fual Pacha répond que le caractère pénal de cette contribution est évident, et que les Damasquiens ne cessent pas de la remémorer, à quelque moment que la contribution doive avoir lieu; qu'il s'agit seulement dans sa pensée, de rendre la mesure effective.

Il craint les embarras qui résulteraient d'un trop grand nombre de contraintes. Si plusieurs milliers de Damasquiens ne peuvent acquitter leur part de contribution, il faudra saisir leurs biens meubles.

Il craint qu'ils n'aient pas de quoi payer quand ils n'en auront pas. Le Gouvernement pourra-t-il pourvoir à la nourriture d'un si grand nombre d'individus? Il est déjà débiteur envers Damas d'une somme presque égale à celle de l'imposition extraordinaire de 30,000,000 de piastres.

Fual Pacha termine, en répétant que le châtiment pour Damas consiste dans l'impôt lui-même, et il ajoute que la réponse faite par M. le Commissaire Français soulève une question nouvelle et imprévue, de savoir si, par la manière de l'appliquer, le châtiment doit être

M. le Commissaire Prussien observe que l'opinion du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman devrait être prise en considération, si l'on était encore en l'attente des événements, mais ces événements ont eu lieu déjà.

Il craint que les habitants de Damas n'aient rien fait qui prouve de leur part le moindre repentir. Il est peut-être mort, dit M. de Rehfues, que les habitants d'une ville, théâtre d'événements si épouvantables, n'aient spontanément aucune mesure pour les réparer.

Les Damasquiens n'ont même déblayé les ruines des maisons incendiées, sans les débris desquelles gisent encore de nombreux cadavres. Les ordres de l'Administration ont été donnés à cet égard, mais ils n'ont pas encore eu d'effet.

Les habitants de Damas n'ont droit à aucune espèce de ménagement, et depuis quatre mois ils n'ont fait qu'aggraver leur situation.

M. de Rehfues ajoute que la créance de Damas sur le Gouvernement Ottoman est une affaire réservée entre la Sublime Porte et l'une des villes de l'Empire. La Commission n'a point à s'en occuper.

Si le Gouvernement est en mesure, par l'emprunt qu'il est actuellement en train de faire, de venir en aide aux Damasquiens dont il est le débiteur, pourquoi ne peut-il s'opposer à ce qu'il le fasse.

Ce que M. de Rehfues, en sa qualité de Membre de la Commission, demande, c'est qu'en faisant appel d'importance à toutes les ressources, les Musulmans de Damas soient mis dans l'obligation de fournir 35,000,000 de piastres en argent ou en valeurs immédiatement réalisables.

Pour une ville telle que Damas, c'est une somme presque énorme. Pour une ville telle que Damas, c'est une somme presque énorme.

Il craint qu'il ne soit en contradiction avec le projet de loi. Il craint qu'il ne soit en contradiction avec le projet de loi.

Il a résolu d'imprimer à toutes les mesures concernant les événements. Pour hâter ce règlement, la Commission a décidé, dans sa précédente séance, que les Chrétiens seraient payés sommairement, par catégories, c'est-à-dire, par approximation, et qu'une fois ce paiement expéditif effectué aucune victime ne serait admise ultérieurement à réclamer

aucune indemnité ou complément d'indemnité. M. Novikow trouve au contraire juste que les Musulmans soient traités de la même manière.

Si le mode de procéder adopté par la Commission à l'égard des Chrétiens n'est pas rendu inutile, et le seul avantage qu'il présente, c'est qu'il n'y a pas de système d'attribution dans la perception de l'impôt, il y aurait lieu de le suivre.

selon lui, de revenir sur les décisions que la Commission a prises dans la séance précédente, et de recourir plutôt au système d'une évaluation régulière, qui serait au moins de nature à assurer aux Chrétiens le bénéfice de ces lenteurs, en leur permettant de poursuivre l'indemnité rigoureuse de toutes les pertes qu'ils ont subies.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche déclare que ses informations personnelles concourent avec celles de l'Émir Pacha, en lui donnant à penser que la perception immédiate et intégrale des 35,000,000 de piastres est d'une extrême difficulté. Il cite à cet égard l'opinion du Consul d'Autriche à Damas, et il fait observer que, si, en accordant à Damas des délais pour le paiement, on pouvait tirer d'elle une somme plus considérable, cette combinaison serait avantageuse aux Chrétiens eux-mêmes. Ce qui importe aux Chrétiens, c'est que le paiement intégral de leur indemnité

plutôt que plusieurs paiements partiels et successifs. S'il en était ainsi, peut-être pourrait-on procéder par acomptes à la levée de l'impôt de Damas, faciliter la tâche du Gouvernement et concilier toutes les exigences de la situation.

Lord Dufferin croit que la Commission ne peut se prononcer sur un point actuellement soumis à sa délibération, et prendre une résolution contraire à l'opinion formellement exprimée par son Excellence, s'appuyant sur des faits, et sans avoir des notions positives sur l'état des ressources de Damas. On peut, dit-il, vouloir frapper Damas d'un châtiment sévère, cela est juste; mais la mesure du châtiment ne peut être arbitraire. Lord Dufferin est porté à croire pour son propre compte l'assomption de 35,000,000 de piastres n'est pas une somme considérable. Mais il éprouve en même temps quelque scrupule à trancher la question du mode et du moment de la perception. Il voudrait être sûr de ne pas outrepasser les forces contributives de cette cité, en exigeant d'elle un paiement immédiat qui l'épuiserait, et briserait peut-être à jamais le ressort de son activité commerciale et industrielle. Il voudrait notamment que le rapport entre le revenu locatif des maisons de Damas et le revenu total de ses habitants fût exactement connu. En un mot, Lord Dufferin voudrait que l'on évitât contre Damas, dans le présent, jusqu'au point seulement où l'on serait bien sûr de ne pas compromettre son avenir. Lord Dufferin conclut que, dans le projet de M. Outrey, la perception de l'impôt est divisée en trois paiements, division qui n'a sans doute pas été suggérée à son auteur par une connaissance méchante de la situation de Damas. M. le Commissaire Britannique exprime en conséquence le vœu que M. Outrey soit invité à venir donner à la Commission tous les renseignements dont elle a besoin.

M. le Commissaire Français répond à Lord Dufferin que le projet de M. Outrey qu'il a eu l'honneur de communiquer à la Commission, est un document que la Commission n'est nullement tenue d'adopter dans toutes ses parties, quo, si M. Outrey propose de diviser en trois termes le paiement de l'impôt extraordinaire de Damas, on ne saurait en conclure rigoureusement que, dans la pensée même de M. Outrey, Damas soit incapable de tout payer en une seule fois, et que ses propres informations l'autorisent au contraire à penser que Damas est parfaitement en mesure de fournir immédiatement le montant total de la contribution. Sur le fond de la question, M. Bédard objecte à Lord Dufferin que l'impôt à lever sur Damas n'est pas un de ces impôts réguliers et durables pour l'établissement desquels un Gouvernement doit s'entourer de nombreux renseignements statistiques. C'est un impôt exceptionnel, établi entre des circonstances exceptionnelles, une véritable pénalité, une contribution qui sera

plus juste et plus morale qu'elle sera plus rigoureusement payée. Il y a lieu en outre de remarquer que cet impôt, quel qu'il soit, ne saurait être de nature à frapper Damas dans son avenir et dans sa vitalité commerciale et industrielle, attendu que les 35,000,000 de piastres qu'il s'agit de lever sur cette ville n'en sortiraient pas. Ils ne seront que changer de main. Relevés aux Musulmans qui les cachent, ils passeront dans celles des Chrétiens qui les consacreront à de nombreux travaux de reconstruction et aux entreprises abandonnées du commerce et l'industrie. Les Chrétiens de Damas étaient les instruments les plus actifs

de sa prospérité. Au point de vue économique, point de vue auquel Lord Dufferin vient de se placer, non seulement la perception intégrale de l'impôt et la répartition immédiate des indemnités ne sont pas des mesures au contraire indispensables au prompt retour de sa prospérité.

La demande de Lord Dufferin, touchant le voyage de M. Outrey à Beyrouth, n'est appuyée par aucun membre de la Commission. M. le Commissaire de Prusse déclare que, si le Consul de France à Damas est appelé à venir déposer son opinion dans le sein de la Commission, il ne voit aucune raison pour que les Consuls des quatre autres Puissances n'y soient pas également invités.

M. le Commissaire Français se trouve dans le cas de faire observer que la présence de M. Outrey est impérieusement réclamée à Damas, dont la situation ne cesse pas d'être alarmante, mais il offre à la Commission de provoquer, de la part de M. Outrey, l'envoi par écrit de tous les renseignements qui seraient de nature à l'éclairer. Cette proposition est acceptée par la Commission, qui ajourne sa décision.

Avant la fin de la séance, M. Bédard appelle l'attention de M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte sur la misère des Chrétiens de la Montagne qui retournent dans leurs villages. Il serait selon lui convenable d'imposer aux Druses une contribution préalable, en qui permettrait de distribuer aux Chrétiens divers objets de première nécessité. On pourrait, dit-il, obliger chaque Druse à fournir

6 mesures de blé, 3 mesures d'orge; 10 rotols de maïs sec, 3 rotols de maïs vert; 2 marmites, 1 bassine, en cuivre, 1 tapis en poil de chèvre, 1 natte; 10 poutres, ou leur valeur à raison de 50 piastres.

Ce système de restitution a été mis facilement et très utilement en pratique par les officiers Français, dans certaines localités, occupées par des détachements du corps expéditionnaire.

Émir Pacha répond que des contributions de ce genre ont déjà été effectuées par ses ordres dans la Montagne, et qu'il vient notamment de requérir 40,000 mesures de semailles, prélevées sur les biens des Chefs Druses, qu'il fera distribuer aux Maconites, et prit d'autres d'autres mesures destinées à subvenir aux besoins les plus urgents des populations. Il exprime seulement la crainte que ces opérations ne soient entravées par l'ardeur des Chrétiens, qui, dans plusieurs villages, ont eux-mêmes exercé de violentes représailles contre les Druses, et pillé quelques unes de leurs

M. de Rohsuec signale à l'attention de M. le Commissaire Ottoman de récentes informations, d'après lesquelles un convoi de dix chameaux, chargés de poudre et d'armes, aurait été rencontré dans les environs de St Jean d'Acre, en destination pour les Druses rebelles et réfugiés dans le Haouan. La vente de ces munitions de guerre étant interdite dans les bazars de la ville, on a pu penser qu'elles avaient été détournées des magasins de la forteresse de St Jean d'Acre. M. de Rohsuec cite le nom des deux guides qui ont fait la rencontre de ce convoi, et Lord Dufferin demande le nom des Anglais que ces guides accompagnaient dans une excursion.

Émir Pacha proteste contre la pensée que ces munitions puissent provenir des magasins de l'État, et manifeste l'intention de porter, sur le fait qui lui est signalé, ses plus sévères investigations.

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie.

Suivent les signatures.

Inclosure 6 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beirut, December 11, 1860.

On coming from Damascus I learned to my great regret that Fuad Pasha had issued a decree which was an execution of the decree of the Sultan against the Druses.

I now have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a note I felt it my duty to address to the Turkish Government relative to the abuses which might arise out of the system of auxiliary units which would be thus inaugurated throughout a certain number of Druse villages by the French soldiers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 7 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Fuad Pasha.

Excellency,

Beirut, December 10, 1860.

AS I understand it is your Excellency's intention to make use of French troops in levying contributions on certain of the Druse villages, I feel it my duty to recall to your recollection the fact that, on the last occasion upon which the French army was engaged in an important movement in the Lebanon, a crowd of Christians took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them to commit upon those of the Druse nation who were in the way of the army, acts of violence as revolting as any that had been perpetrated on their own co-religionists.

On receiving intelligence of what had occurred Her Majesty's Government conveyed to me an expression of their very great indignation at results so little in accordance with the objects they had expected from French intervention would effect.

In order, therefore, to shelter myself from all responsibility in the event of any untoward accident, I beg most earnestly to call your Excellency's attention to the necessity of taking the necessary precautions against the recurrence of similar excesses on the present occasion.

It is not for me to suggest to your Excellency what these precautions should be, but I may be allowed to state that in my opinion it is indispensable each French officer about to be thus employed should be made to understand that he will be held responsible for all pillage, violation of women, or bloodshed, which may occur in the execution of what must be considered an affair of police and not a military operation.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that these gentlemen are unacquainted with the language of those with whom they will have to deal, that they are unaccustomed to the routine of tax-gathering, and that in the eyes of the inhabitants they are destitute of that prestige by which the native agents of Government are wont to make their authority respected; consequently it may not be unadvisable to warn those officers of the necessity of exercising the greatest temper and moderation in the execution of their duties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beirut, December 14, 1860.

Sir,

I AM happy to be able to announce to your Excellency that in consequence of a joint representation which was made to Fuad Pasha by M. Bédard and myself last night, his Excellency was induced to send off messengers in all directions countermanding for the present the execution of his decree against the Druses referred to in my previous despatch of the 11th instant.

I propose by the next mail to explain more fully to your Excellency the circumstances connected with this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 9 in No. 298.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beirut, December 12, 1860.

Sir,

IN my despatch of the 4th ultimo I had the honour of conveying to your Excellency my opinion, that if once the government of Syria were placed on the semi-independent footing, I ventured to propose the administration of the Mountain might to be assimilated in every respect to that of any other Pashalic of the Province, but that in order to defer to public expectation in France it might prove necessary that the pure Christian Kamakamahip should be allowed to retain—at all events in appearance—some of its ancient privileges. Such a compromise, however, involving the retention of the ancient duality of the Lebanon, rendered the principle of assimilation less effective. I have since had the opportunity of asking permission to reserve to a future occasion the consideration of the details connected with this part of the subject, and subsequent reflection has convinced me that the principle of assimilation we are anxious to introduce might be rendered more effective by an arrangement as likely to strengthen the hands of the native Government as it is to prove congenial to the wishes of the Emperor of France.

By the maintenance of a Maronite Kamakamahip many of the present evils are obviously perpetuated, an unavoidable antagonism is kept up between a formidable sect and a Government, and the anomaly of an *imperium in imperio*, though diminished, is still allowed to retain its awkward vitality. Yet it is impossible altogether to ignore the past. It is true the Maronites are incapable of self-government; yet, however unfit to exercise them, it might seem unjust to abolish privileges guaranteed to them by Europe. If, however, we change the word "Maronite" into "Christian" many of our difficulties would vanish, and it might become possible to extend to the entire Mountain an advantage which, if once deprived of its sectarian and local character, would no longer be obnoxious even to the Central Government.

It is with this view that I now beg to submit to your Excellency whether it might not be a good arrangement to erect the entire district of the Lebanon into a single Pashalic, differing in no respect from the other subdivisions of the province, except in the fact that the officer appointed to it must be Christian. By this means two great advantages would be gained. In the first place, France would obtain the opportunity of being able to say that her intervention had extended a Christian administration over the entire Mountain; while, on the other hand, the Governor-General would acquire means of exercising the most effectual control not only over the Mixed district, but in the Kesrowan itself, by the appointment of some foreign and non-Maronite Christian, in whose impartiality and devotion to himself he could confide. As it will be always in the interest

of the Syrian Government to maintain and to encourage the Greek Christians and the Druses in the Mountain, there is no disadvantage in the arrangement, there being no objection to the institution of Greek Magistrates, and the institution of Mixed Medjlises over the various sections of the new Pashalic.

So convinced have I become of the justice of this view, that I have gone so far as to submit it to Fuad Pasha's consideration. At first his Excellency seemed to regard the proposal with suspicion, and evinced an unwillingness to adopt it; but I think I have convinced him that, even in the interests of his own ascendancy in the Lebanon, should the government of Syria be ever entrusted to him, it will be better to adopt such an arrangement, while at the same time it will prove a golden bridge over which the French will be able to retreat, without the discredit of appearing to have acquired for their protégés less satisfactory arrangements than they had promised.

In a day or two, his Excellency is to favour me with a reply to my proposition. Should he prove willing to adopt it with real heartiness, I shall have no further misgivings in substituting it for the former arrangement I had suggested for the Lebanon; as a Christian Pasha, devoted to the Central authority, will undoubtedly prove a more convenient instrument for the Government of the Christian community than a Turk. Should he object, the old plan must be retained, as it would be unwise to force upon his Excellency any arrangement the practical working of which he could so easily embarrass.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEROYE

Inclosure 10 in No. 298

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, December

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Excellency's information copy of a paper which contains memoranda of the principles in accordance with which the plan I have already submitted to your Excellency's consideration, for the future government of Syria, was drawn up.

This document I yesterday communicated, confidentially to M. Bédard; and I have the satisfaction of stating that each of us met with the full and hearty concurrence of the other, the only two points on which there was a difference of opinion between us.

In the first place M. Bédard stated his conviction that it would be necessary to occupy Syria permanently by a mixed European force, in order to carry out the provisions I had proposed for its future administration. To this I replied, in a very decided manner, that such an arrangement seemed to me as unadvisable as it was impracticable; that, as far as I had observed, a foreign army of occupation had a tendency rather to disorganise a country than to strengthen the hand of its Government; and that I had no reason to believe any such arrangement would meet with your Excellency's approval. The French Commissioner then observed that in accepting the basis of reorganisation I submitted to him there was one reserve he should be desirous of making. According to my proposal the Lebanon would still be divided into two districts, of which the Northernmost was occupied by a purely Maronite population; in compliance, therefore, with Article 12 its local administration would be Christian. But in the Southern Division of the Mountain a majority of the inhabitants were also Christians. Why then should not the whole of the Mountain be considered as a single *arrondissement*, and its administration be entrusted to a Christian Governor, who should differ, however, in no other respect

any of his privileges or appointments, from any other Pasha or magistrate of the province?

This idea coincided so completely with the opinion I have already communicated to your Excellency in my despatch of the 12th instant, that I had some difficulty in concealing my satisfaction. I contented myself, however, with inquiring of my colleague whether he contemplated the Lieutenant of the Mountain being necessarily a Maronite and a native. "No," said M. Bédard, "provided he is a Christian it is indifferent to me whether he be Greek, Maronite, or Armenian: let him be any one the Governor-General shall select." Deferring for the moment any expression of opinion, I then took my leave of the French Commissioner and immediately waited on Fuad Pasha for the purpose of ascertaining to what conclusion his Excellency had arrived respecting the considerations I had already submitted to him touching this very point, and I was glad to discover that his Excellency had so completely reconciled himself to the idea that he had even provided himself with a list of Christian subjects of the Porte who would be competent to discharge the duties of the office in question.

Under these circumstances I shall have no hesitation in announcing to M. Bédard that, provided only he consents to the creation of satisfactory guarantees for the civil independence of the Druses and Greek Christians of the Southern Division of the Mountain, I shall have no objection to inquire of your Excellency whether it is your pleasure I should agree to make such a concession.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEROYE

Inclosure 11 in No. 298

Memoranda embodying the Principles in accordance with which the future Administration of Syria is to be conducted.

1. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire.
2. The extension of the benefits of European intervention to all the parts of Syria.
3. The principle of fusion, as opposed to that of disintegration, to be applied in dealing with the different sects and races that compose the population of the Province.
4. The placing of the civil, fiscal, and military administration of Syria on a different footing from that of the other provinces of the Empire.
5. The union, under one Governor-General, appointed by the Porte and approved by Europe, of all the Pashalics of the Province.
6. The individual responsibility of the new Governor-General for the tranquillity and good government of the territory confided to him.
7. The consequent supremacy of his authority over the entire Province.

8. The administration of the Lebanon to that of the other Pashalics, so that, on the one hand, in case of disturbances occurring in the Mountain, the Governor-General may not be able to shelter himself from blame behind the responsibility of his subordinate; or, on the other, be tempted by a feeling of jealousy at his independence to intrigue against the prosperous working of the new system.

9. The equality of the Christian subjects of the Province in the eye of the law, in regard to the tenure of land, the giving of evidence, &c.

10. A mixed army, drawn indiscriminately from the Moslem, Christian, Druse, and remaining races.

11. A police so constituted as that the maintenance of order among one tribe or sect should not be confided to the members of another.

12. A municipal administration, arranged with a view to the self-government, in all religious and non-political matters, of each sect and community. In Mixed districts, the Councils to reflect, as nearly as possible, the proportion in which the separate elements exist.

13. Political Agents of the five Powers to be provisionally accredited to the Divan of the Governor-General, with identic instructions, and the privilege of concerted action in pressing their views on his attention.

14. The abolition of the feudal system all over the Province.

15. Proviso, proposed by M. Reclard —The Lebanon, in its ancient limits, to form one Pashalic, and the Pasha appointed to it to be a Christian.

16. The individual interests of the now Christian element, supposed to be compromised by the concession implied in Article 15, to be secured by equitable guarantees to be hereafter agreed upon.

17. The arrangements made in accordance with the above Memorandum to remain in operation for a period not less than five years, but to be considered as more or less provisional.

Inlosure 12 in No. 208

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a letter which I have addressed to Major Fraser, marked Secret and Confidential, requesting him to furnish me with a scheme for the organisation of a local army for this Province.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inlosure 13 in No. 208.

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser

Sir,

Beirut, December 12, 1860.

AS it is possible that the deliberations of the European Commission may result in a recommendation to apply the principles of de-centralization to the Government of Syria, and place, not only its civil and fiscal, but also its military administration on a different footing from that of the other Provinces of the Empire, I would venture so far to profit by your experience in such matters, as to request you to furnish me with a scheme for the organisation of a local army and police force.

It is very evident, that for some time to come, it is on Turkish troops that our chief reliance must be placed for the maintenance of tranquillity; but under the shadow of the contingents to be provided by the Porte, it might be advisable to create an indigenous force, indiscriminately drawn from various tribes and religious denominations which compose the population.

In addition to the regular Native Regiments, a well-disciplined police force would be necessary, organized perhaps on an opposite principle, and so constituted as that the maintenance of order among one tribe or sect should not be confided to agents who were members of another.

It would also be requisite to devise some machinery whereby the Ottoman troops to be quartered in Syria should be exchanged from time to time with other portions of the Sultan's forces, and that this operation should be conducted in such a manner as not only to be advantageous to the Province, but also beneficial to the Imperial army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inlosure 14 in No. 208

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 16, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Russian Commissioner has just told me that his proposition for the settlement of the Lebanon will be that there should exist no unity of administration within its confines, but that its affairs should be conducted by a Federal Council and autonomous Municipalities.

He admitted that the simplest and more practical plan would have been the confiding of its government to a Turkish Pasha; but, he added such an idea would never have been accepted by his Government.

It was a knowledge of this circumstance that led me to conceive the expedient proposed in my despatch of the 12th instant as the best compromise possible between the exigencies of European opinion and the principle of Turkish authority being rendered supreme wherever its responsibility extends.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 209

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell, — (Received December 29)

No. 40

My Lord,

Beirut, December 14, 1860.

WITH reference to the statement made to Earl Cowley by M. Thouvenot, as conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch No. 31 of the 26th ultimo, that the sick in the French army had amounted at one period to no less than 1,500, I beg to say that, from a statement made by M. le Docteur Colmant, Chief Surgeon of the French Expeditionary Corps, it would appear that the greatest number of sick belonging to the French army in Syria that have ever been in hospital at one time has never exceeded 500; this is exclusive of convalescents, for whom they have a

At present there are only 350. The mortality has been equal to about 2 per cent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 300

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell — (Received December 24)

N. 300

My Lord,

Berlin, December 22, 1860.

IN conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 38, I communicated to Baron Schleinitz Lord Dufferin's despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, containing a sketch for the future settlement of the Province of Syria, at the same time stating that Her Majesty's Government were disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably, and that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the Five Powers.

His Excellency promised to take the matter into consideration, and to inform me on some future occasion of his opinion on this subject.

He requested me to leave with him a copy of Lord Dufferin's sketch, that he might study it at his leisure, which I did, seeing no objection to complying with his request.

Baron Schleinitz informed me he had already instructed Count de Rastorff to inquire what were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government as to the future settlement of the Province of Syria.

I learn also from the French Minister, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, that he has been instructed to bring the matter to the notice of Baron Schleinitz, but that the French Cabinet has no particular plan of its own to recommend.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM LOWTHER

To be contributed within the space of five days, in money or in kind, on every Druse above the age of fifteen, under pain of a military execution being put into his house. The credit of this scheme rests, I understand, with M. Portalis, the gentleman whom I have already had occasion to signalize to your Lordship as having so grossly misconducted the mission on which he seems to have been somewhat irregularly sent by the General of the French army of occupation to certain of the Mixed villages.

One would have thought that the violence and indiscretion he exhibited on that occasion would have prevented this person from ever afterwards becoming the source of important inspiration, and it is much to be regretted that he should continue to enjoy the confidence of those whose decisions have any influence on the march of events in this country.

Examining the above edict, in detail, it is difficult to know whether to sit at its cruelty or to laugh at its folly. To suppose that each male member of a Druse family above fifteen is in a position to produce three beds and mattresses is simply absurd, the cauldron put down at 150 piastres is a rare article of household furniture, even among the less indigent classes, and the Christians themselves never possessed the one-hundredth part of the number it is proposed should be restored to them by the Druses, while the injustice of requiring each individual, no matter what his relative means may be, to pay a uniform contribution, is so flagrant as to need no comment.

In order, however, that your Lordship may more exactly appreciate the terrible severity of the measure with which the Druse nation is about to be visited, I will adopt a method of comparison which will cause the extravagance of its provisions to stand out in due relief.

The European Commission has recommended, that in addition to the capital punishment which has fallen on the principal promoters of the massacres of Damascus, the whole Mahometan population shall be visited with a penal tax. The forced contribution to be levied on the Druses may be regarded in all respects as an analogous measure, for although, as yet, no Druse Chief has suffered, eleven of their principal Sheikhs are now on trial for their lives, and Foad Pasha has been just furnished by the Christians of the Mountain with a list of 4,000 persons, whose blood they have demanded on oath before their Bishops. The impost assessed upon the rich city of Damascus may, therefore, be fairly taken as a standard in gauging the proportional amount to be required of the needy peasantry of the M.

40,000,000 of piastres is the sum which Damascus has been required to pay. Its Mahometan population is reckoned at 125,000 souls, of these 35,000 at least would be males above fifteen years of age, and a tax of 40,000,000 of piastres distributed over 35,000 persons would amount to 1,142 piastres a-piece. Now the sum required of every Druse tax-payer—that is, of every Druse above the age of fifteen—is 1,065 piastres. Consequently the unfortunate peasants of the Lebanon are required to pay up within five days almost as large a sum as is demanded from the citizens of Damascus within five months.

But this is not all. In yet another respect this iniquitous scheme will tell more severely against the Druses than against the Damascenes. Of all the persons who have been restored, the pillagers will remain for the most part in possession of

amount of plunder has been already recovered from the Druses, and more will probably be yet obtained.

Moreover, in the distribution of the tax over the citizens of Damascus, thanks to the intelligence and justice of the French Consul M. Outrey, care has been taken that its chief burden shall fall upon the rich, while a large proportion of the indigent classes have been suffered to go scot-free, but in the case of the Druses the possessors of the Sheikhs and of the richest members of the nation have been removed by sequestration from all liability to the impost, and it is upon the poorer classes alone that its whole weight is intended to fall. It must also be remembered that for the last three months, while the Damascenes have been dwelling in perfect security, except from the violation of legal authority, the Druses have been leading a wretched life, exposed to perpetual molestation, numbers of them (certainly more than forty) have been murdered, their women have been insulted, eighteen or nineteen of their villages have been pillaged

and seven partially). Much of their corn—many of their beasts have been unjustly confiscated, acorns and bran have become their daily food in many districts, and the whole nation has been deprived of its political privileges. When, therefore, on returning from Damascus it appeared that in addition to what they had already suffered—in addition to the forfeiture of their independence—in addition to the capital punishment impending over them, a plan had been devised to accomplish the indiscriminate ruin of the whole nation, I felt an occasion had arisen when the most energetic interference was required.

Fortunately I possess in M. Bédard a colleague on whose sense of justice and conciliatory disposition I can always rely. No sooner was this gentleman made acquainted with the grave nature of the crisis than he at once agreed to forestall it. But time pressed; it was already 8 o'clock on the 11th, and a simultaneous execution of the obnoxious edict, all over the M., was to commence at daylight the next morning. Armed with a Franco from the French Commissioner, I repaired to Foad Pasha, and his Excellency consented to our joint representation.

A letter was written to the French General Dierot, commanding in the absence of M. de Beaufort. Counter-orders were despatched at midnight to the various centres of action, enjoining a suspension of the operation until further orders, and it was agreed to refer the whole subject to the next deliberation of the next meeting of the European Commission.

It is my intention to take advantage of this opportunity to urge upon my colleagues, and more especially upon his Excellency Foad Pasha the necessity of acting with greater caution when dealing with the vital interests of our fellow-creatures. Taxes, forced contributions, &c., must not be decreed at haphazard without the faintest appreciation of the resources of the contributors, still less at the instigation of some violent unscrupulous and violent, whose previous conduct ought to be sufficient to deprive his opinion of all authority.

Above all things, I shall protest in the name of Her Majesty's Government, and in that of common humanity, against the Druses being visited with a severer measure of punishment than has been considered sufficient for the Damascenes.

As to the comparative culpability of these two communities there can be no difference of opinion. The Damascenes are simply fanatical assassins; but let passion and prejudice glaze the matter as they may, it must remain an indisputable fact that it was by the intrigues and menaces of their Christian enemies that the Druses were first driven into war, it was through the encouragement of their Mahometan superiors that their native ferocity was stimulated into the victory. This is the truth, and it cannot be

beforehand, the calamity was impending. When I was last in the country, the sentiments which animated either tribe were notorious. The Druses did not want to fight; the Maronites thought their hour of victory was come.

Custom-house returns can prove that upwards of 120,000 stand of arms and 20,000 pistols were imported into the Lebanon between January 1867 and the spring of 1868, while the sinister influence exercised by Beshir Tuba and his associates was so universally recognized that his withdrawal from Beyrout was insisted upon by the French Consul, as a necessary preliminary to all chance of peace. It is true his Eminence asserted on that occasion that nothing could be proved against him, for he had not committed himself to paper, but this very observation is sufficiently significant of the part he had been playing. One letter at least exists (perhaps others may be forthcoming) in which the prelate writes before the outbreak in very inflammatory terms to the people of Dair-el-Kamar, and openly talks of the expulsion of the Druses.

Under three circumstances, it is idle to speak of the Christians as if they were saintly martyrs. They are as savage and bloodthirsty in their traditional warfare as any of their pagan neighbours. Nay, their clans often carry on inter-clan blood-feuds with one another, in which they do not even spare the womankind. An instance of such strife occurred but two years ago, in the case of the Hayin Sheikhs, and similar occurrences are frequent in their history. In this respect, at least, the Druses are the more humane; they never war on one another, and women are sacred in their eyes.

To depict, therefore, the quarrel between the Druses and the Maronites as an onslaught of savage heathens on the inoffensive followers of Christ's religion,

is a simple misrepresentation. It was a feud between two equally barbarous tribes, in which the victors inflicted on their enemies the fate with which they themselves had been threatened. If the contest was distinguished by circumstances of more than usual brutality, it is to be attributed to the interference of the Turks, and the intensity of the hatred which the previous threats and arrogance of the Christians had provoked. In their day of triumph, these last have not proved themselves a whit less bloodthirsty than their enemies. Only yesterday, Fasad Pasha received, through the bishops of their communities, a demand for the heads of 4,500 persons, that is, the whole tax-paying Druse population of the Lebanon.

will have perceived

From all evidence in such a case, I, for one, am determined to stand aloof. Having done my best, as far as my abilities enabled me, to plead the cause of truth and mercy on the spot, I shall leave the rest in your Lordship's hands, content with the conviction that, whatever happens, the opinions I have ventured to record will remain to prove that I have endeavoured to prevent the commission of a gross injustice.

certain number
and unscrupulous

system of persecution by which the whole nation is being driven to despair.

I beg to subjoin a statement forwarded to me by Vice-Consul Rogers as to the present destitute condition of a large portion of the Druse population, as well as a copy of a petition from certain Druse communities.

Your Lordship may place full reliance in the truth of Mr Rogers' assertions; they have been confirmed in every particular by the testimony of American missionaries and French silk-spinners, and of other persons in a position to form an opinion.

The Druse petition speaks for itself; a people weary of their lives, ask leave to escape anywhere under the sun from the intolerable persecution which pursues them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFRIN AND CLANIBOYE.

P.S.—In order to give as much effect as possible to the opinions expressed in the above despatch, I propose to communicate it to my colleagues, and to the French General.

D. AND C.

Inclosure 1 in No. 305.

List of Plundered Articles recovered and distributed by the Turkish Government.

Collected from fifty-three villages in the district of Mokhtarah

1,180 beds, 1,354 lehafs, 3,916 articles of clothing, 1,405 articles in copper, 798 animals.

1 set of articles collected in the Shaf —

98 cups and cupstands (gold and silver), 9 silver spoons, 21 censers, 19 crosses, 3 strings of pearls, 16 cases or small boxes, 7 stars with pearls or diamonds, 10 chains, 8 swords, cases or handles, 16 clerical crowns, 3 ornaments, gold bands, 2 tanturah (Druse women's horns), 1 hatchet, 1 double-barrelled gun, 1 large pistol, 1 silver coffee-pot, 1 silver perfume-pot, 1 large curtain wrought in silver, 23 necklaces, 120 gold and silver bails, 23 earrings, some with diamonds, 10 hair pins, 21 buckles, 501 gold and silver buttons, 4 silver candlesticks, 51 silver lamps, 15 silver trays, 4 old bottles, 20 bracelets, 2 silver armlets, 7 watches, 4 silver-mounted holsters, 4 pictures, 14 women's head dresses (in gold and silver)

30 women's head dresses for the back, 26 coffee-cup holders (surfs), 7 rings (silver and gold, one diamond), 2 rich vests, 1 ebony inkstand, 1 silver comb, 1 mounted staff, 1 tumbler, 1 crescent, 529 lots of broken silver and gold articles, 3,074 piastres in money attached to head-dresses, 139,774 piastres, collected on account of animals, wheat, silk, &c., &c., destroyed or consumed.

Articles collected from the district of El-Matn: —

126 beds, 143 lehafs, 70 articles of clothing, 24 copper utensils, 101

1,035½ mids of wheat were distributed among 3,770 distressed Christian inhabitants of the same district; also, 50 mids were given to the monks of Deir-el-Mokhall.

Inclosure 2 in No. 305.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin

My Lord,

Beirut, December 17, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to report that from positive information received, and from personal observation in Mount Lebanon of the actual state of the Druses I am convinced that the collection of the forced contribution, as proposed by Excellency Fasad Pasha's notice, is utterly impracticable.

1. The Druses have, in many instances, lost as much as the Christians by the sequel of the late civil war. The Christians who were rendered homeless have been well cared for by the various Relief Commissions established for their benefit, and this charity has not been available for the Druses.

2. There are at least seven villages, viz., Ain Aidi, Ainab B'shotin, Kefaya, Kefr Takid, Kefr Nabekhi, and Baklan, and I believe several others of which I have not obtained the names, that were utterly pillaged by the French soldiers of the Christian followers of the French camp.

3. The booty found in the Mard, or in the purely Druse villages, has been recovered by French or Turkish military, and there are numerous instances of people having been deprived of large quantities of their own property also.

4. A large proportion of the wheat and barley grown in the plain of Bekaa belongs to the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and this has been confiscated by Government, and even the oxen used for agricultural purposes have been seized, and some of them killed for the consumption of the French troops. Many of the higher classes of Druses have thus been entirely without corn this year, although accustomed to house very large quantities every year of their own

5. The Druses not being allowed to communicate with Beirut, or any other large town, are not in a position to enter into any arrangement for the borrowing of money, or for the sale of any property which might enable them to pay the demands of Government. They are obliged to depend upon Christians for the purchase of their daily food, who make them pay a very heavy per-centage for the favour conferred. The higher classes are able to submit to this imposition, but the middle and poorer classes have not the means, and are living on the refuse of the farmer, making bread of acorn flour and anything else they can procure, such as the specimen I had the honour of showing your Lordship on my last return from the Mountain. The women wander about the hills collecting herbs, which form a principal part of their present food. And in the case of villages which have been pillaged as above referred to, even those who have been accustomed to comparative luxury are reduced to the same sort of semi-starvation.

It is well known that the natives of this country are in the habit of borrowing money every year on account of the next year's harvest, and the Druses having been in a great measure deprived of their harvest this year, they are neither able to pay their debts nor to borrow more upon the security of that of next year; and what is more, the confiscation of the oxen renders them incapable of ploughing, and renders their future even more sad than their present state.

The amount demanded by the Government at present, is 1,000 piastres from every taxable Druse, viz., every male above the age of fifteen years. This, under the most favourable circumstances, is a very heavy tax upon any of the natives of this country, whose wants are so few, and who, according to the best estimates, consume on an average from 2,000 to 2,200 piastres a year per

so that the amount thus demanded from each man would equal the consumption of half a family.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Incident 3 in No. 305

References

parce qu'à Dieu il n'y a pas eu de sang versé
brûlée ; tandis que les Chrétiens nous
elles pour nous faire la guerre, nous
leurs biens, nous qu'ils avaient perdu une

Il y a eu les mauvais sujets qui ont quitté notre district pour aller prier.
Ces-là d'après les ordres nous avons fait restituer le pillage.

Maintenant nous venons d'avoir l'honneur de recevoir de nouvelles ordres de votre Excellence que tout Bruso payant l'impôt doit fournir à la nation Chrétienne blé 10 mds, orge 10, maïs secs 10 metols, maïs verts 3, courvettes 3, concombres 3, pots de cuire 2, marmittes 2, tapis et coussins. Celui qui n'en a pas son objet doit donner la valeur argent comptant 1,065 piastres.

En tout cas nous avons toujours obéissant aux ordres de votre Excellence non pas pour l'argent mais pour verser notre sang, seulement nous ne pouvons pas supporter cette demande, parceque nous n'avons rien. Les signatures de Dieu nous nous jetons à vos pieds vous priant d'avoir compassion de nous. Prêt à quitter nos pays, nous soumettrons tout ce que nous possédons, et en chemin nous irons habiter où la Sublime Porte nous l'ordonnera ou bien de partager le royaume de ce qu'on réclame de nous à des époques désignées, ou bien les Chrétiens prendront 10% pour cent de la valeur de nos propriétés, mais cela nous venons réduits à un état misérable. Nous avons espéré que votre Excellence ne nous abandonnera pas dans notre détresse; nous n'avons d'autre refuge que la Porte.

Signature: _____

No SEMs

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — (Received January 5, 1861)

(No. 44)

My Lord,

Newport, December 21, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure I in No. 306

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, December 18, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday afternoon M. Beclard took advantage of one of the unofficial meetings which the European Commission now occasionally hold, and which are not attended by his Excellency

Foad Pasha, to inquire of his colleagues whether, in their opinion, it would be advisable to prolong the military occupation of Syria beyond the term specified by the Convention.

M. de Wockbecker replied that, for his part, he did not think the presence of a foreign force would be necessary a couple of months hence, inasmuch as it is probable we shall have derived in the meantime securities sufficient to render such an expedient unnecessary.

M. de Rehfues declared that he was not prepared to state that it would have become safe to deprive the Christians of the guarantee afforded by the French army.

M. Novikov expressed his conviction that foreign troops would be necessary in Syria for some time longer.

M. Decker himself dwelt on the moral effect their presence was calculated to produce all over the country.

I contented myself with expressing in as explicit and frank a manner as I could my conviction that the French army, useful as its arrival had originally been, was becoming an embarrassment to the Government; that I considered it could be withdrawn to-morrow from the country without risk; that Fnuad Fnuad and his troops were quite competent to maintain order, and that the police duties it was now discharging in the Lebanon were never intended to form part of its

In fact I submitted to my colleagues the same opinion I have already had the honour of laying before your Excellency in my despatch of the 4th instant.

The meeting broke up without any result beyond the elucidation of the contents of the respective Commissioners on the above topic.

I have little doubt but that, in the course of time, the Representatives of Prussia will see occasion to adhere to the opinion expressed by M. de Westphalen and myself.

After the other Commissioners had left, I took occasion to explain privately to M. Boizard, that when first I came to the country, the idea had occurred to me that a provisional occupation of Beyrouth by a very small body of European troops might usefully assist in the consolidation of whatever Government we might establish, but that subsequent observation had convinced me that even such a precaution as that was quite unnecessary, and that this conviction had been completely confirmed by my late visit to Damascus.

Signed) **DUFFERIN AND CLASEBOYE**

Inclosure 2 to No. 306

Lord Sturges to Sir H. Bulwer

Fig. 1

Hogrent, December 21, 1880.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday a private Conference was held by the Commission at my house for the purpose of considering the question of reorganization.

In accordance with an agreement which had been come to between

1. The first step is to identify the key components of the system. This includes understanding the hardware, software, and data involved.

The following table shows the results of the regression analysis for the dependent variable "Number of children in the household" (N = 1,000). The independent variables are "Age of the head of household" and "Gender of the head of household". The table includes the coefficient estimates, standard errors, t-statistics, and p-values for each variable.

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	t-statistic	p-value
Age of the head of household	0.001	0.000	1.2	0.23
Gender of the head of household (Male = 1, Female = 0)	-0.05	0.02	-2.5	0.01
Constant	1.5	0.1	15.0	0.00

The regression results indicate that the number of children in the household is positively related to the age of the head of household, although the relationship is not statistically significant at the 5% level. Conversely, the gender of the head of household is a significant determinant, with male heads of household having a higher number of children in the household compared to female heads of household.

opinion, when a

[illegible]

I am happy to state that our scheme, as developed in the Articles, seemed to meet with the cordial acceptance of all our colleagues. M. Novikow alone needed some little dislike to the notion of the Lebanon being under a si-
Lacutnant. I trust however, that the securities against the oppression of Greek and Druse minority of the population by the Maronite majority, which are provided for by the general constitution of the Government of the L-
will satisfy his misgivings. I shall venture in a future despatch to examine the bearings of the proposed arrangement in this respect.

Did your Excellency consider such a precaution necessary, it would be well perhaps to stipulate expressly that the Pasha in question should not be a native.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 307

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 5, 1861.)

(No. 45.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, December 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 307

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, December 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's in-
formation, copy of the Protocol of the thirteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, on the 23rd ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 307

Protocol of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, November 26, 1860.

LE Lundi 27, à 10 heures, la Commission s'est réunie à Beyrout sous la présidence de M. le Commissaire Prussien. La séance a été ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications, et, sur la demande de son Excellence le Commissaire extraordinaire de la Sublime Porte, on convient d'annexer au prochain procès-verbal la note ci-jointe (voir l'Annexe No. 1).

Lord Dufferin a lu une lettre de M. Rozers, Vice-Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique à Caïffa, touchant le fait signalé à la précédente séance par M. le Commissaire Prussien (voir les Annexes Nos. 2 et 3).

Fuad Pacha entretient la Commission du projet d'arrêté qu'il va prendre pour encourager le retour des Chrétiens dans la Montagne. Indépendamment de la restitution des objets pillés par les Druses et du règlement ultérieur de l'indemnité totale due aux Chrétiens, Fuad Pacha établit par ce projet, et conformément à la pensée exprimée par M. Béchard à la dernière séance, une imposition en nature à lever sur les Druses immédiatement. Chaque Druse

est tenu de fournir, en nature, une certaine quantité d'objets de première nécessité, équivalente à peu près à une somme de cent cents piastres par tête. En dehors de cette contribution, on coupe des bois de construction, appartenant aux Druses, indistinctement partout où on les trouve,

et pour lesquels on donne déjà depuis quelque temps des quittances ou reçus que les propriétaires auront la faculté de présenter en déduction de leur contribution ultérieure.

M. le Commissaire Français fait observer que l'efficacité des mesures que M. le Commissaire du Sultan se propose de prendre, dépendra presque exclusivement du caractère et de l'intelligence des agents qui seront chargés de les mettre à exécution. Il émet à cet égard le vœu que les officiers commandant des détachements du corps expéditionnaire dans la Montagne soient employés par Fuad Pacha, conjointement avec les officiers de l'armée Turque.

Fuad Pacha répond à M. Béchard qu'il veut précisément de s'entendre à ce

à ce sujet, et qu'il a déjà écrit à ce sujet à M. le Commissaire Prussien.

M. le Commissaire Prussien a reçu de Damas des renseignements relatifs à l'impôt de Damas, et il a écrit à ce sujet à M. le Commissaire Français.

M. de Weckbecker expose que, dans l'opinion de M. le Commissaire Prussien, l'impôt de Damas, si on répartissant l'impôt en quatre termes, on pourrait lever facilement 35,000,000 de piastres.

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Lord Dufferin a reçu diverses informations relatives à la question de l'impôt de Damas. Il résulte de ces informations que Damas pourrait au maximum et à la rigueur payer 30,000,000 de piastres, en cinq mois, à raison de 10,000,000 de piastres par mois.

M. le Commissaire Prussien a reçu de Damas des renseignements relatifs à l'indemnisation des établissements religieux; mais il n'a rien à ajouter à ceux qu'il a déjà transmis à la Commission, touchant la question de l'impôt extraordinaire.

M. le Commissaire Russe n'a pas reçu encore des informations de Damas. Celles qu'il a recueillies à Beyrout auprès de quelques personnes compétentes concordent assez exactement avec celles de M. Outrey pour le chiffre des impositions.

Fuad Pacha renouvelle les déclarations déjà faites par lui dans la précédente séance. Son intention n'est pas de modifier les Damaquans, qui ne le méritent sous aucun rapport, mais comme Pacha, représentant du Sultan, chargé de l'exécution des mesures qu'il arrête, il ne doit en prendre aucune qui ne soit

exécutable. Dans la question de l'impôt, il ne s'agit que d'un impôt qui rend le paiement de cet impôt facile pour les Damaquans.

C'est la seule possibilité de percevoir qu'il a en vue. Les termes successifs qui ont l'intention d'établir, sont destinés, dans sa pensée, à rendre possible une mesure de l'exécution de laquelle il est responsable devant son Souverain. Une perception en trois termes trimestriels lui paraît possible, et c'est sur cette combinaison que son esprit s'est le plus souvent arrêté.

M. Béchard, tout en réservant toujours son opinion personnelle que la perception totale et immédiate de l'impôt pourrait être effectuée si l'on voulait avoir recours à des moyens énergiques, propose l'adoption d'un moyen terme. On pourrait peut-être, dit-il, adopter le chiffre de 50,000,000, indiqué par Lord Dufferin, en lever la moitié dans trois mois, et le reste en quatre coupes mensuelles de 5,000,000 par mois, ce qui donnerait à la perception une durée de huit mois.

Lord Dufferin appuie l'idée d'un moyen terme; il propose de l'appliquer non seulement à la perception, mais encore au chiffre de l'impôt. Entre 35,000,000, chiffre proposé par son Excellence, et 50,000,000, chiffre indiqué par lui, comme le maximum possible, il propose 40,000,000 à lever en sept mois,

avoir, 20,000,000 dans trois mois, et 5,000,000 pendant chacun des quatre mois suivants.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman pense que les travaux préparatoires de classification et de répartition prendront environ deux mois, et qu'à l'expiration de ce délai il faudrait pouvoir disposer d'une somme d'environ 40,000,000 pour donner aux Chrétiens un premier à-compte suffisant. En supposant que Damas puisse en effet donner dans trois mois 15,000,000 ou 20,000,000 de piastres, le Gouvernement devra fournir une somme égale. Son Excellence a le projet d'écrire dans ce sens à Constantinople. Quant au chiffre total de l'impôt et à la fixation définitive de délai dans lequel il sera perçu, Fuad Pacha hésite à prendre une détermination et se borne à donner à la Commission l'assurance de son bon vouloir.

Avant que la séance ne soit levée M. le Commissaire Français appelle l'attention de M. le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Sultan sur la manière défectueuse dont s'opère à Damas la mesure du désarmement et sur les mauvais procédés dont les autorités Turques usent à l'égard des Musulmans qui ont encouragé les faveurs et les marquis d'estime à des hommes connus pour l'avoir encouragé. Il saisit cette occasion de rappeler que M. le Commissaire de Russie a dernièrement proposé à la Commission de se transporter à Damas, et que la Commission a remis la discussion de cette proposition à l'une de ses prochaines séances.

Le moment est venu, selon M. Bédard, de prendre une résolution à l'endroit que la Commission, qui doit un jour ou l'autre aller à Damas, fasse ce voyage dans un moment plus opportun. Chacun des membres de la Commission doit éprouver le besoin de juger par lui-même la situation de Damas, et ces renseignements ne vaudraient pour la Commission la vue même des lieux. M. Bédard demande en conséquence que la Commission se rende à Damas.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, en ce qui concerne la mesure du

s'opposer à ce voyage, mais qu'elle ne peut ni s'y associer ni l'approuver.

M. de Weckbecker exprime le vœu que Fuad Pacha prenne immédiatement l'arrêté concernant l'imposition et le publie avant que la Commission aille à Damas. De cette façon l'inconvénient signalé par son Excellence serait évité et le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman n'aurait pas l'air de céder à l'impulsion de la

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha fait observer que les Commissaires allant à Damas, notamment dans le but de recueillir des informations par eux-mêmes et sur les lieux relativement aux questions d'indemnité et de réparation des dommages éprouvés par les Chrétiens, il résulterait nécessairement de ce voyage ou ajournement inutile du règlement de la question d'impôt et

M. Novikow en appuyant énergiquement la proposition de M. le Commissaire Français objecte que la Commission se rendant à Damas ne mettra pas beaucoup plus de temps pour y recueillir par elle-même les informations dont elle a besoin, que ces informations non mettront pour venir de Damas à Beyrouth par écrit; et que le retard, s'il a lieu, sera tout au plus de quelques jours.

M. de Richesse appuie la proposition de M. Bédard, et déclare que les renseignements qui lui parviennent sur la situation intérieure de Damas, sur l'action et l'impuissance des autorités, sur le mauvais esprit de la population Musulmane, rendent à ses yeux le voyage de la Commission à Damas urgent que nécessaire.

Lord Dufferin a toujours été d'avis que les Commissaires devaient aller à Damas. Il rappelle la promesse qu'il a déjà faite précédemment d'appuyer la proposition de ce voyage dès qu'elle aurait rallié la majorité.

La proposition étant adoptée, MM. les Commissaires des cinq Puissances, sans fixer d'avance la durée de leur séjour à Damas, décident de s'y transporter.

La séance est levée à sept heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annexe 1.

La question de l'impôt extraordinaire que la ville de Damas doit payer, pour contribuer à indemniser les Chrétiens, étant mise à l'ordre du jour, la Commission examine les différents projets qui lui ont été soumis. Elle se rend compte de cette imposition. La Commission ayant soigneusement examiné la question générale de la répression et de l'indemnité elle ne doit examiner la question de l'impôt extraordinaire que sous ce double point de vue, c'est-à-dire comme un complément de la répression et comme un moyen d'indemniser les Chrétiens. Quant à son assiette et à son mode de perception c'est à l'autorité d'en fixer le meilleur moyen, et d'ailleurs un projet qui a été élaboré par Fuad Pacha et montré à la Commission offrait des avantages d'une répartition juste et équitable.

Fuad Pacha fait observer seulement que quel que soit le mode de la perception le recouvrement immédiat qui serait fixé à 35,000,000 de piastres lui paraît impossible. D'après les informations qu'il a prises auprès des Chrétiens notables de Damas même, cette ville dans la situation où elle se trouve aujourd'hui n'est pas en état de payer immédiatement une si forte somme. Le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan pourra employer toutes les rigueurs, mais des mesures de ce genre n'auront aucun effet devant une impossibilité matérielle. La confiscation des biens de ceux qui ne seront pas dans le cas de payer immédiatement leur contribution ne sera pas entrer dans les mains de l'autorité l'argent qui est nécessaire pour servir l'indemnité aux Chrétiens; ce moyen même retardera indubitablement la rentrée de la somme qu'on veut avoir immédiatement.

Annexe 2.

Lord Dufferin to Vice-Consul Rogers.

(Traduction.)

Monsieur,

Beyrouth, le 24 Novembre, 1860.

Un bruit m'étant arrivé qu'une caravane de chameaux chargés de munitions; revenant du dépôt du Gouvernement à Saint Jean d'Acre aurait été vue allant dans la direction du Hauran accompagné par des Druses, je vous prie de me faire savoir si une telle circonstance est parvenue à votre connaissance.

Je vous fais cette demande parce qu'on m'a dit que ce fait vous a été certifié par le Drogman de deux voyageurs Anglais.

(Signé) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Annexe 3.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

(Traduction.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, le 24 Novembre, 1860.

J'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception de la lettre de votre Seigneurie en date d'aujourd'hui, et, en réponse, de vous informer que peu de temps avant mon départ de Caïffa, deux voyageurs Anglais y arrivèrent, et que je fus informé par eux qu'ils avaient vu une caravane de chameaux chargés, allant vers l'Orient, que le susdit drogman avait demandé au Moukri (qui était Druse par hasard) ce qu'il portait,

soldat Turc (mais je ne me rappelle plus s'il était de la troupe régulière ou de la troupe irrégulière). Le drogman conçut des soupçons à la suite de ces circonstances.

Aussitôt que j'en trouvai l'occasion je fis une enquête à Chiffa auprès de ceux qui avaient été dernièrement à St Jean d'Acre et l'on m'assura que la susdite mention avait été envoyée à Damas. Là dessus je fus convaincu que le fait ne méritait plus d'investigation.

SECRET

Factorice 3 in No. 307

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 23, 1860.

His Excellency Fud Pasha having announced to us that he has acquiesced in the seizure of the principal Druse Chiefs who have either fled to the Hauran or are now in prison, I would venture to submit to your consideration whether it is not somewhat unjust that the children of these unfortunate persons should be thus involved in their ruin, and left destitute of all support.

It is true, in cases of high treason, the forfeiture of his estates is considered the natural complement of the attituder and condemnation of the criminal; but when we take account of the peculiar relations which seem to have existed

at the commencement of the outbreak, it cannot be considered that their misdeeds ought to be denominated high treason.

Moreover, I understand that his Excellency is taking possession of the property of women and of others against whom no other crime can be alleged than that they are Druses.

The straits to which he is reduced for want of money is, doubtless, one of the reasons which lead him to commit these irregularities, but the pressure which is continually being put upon him by the French General may also partly account for them.

It would be a great misfortune for the Turkish Government were the estates, and although I consider it advisable that the feudal system should be abolished, the maintenance of a Druse aristocracy is very desirable.

Should these views meet with your Excellency's approbation, perhaps you would be good enough to instruct Lord Pasha to receive instructions from

SECRET

No. 308

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 5, 1861.)

(No. 46. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Beirut, December 23, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday I took advantage of a meeting of the Commission to communicate to my colleagues and to his Excellency Fud Pasha the substance of the despatch I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship relative to the forced contribution it has been proposed should be levied indiscriminately on the Druse nation.

Before the business of the Commission began, M. Bédard informed me

proceedings against the Druses having been suspended, that he had written him a letter on the subject, that it was a scheme which he considered

peculiarly his own, that he disputed the right of the Commission to interfere, that he objected to my sources of information, and that it was with great difficulty he, M. Bédard, succeeded in mitigating his resentment.

To this I replied that I was very sorry that anything should have occurred to arouse the General's displeasure; but that such a circumstance would not prevent me from acting in accordance with my conviction. That had the iniquitous decree in question been put into execution it would have been upon the Commission, and not upon M. de Beaufort, that the responsibility would have fallen. That in regard to our respective sources of information I considered M. Portalis a less trustworthy authority than Her Majesty's Vice-Consul Mr. Rogers, whom I had sent up into the Mountain for the express purpose of making me an impartial report; that that gentleman spoke Arabic like a native, that he was a person of character and intelligence intimately acquainted with the resources of the inhabitants, that he had corrected his own observations by the testimony of American missionaries, European silk-spinners, Christian and Druse Sheikhs, and that the result of his inquiries was in every respect confirmed by what I had learnt from every other quarter, that under these circumstances I must consider one of gross injustice.

I then consented to a measure proposed by M. de Beaufort, that I could well understand how galling his position must be, that there was nothing I was not

willing to do to be my duty; that I was convinced of the sincerity of his convictions, and that if only he would continue to act with the moderation he had hitherto displayed, I should never cease to bear testimony to the magnanimity of his conduct, and that hereafter I am sure he would be thankful to me for having unintentionally thwarted him on this occasion.

The Conference then commenced, and after a long debate terminated in an agreement that the obnoxious edict should be cancelled, that the Government

from Egypt would enable it to do, that no money payment should be demanded from the Druse villages, but that they should be required to dispense to their Christian neighbours as much bedding and kitchen furniture as they themselves could conveniently spare.

The corn above alluded to is, I believe, a supply which some two months ago I ventured to ask his Excellency Fud Pasha to bestow in charity on the Christians of Syria.

With regard to the conduct of the French General in this matter, I would merely remark that it is but natural he should take the view he does; that he neither has the time nor the opportunities of acquiring the information necessary to form a just conception of the condition of the Druse peasantry; that he is, of course, violently prejudiced against them; that the feelings incident to his trying and delicate position are stimulated by the staff of officers who surround him, and that it is probable a person less scrupulous and humane might have found opportunities to act with even less forbearance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 309

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 5.)

No. 18.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 4, 1861.

I STATED to M. Thouvenel this afternoon that I was glad to learn from your Lordship that M. de Flahault had been authorized to express to Her Majesty's Government that if they urged the evacuation, they would become responsible were the massacres against the Christians to be renewed.

M. Thouvenel admitted that M. de Flahault had been authorized to make this declaration, but he added that he had received advice from Syria since, which showed that the Great Powers were not unanimous in their opinions upon this subject.

At a meeting of the Commissioners, the question of the departure of the troops was discussed. The Russian Commissioner had urged the necessity of prolonging their stay. The Austrian Commissioner had expressed the opinion that they ought not to go before a stable Government should have been established in the Lebanon; and, in fact, Lord Dufferin had been the only Commissioner who had recommended their early departure.

I said that it was not extraordinary that Lord Dufferin should recommend it, when General Beaufort made no secret of his desire to take the law into his own hands, and wage a war of extermination against the Druses.

M. Thouvenel rejoined that it was to be regretted that General Beaufort had ever been placed under any sort of Turkish control, that had the General been allowed to act independently, the authors of the late massacre would long since have been punished, and the troops would have been withdrawn. As it was, there was every appearance of the Druses escaping scot-free.

M. Thouvenel continued, that he was still of opinion that it would be impossible to recall the troops before some sort of authority should have been restored. However, that was a question for Europe to decide, and when the proper moment should come, he would be prepared to act by the wishes of the Great Powers. In the mean time, every effort should be made to hasten the accomplishment of the labours of the Commission. He did not suppose that a few weeks more or less in the departure of the troops would signify, or that a prolongation of their stay for that period would require the signature of another Convention.

I replied, that I could not agree in this opinion. The Convention of the 5th September last declared at what period the occupation was to cease, and that occupation could not be prolonged for a day, without the consent of the Powers.

In the course of this conversation, M. Thouvenel constantly asserted that the Emperor was most anxious to bring his troops home, and he once said that His Majesty would on no account leave them unless they were to be joined by the troops of some other Power. He expressed, further, the hope that a naval force would, under any circumstances, be left upon the coast for some time.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No 310

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

No. 301

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 9, 1861.

I AM sorry to find from your Excellency's despatch No. 18 of the 4th inst. that the Russian Commissioner had given me through Count Flahault

I have now received from Lord Dufferin a despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer in which he gives an account of that meeting of the Commissioners to which M. Thouvenel alludes.

Your Excellency will see from the copy which I sent you in my despatch of the 21st inst. that the Russian Commissioner, on the 10th of December, said that he saw no reason to think that the presence of a foreign force would be necessary two months from that time. You will see that Lord Dufferin expressed his opinion that the foreign force had become an embarrassment to the Sultan's Government; that it was discharging police duties which were no part of its mission, and that it might be sent away at once without risk.

The French and Russian Commissioners were in favour of the prolonged stay of the foreign troops, the Russian Commissioner was not prepared to say that it would be safe to remove the troops, but Lord Dufferin seemed to expect that his opinion would change on further consideration.

Her Majesty's Government have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct and opinions of M. Beclard; still his behaviour on this occasion appears somewhat strange. A Turkish Commissioner presides over the Commission: why was an occasion taken when he would be absent to raise this very serious

question? Turkey is at least as much concerned in Russia as in the Lebanon. The Russian Commissioner's opinion is that the presence of the foreign troops is necessary for the maintenance of the peace in the Lebanon, and that the Turkish Commissioner's opinion is that the presence of the foreign troops is necessary for the maintenance of the peace in the Lebanon.

not by religious or moral faith, but by political rivalry. He is eager to inflict wrong and suffering upon the Druses, and to render them innocent of the massacre. He declares that the presence of the French troops encourages the insolence and the violence of the Maronites, and thus keeps up the feeling of hostility and rancour between them and the Druses.

Lord Dufferin's representations differ but little from those of Ali Pasha. I send your Excellency a copy of a despatch from Lord Dufferin to me, in which he gives his opinions, and relates that the Christian communities had asked, through their bishops, for 4,500 of the heads of their enemies. This is the manner in which these Christian bishops in the East preach "peace on earth and goodwill towards men."

I earnestly desire the removal of the foreign force, as serving the bloodthirsty desire of revenge which is the only motive which actuates them.

My constant reflection strikes to which I beg your Excellency, in concert with M. Thouvenel, to give due weight. The French Government proposed, in July last, that European troops should be sent to Syria, and that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months. It was on the strength of these two conditions that Her Majesty's Government consented on two conditions: first, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months, and secondly, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months.

It was on the strength of these two conditions that Her Majesty's Government consented on two conditions: first, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months, and secondly, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months. It was on the strength of these two conditions that Her Majesty's Government consented on two conditions: first, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months, and secondly, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months.

It is true that if Her Majesty's Government were convinced that the evacuation of Syria might be induced to urge upon the Porte a postponement of the evacuation. But as the conviction of Her Majesty's Government is quite the other way, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to consent to the stay of the French troops in Syria beyond the term fixed by the Convention of the 5th of September.

I have only further to say that the Convention of the 5th of September authorizes the stay of foreign troops in Syria. There will then remain no reason whatever for extending the period for which the Convention of the 5th of September authorizes the stay of foreign troops in Syria.

You will read this to M. Thouvenel. I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No 311

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 9.)

(No. 40. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 8, 1861.

MY Prussian colleague informed me yesterday that he had been instructed to make a communication to the French Government respecting the affairs of Syria, and that a similar communication would be made by Count Bernstorff to your Lordship.

Count Pourtales did not enter fully into the subject, but I understand that

* No. 305.

5 S

his Government objects to the... Dufferin's plan to conf... Prussian Government...
...Prussian populations.

As your Lordship will have an opportunity of yourself conveying directly to the future administration of Syria, I did not enter into any discussion with Count Pourtales, although I explained to him in general terms what those views and opinions were.

Count Pourtales spoke in... hoped that time and experience may have wrought... character which would alone entitle him to...

(Signed) COWLEY.

No 312

Baron Schleinitz to Count Pourtales.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Bernstorff, January 11, 1861.)

M. le Comte,

Berlin, le 29 Décembre, 1860.

J'ai de l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance la démarche... 3 Décembre au Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne relativement aux affaires de Syrie... possible les délibérations des Commissaires Européens sur l'organisation du Mont Liban.

Le Cabinet de Paris est d'avis que les populations de... en dehors de l'action directe de la Porte, doit leur être conservée. Je m'empresse de vous dire, M. le Comte, que, d'accord à cet égard avec M. Thouvenel, nous croyons juste de maintenir en principe l'autonomie dont les populations... Les derniers événements ne sauront être un motif d'étendre davantage le pouvoir, et les Grandes Puissances de l'Europe qui sont intervenues en faveur des Chrétiens de la Syrie, n'attendent pas que le but qu'elles se sont proposé, si elles voulaient consentir à une restriction des anciens droits de ces populations.

Le Commissaire du Roi sera donc chargé de prendre le maintien du privilège d'une administration nationale pour base de l'organisation future de la Montagne. Mais afin de garantir d'une manière plus efficace qu'elle ne l'a été jusqu'à présent, cette organisation, il sera important de...

Il paraît désirable de prendre en considération l'idée de donner des Représentants particuliers, non-seulement aux Druses et aux Maronites, mais aussi aux autres communautés religieuses, et notamment aux Grecs orthodoxes.

Quant à la forme des institutions à établir, nous pensons avec le Cabinet

Français qu'il appartient aux Commissaires des Puissances qui se trouvent sur les lieux d'examiner les différentes combinaisons qui pourraient s'offrir, et de chercher à se mettre d'accord sur les propositions qu'ils auront à faire à leurs Gouvernements respectifs. C'est dans ce sens que j'ai fait rédiger les instructions qui ont été transmises à M. de Reinfles, et sur lesquelles vous êtes autorisé, M. le Comte, à donner à M. Thouvenel toutes les explications qu'il pourrait désirer.

Si nous sommes d'avis que c'est aux Commissaires qui devront être confiée la tâche de soumettre aux Puissances un projet de l'organisation future du Liban, il va sans dire que nous partageons aussi l'opinion du Cabinet Français sur l'inopportunité de transférer à Constantinople le siège des négociations relatives à cette affaire. La connaissance des détails et du pays nous semble être d'une trop grande importance pour qu'une solution conforme aux exigences de la situation puisse être préparée ailleurs que sur les lieux mêmes.

Recevez, &c.
(Signed) SCHEINITZ.

No. 313.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—Received January 11, 1861.

(No. 47.)

My Lord,

Beirut, December 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANKHOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 317

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 24, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, during the course of a visit lately paid to me by Bishop Tabas, that prelate stated, in reply to a question I put to him as to the progress which was being made throughout the Mountain in the work of reconstruction, that matters were proceeding in a very unsatisfactory manner.

Indeed," said I, "I understood that great exertions were being made by the French troops to build up the ruined villages."

He answered the Bishop, laughing, "they have done very little, and what they have done is done more for show than anything else."

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANKHOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 31

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, December 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the fourteenth sitting of the Syrian Commis-

I would merely observe, in reference to it, that it presents a remarkable instance of that innocent inaccuracy which occasionally characterises the reports of our agents.

I have already informed your Excellency, I had to be levied on the Druses.

M. Bédard in reply admitted the force of my remarks, and excused himself for the precipitation with which he had introduced his original proposition, stating that he had fully expected the opinions he had expressed would have been corrected by the superior information of his colleagues, &c.

The other Commissioners followed in the same strain, and after a considerable amount of discussion, which occupied the best part of the sitting, it was agreed that the first Decree should be cancelled, and the whole subject re-considered on the Saturday se night.

On reflection, however, to the *prosa-verbal*, it will be seen that this incident is compressed into a paragraph but little calculated to convey an adequate idea of what had passed.

As it would have been an ungracious act upon my part to have insisted upon the introduction of a record which would probably have been slightly disagreeable to my French colleague, I refrained from calling attention to the omission, and if I mention the subject at all to your Excellency, it is only to furnish myself with an excuse, should a study of our Protocols convey to you an idea as I am sometimes disposed to think they may, that I take a less active part in the proceedings of the Commission than is consistent with my duty.

I have &c.

(Signed) **DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYNE**

Inclosure 3 of No. 313.

*Protocol of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission Held at Brynast
December 15, 1860.*

Le quinze Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à l'Heyrout sous la présidence de Foul Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté après quelques

Son Excellence M. le P.
 tableau d'une partie des con-
 arrivée en Syrie, on se doit appeler de nouveau
 sur l'impôt en nature à prélever sur les Druzes. L'arrêté pris au sujet de cet
 impôt rencontre des difficultés d'exécution imprévues. Il a été constaté qu'un
 grand nombre de contribuables ne possèdent pas les objets que, aux termes de
 l'arrêté, ils doivent être contraints de livrer dans un délai de cinq jours qui va
 expirer. Les biens des Druzes les plus riches sont déjà mis sous le séquestre
 depuis longtemps. L'imposition devra donc peser presque exclusivement sur
 les fellahs, c'est-à-dire, sur les villageois qui, pour la plupart, sont tenus de pouvoir
 payer la somme de 1,000 piastres, équivalent en argent d'imposition en 1860
 des objets et denrées qu'ils ne possèdent pas

Lord Dufferin est d'avis que l'arrêté pris par Fund Pachia a en effet besoin d'être revu. M. le Commissaire Britannique se livre à divers calculs et communique à la Commission divers renseignements qui la déterminent à remettre à Samedi prochain l'examen définitif de la question.

M. le Comte de France, servant d'interprète à ses collègues d'Autriche, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, fait connaître à M. le Caim du Sultan l'impression qu'ils ont tous rapportée de leur séjour à Damas. Ils ont tous unanimement d'avis que, sans rigueur excessive, la ville de Damas peut être contrainte à payer, en cinq mois, à partir du premier quartier prochain, une somme de 40,000,000 de piastres, et les villages environnants une somme de 24 000,000 de piastres en cinq mois, à partir de la même époque. En outre et comme complètement indispensable de cette mesure de répression et de réparation pécuniaire, il leur a paru que son Excellence M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman devrait essayer de réagir contre les tendances déplorables de la population Musulmane, tendances qu'ils ont été à même de constater, en sévissant contre les coupables qui n'ont encore subi ni rélâtiment ni disgrâce, et en donnant, d'autre part des marques de satisfaction et publiques de la satisfaction du Sultan à ceux d'entre les Musulmans, malheureusement trop rares, qui se sont honorablement conduits pendant les événements.

Son Excellence Fund Pocha adhère au chiffre de 40,000,000 de piastres pour Dagua et de 21,000,000 pour la banlieue, mais il renouvelle les réserves

qu'il a déjà faites dans les précédentes séances sur la possibilité matérielle de lever pareille somme dans les délais ci-dessus indiqués. Quant aux témoignages de satisfaction que les Commissaires réclament en principe et qui consisteraient, soit en récompenses honorifiques, soit en exemption d'impôt, il se déclare prêt à l'accorder. Il est également disposé à sévir contre les personnes qui seraient convaincues d'avoir participé aux crimes qui ont déjà motivé de sa part de si hautes et de si rigoureuses condamnations.

Sur la question de l'impôt M de Kéhuus fait observer qu'à dépend de la Sublime Porte de rendre sa perception possible dans un bref délai en payant, sur les fonds provenant de l'emprunt qu'elle vient de contracter, tout ou partie de la somme de 20,000,000 à 30,000,000 de piastres qu'elle doit à l'Etat.

M. de Weckbecker, d'accord sur ce point avec ses collègues, émet l'avis que les soldats qui faisaient partie de la garnison de Danzig lors des événements, devraient en être tous éligibles indistinctement.

M. Rochard appuie énergiquement le vœu exprimé par M. le Commissaire d'Autriche. Il rappelle en outre que la garnison de Damas étant alors d'au moins 800 soldats, sans compter 2,500 hommes environ dont se composaient les troupes irrégulières et le personnel de la police, on peut à bon droit admettre que dans le grand nombre de chefs qui composent un tel effectif le Commissaire Ottoman n'eût eu devoir en frapper qu'un seul. Tous les officiers sans exception, selon M. Rochard, devraient être mis en accusation. On a objecté, en leur faveur, l'absence d'ordres et l'insoumission des troupes. Mais il y a des circonstances critiques où un officier doit suppléer par sa propre initiative aux ordres qu'il n'a pas reçus et lors même qu'il se trouverait en présence d'une force supérieure ne faire tuer à la tête de ses soldats. C'est sur ce principe que repose l'honneur des armées, et malheureusement on ne peut citer un seul officier de la garnison de Damas qui, dans ces terribles journées, ait accompli son devoir.

M. de Rollet rappelle à son tour que, peu de temps avant les événements, le quartier Chrétien qui était occupé par des détachements de la garnison a été tout à coup évacué et que la veille même du massacre les effectifs ont envoyé chercher, dans les maisons où ils avaient logé, les effets qu'ils y avaient —

Il ajoute que plusieurs d'entre eux ne consentent pas de se vanter hautement aujourd'hui, d'avoir prêté le nom de soulèvement.

Leud Paris déclare n'avoir pas eu connaissance des faits qui viennent d'être rapportés. Il n'a pas eu de voir punir des officiers que leur Commandant-en-chef, avant sa condamnation, a lui même déchargés de toute responsabilité. MM les Commissaires trouveront cette déposition dans les dossiers qui leur seront prochainement remis.

Avant la fin de la séance, M. le Commissaire Ruess, d'accord avec ses collègues, propose que, en ce qui concerne les établissements religieux indigènes, son Excellence l'und Pachia veuille bien provoquer, de la part des chefs men des communautés, des renseignements exacts sur les pertes subies par ces établissements. Ces données seraient communiquées à la Commission, comparées avec le résultat des informations recueillies par les Commissaires, et finalement consacrées par la Commission de la même manière que le chiffre des indemnités privées. Il est décidé, en conséquence de cette proposition, que le chiffre de l'indemnité à accorder aux établissements religieux indigènes de Daoua sera fixé après une enquête particulière, et restera provisoirement en dehors de l'indemnité générale attribuée en principe aux Chrétiens, et dans le chiffre total de laquelle l'indemnité particulière aux établissements religieux sera ultérieurement comprise.

La danse est libre à cinq heures.

(suivent les signatures.)

Indicate 4 in No. 313

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Stanley

Beirut, December 30, 1960.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency translated copies of the judgments and sentences which have been submitted for approval to his

Excellency Fud Pasha by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout appointed to try the Turkish officials and Druse Chiefs whose misconduct is supposed to have caused or aggravated the late unhappy disturbances in the Mountain.

In accordance with an understanding which had been previously come to between his Excellency Fud Pasha and the European Commission, the above-mentioned judgments are of no force or authority until they shall have been examined, approved of, or revised, by his Excellency and the Commission.

In examining the sentences recommended by the Court, it is to be observed that all the Druse prisoners are condemned to death, and all the Turkish officials to imprisonment. A result so contrary to public expectation and the *prima facie* requirements of justice cannot be acquiesced in without a strict inquiry into the circumstances which have led to it.

The Commission has accordingly intimated to his Excellency Fud Pasha that inasmuch as somebody must have been responsible for what occurred in the Mountain, and that, as the chief weight of such responsibility must rest, until the contrary can be proved, upon the Turkish magistrates and officers charged with the maintenance of order, it is necessary we should be made acquainted with the considerations which have authorized so strange an appointment of punishment.

To these representations the Turkish Commissioner has responded by placing at our disposal the minutes of evidence taken at the trial of Khoorshid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and the rest.

As soon as we shall have examined these documents, the Commission will be in a position to pronounce authoritatively on the circumstances which are supposed to mitigate the degree of each Turkish prisoner's culpability.

The same considerations which forbid us to acquiesce in the judgments passed upon the Turkish officials render it necessary to examine with great care the grounds upon which are based the sentences passed on the Druse Chiefs. Happily, the fact of our Delegates having been present at the trial of these last, renders this part of the investigation a little less unsatisfactory than it might otherwise have been. A fortnight must probably elapse before we can conclude the most painful and anxious investigation upon which we are about to enter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 311.

Judgments passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout on the Chief People implicated in the late Disturbances in the Mountain.

No. 1.—Sentence on Khoorshid Pasha

(Translation.)

In submitting to your Excellency the inclosed Minutes of the full and minute evidence adduced at the trial of Khoorshid Pasha, late Governor-General of Sidon, before the Beyrout Extraordinary Commission, in connection with the late events of Mount Lebanon, we beg to state as follows:—

The accusations against Khoorshid Pasha are: that on the occurrence of the multitudinous assassinations between the Maronites and the Druses, 400 or 500 of the Christians of the Kesrouan assembled in a body at the beginning of the month Zil-kadeh, and marched to a place called Aul Elias, with the intention of attacking the Druses; that Khoorshid Pasha, on being apprized of this, instead of taking measures to disperse the assembly, and thereby check the disorders at their first appearance, only dispatched the Military Commander, Tahir Pasha, with a detachment of troops, to a place called Hazmeh, and followed them himself on the succeeding day; that, on the evening of that day, the village of Beit-Min and the surrounding hamlets were burned by the Druses; that on the third day, Hazmeh and Bshda, and the adjacent villages, were plundered and burned and the Christians remaining in them killed; that these events Khoorshid Pasha witnessed and knew of as they occurred, but did not move against the Druses, and dispersing their forces, and seizing their leaders, detain and punish them, but left them at liberty to act as they pleased, that in like

manner, at no other place where disturbances occurred, all over the Mountain were the troops to be found on the spot employed against the Druses, agreeably with the *mazbatia* of the Grand Medjah of Beyrout, authorizing that course; that, moreover, evidences of coming commotions were strikingly apparent on every side and whereas it was the first of duties to take the protection of the different places, and especially of the Mountain, Khoorshid Pasha neglected that duty.

In his defence, Khoorshid Pasha pleads that he had sent an agent to the Christians of the Kesrouan, and dispatched troops to the spot Hazmeh, which divides the territory of the respective belligerents, by which means he prevented the Christians from overstepping the boundary, and protected their side against invasion; that owing to the paucity of the troops at his disposal on the one hand, and the large numerical strength of the Druses on the other, he could not, without exposing Beyrout and all the other places to riots and disorders which might have resulted in a universal catastrophe, both march against the Druses, whose hands were carrying fire and sword to all points of the Mountain, and look to the safety of Beyrout and the other places at the same time.

This justification of Khoorshid Pasha has not been deemed sufficient to clear him from his shortcomings in not suppressing the disorders, whether at their first appearance or after their outbreak, but it has not appeared that he was willing to cause them, and he is found to have endeavoured, though imperfectly, to do his duty.

Under these circumstances, we are of opinion that sentence of death cannot be legally passed upon Khoorshid Pasha, and that his punishment should be one degree less than capital.

We therefore, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, condemn him to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, which is equivalent to the punishment of the galleys for life inflicted by the Penal Code.

(Follow the signatures of the President and members of the Commission.)

No. 2.—Sentence on Tahir Pasha

In submitting to your Excellency the inclosed Minutes of the trial of Tahir Pasha, late Military Commandant at Beyrout, we beg to state as follows:—

The accusations against Tahir Pasha are, that at the commencement of the civil war he had been furnished with a *mazbatia* of the Grand Medjah at Beyrout authorizing him to attack whichever of the belligerent parties, whether Druse or Maronite, disobeyed the orders of the Government, and was dispatched with a detachment of troops to Hazmeh. That, immediately after his arrival there, the Christians of Kesrouan, with flags flying and other symbols of war, passed by the outskirts of his camp to the villages of Bshda and Hazmeh, that on perceiving this, it was his bounden duty to disperse and turn back the assembly, and, in case of resistance, to proceed in virtue of the *mazbatia* which he held, to oppose them by force of arms; that in like manner it was his duty to have acted similarly against the Druses on their attacking those villages, but that he failed to discharge that duty, that when he was despatched by Khoorshid Pasha, late Vali, to Deir-el-Kamar for that protection and safety of the town, he effected a sort of reconciliation between the Christians and Druses, and then, representing to the Vali that perfect security had been established at Deir-el-Kamar, requested leave to return, and he departed; that, after his return, the Foreign Consular authorities having represented officially that the place was about to be again attacked he gave them full assurances to the contrary, that two days afterwards the town was assaulted, and atrocities, such as the burning of houses, plunder of property, and slaying of persons were committed; that thus Tahir Pasha neither dispersed the Christian assembly above referred to, nor took adequate measures for the permanent security of Deir-el-Kamar, but trusted to the false assurances of the Druses and returned to the camp.

In his defence Tahir Pasha pleads that it is true that as soon as the Government perceived that disorders were about to arise he was furnished with a *mazbatia* in question—of about 600 Regulars, namely, 300 Riflemen and 300 Infantry, and despatched to Hazmeh, that on the day of his arrival there about

temporary confinement in a fortress, with perpetual deprivation of their rank and offices.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 3).—Sentence on Said Bek Jumblâd.

The Minutes of the trial of Said Bek Jumblâd, before the Beyrout Extraordinary Commission, in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

It has been proved that Said Bek Jumblâd, who is the Mokâtaji of the district of Shâf Jezzîn, and the other Mokâtas, and who, as the supreme head of all the Druse Chiefs and Mokâtajs, and the most influential and respected amongst them, wrote at the commencement of the movement a re-assuring letter to the Christians of the Mukâtâ of Jezzîn, engaging that they would not be in any way injured, yet that this place was subsequently attacked by the Druses, pillaged and burned, and a considerable number of its inhabitants killed.

That after having given to Tahir Pasha his word and assurances that no injury whatever would be done to Dair-el-Kamur on the part of the Druses, that town was nevertheless attacked, and all sorts of atrocities committed in it. That Ismail-el-Atrash, with other Chiefs of Haurân Druses, first addressed Said Bek a letter in the form of a mazbatâ, informing him of their having come to attack Zahléh, and requesting his sanction, and to be made acquainted with his pleasure on the subject, after which they marched upon Zahléh which they plundered and burned, killing many of its people. That after this, Ismail-el-Atrash, with a number of Druses, came straight to the residence of Said Bek, at Mukhmârâh, who, after receiving them with distinction, invited Ismail-el-Atrash and his companions with robes of honour, and made them presents. That under cover of bringing away his sister from Hasbeya, he deputed Ali Hanûdî, with a large number of Druses and attendants of his, to that place. That, on the arrival of Ali Hanûdî and his followers there, they brought to pass the well-known occurrences of Hasbeya. Moreover, it has appeared from the written and verbal depositions of numbers of military officers and Christians, that Said Bek testified his satisfaction with Soliman Zaim-ed-Dîn, who had brought the head of the Emir Ba'ad-ed-Dîn, Shohab of Hasbeya, and as a reward appointed him "So hashî" (land agent) in his service. That he did not pay any attention to the messages sent to him by Colonel Abd-es-Salam Bek, by one of his officers to the effect that the Druses, were about to attack Dair-el-Kamur, and calling upon him to come and quell the commotion. That, in a word, he took a principal share in all the events of the Mountain, whether great or small, and was the moral organizer and author of the insurrectionary combination.

Such being the state of the case, and considering that Said Bek Jumblâd planned and organized the insurgent bands, who rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, whilst holding the office of a Mokâtaji and a functionary of the Government, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 6).—Sentence on Sheikâ Hossîn Tâhûk.

The Minutes of the trial of the Mokâtaji Hossîn Tâhûk, in connection with the late events of the Mountain, have been laid before your Excellency.

The said Hossîn Tâhûk is amongst those Mokâtajs who are second point of influence and authority, and it has appeared from his own admission, and from the depositions of Khosrûd Pasha, that he was amongst the insurgent bands at the attack on the village of Zahléh, and that he was amongst the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, whilst it was his duty, as a Mokâtaji, to protect the Christians of his district, and to prevent the Druses from committing disorders they did out of it.

He, on the contrary, headed the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty.

We are, therefore, of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 7).—Sentence on Asaad Tâhûk.

The Minutes of the interrogatory and trial of the Mokâtaji Asaad Tâhûk, in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, has been submitted to your Excellency.

The said Asaad Tâhûk belongs to the second class of Mokâtajs in point of influence and consideration.

It has appeared from his own admission, and the statements of the Druse Chiefs and individuals examined, that he and his attendants were with the insurgent bands at the attack on the villages of Hadeth and Haskafâ.

Such being the case, and considering that he, the said Asaad Tâhûk, headed the insurgents that rose and revolted against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 8).—Sentence on Adam Bek Nêked.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced on the trial of Kâsim Bek Abu Nêked, one of the Mokâtaji, in connection with the late events in the Lebanon.

It has appeared, from his own admission, and from the depositions of the Druse Sheikhs and individuals examined, that the said Kâsim Bek Abu Nêked, who belongs to the second class of Mokâtajs in influence and social position, has been amongst the insurgents at the events which occurred at Dair-el-Kamur. Accordingly the said Kâsim Bek Abu Nêked having been found to have been a leader of the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55 and 56 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 9).—Sentence on Asaad Amâd.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Asaad Amâd, one of the Mokâtajs of Arkûb.

It has appeared from his own admission that the said Asaad Amâd, on the occasion of the events of Zahléh, marched against that town with his people and partizans, and it has also appeared from the depositions of the Druse Sheikhs and individuals examined, that he was amongst the insurgent bands.

Such being the case Asaad Amâd has been found to have been, notwithstanding his quality of Mokâtaji, a leader of the insurgent bands who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte; and we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other Members of the Commission.)

(No. 10).—Sentence on Mir Mohammad Kasim Raslan.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Mir Mohammad Kasim Raslan, one of the relations of the Druse Kaimakam.

It has appeared from his own admission that the said Mir Mohammad was present at the attack on the villages of Baabda and Hadeth, and from the depositions of several Christians, whose names are recorded, that he was one of the leaders of the insurgent bands.

Accordingly, the said Mir Mohammad, having been a leader of the insurgents who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 11).—Sentence on Selim Jumblid.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of Selim Jumblid, a Druse of the Mountain.

It appears from a general mazbatta, forwarded by the Mudir of that district in reply to the inquiries addressed to him, that the said Selim Jumblid was a leader and organizer of the Druse insurgent bands during the disturbances of Jezzin, and that he committed various unlawful and base actions, such as plundering and violation.

Although the said Selim Jumblid denies having committed these crimes, yet his guilt has been established both by the contents of the aforesaid mazbatta, and by the statements and declarations of the Christian inhabitants of Jezzin.

Accordingly, the said Selim Jumblid, having been found a leader of the insurgents who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, the punishment of death should be inflicted on him.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 12).—Sentence on Jamal-ed-Din Hamdan.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of the Druse Chief Jamal-ed-Din Hamdan in connection with the late events in the Mountain.

It appears from a mazbatta drawn up by the Christian inhabitants of Jezzin, and forwarded by the Mudir of that district, in reply to information which he was required to furnish, that the said Jamal-ed-Din Hamdan was a leader of the Druse bands during the disturbances at Jezzin, and also the murderer of a person called Kamar. Although the said Jamal-ed-Din Hamdan denies having committed the murder, his guilt has been established, both by the contents of the above-mentioned mazbatta, and by the information given by the Christian inhabitants.

Accordingly as the said Jamal-ed-Din Hamdan was a leader of the insurgents, who rose and revolted against the subjects of the Porte, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57 of the Penal Code, the punishment of death should be inflicted on him.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Extraordinary Commission.)

(No. 13).—Sentence on Mahi-ed-Din Shibli.

We have submitted to your Excellency the proceedings and the evidence adduced at the trial of the Druse Mahi-ed-Din Shibli, an inhabitant of Kaira Kaira, and agent to Beshir Bek Abu Neked, who was arrested in connection with the late events of the Lebanon.

In a petition presented by the Khuri Augustin, the actual President of the Convent of the Mount of Lebanon, M. D. S. S. was charged with being the person who strangled the priest Athanasius Naoum, President of the above-mentioned Convent, who was found strangled in 1876 during the night of the 7th of March, 1276 and robbed of his money and various articles. The prosecutor was in consequence summoned before the Extraordinary Commission, and minute inquiry made from him as to the matter in question, who stated, that independently of suspicions resting on the said Mahi-ed-Din Shibli of having murdered the said President, from the fact of Shibli having been a friend of the deceased, who was reported to be wealthy, as well as from the fact of his having visited him frequently, he had declared boastfully in the course of the disorders in the Mountain to Bolos Sasa—a heterodox Greek, and a merchant of Deir-el-Kamar—to Habib Selim, son to Yusuf Abu Shabb, that he was the murderer. At his examination Mahi-ed-Din Shibli admitted his acquaintance with the deceased, and acknowledged that he repeatedly visited the deceased, but he formally denied the truth of the accusation of murder brought against him.

Thorenpou Bolos Sasa, Habib Selim, and Josef Shabb were summoned before the Commission and separately examined. Bolos Sasa stated that on Wednesday night, two days before the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, the said Mahi-ed-Din came to the house of Khajah Beshara, an inhabitant of Deir-el-Kamar, and that in the course of a conversation relative to the affairs of the Mountain, during which he intimated that Deir-el-Kamar would do well to surrender without making any resistance to Beshir Bek Abu Neked, he said to Khajah Beshara, "It was I who killed the President of Deir Amik." Habib Selim deposed, that on Wednesday night, when Deir-el-Kamar was attacked by the Druses, the said Mahi-ed-Din, standing in front of the Governor of the town, cried out in a loud voice, saying, "For the sake of a priest the Christians want to upset the world; it is I who killed the President of Deir Amik—what can they do?" Yusuf Abu Shabb likewise stated that on Wednesday night, two days before the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, the said Mahi-ed-Din came to the house of Elias Sasa and said voluntarily, "You will not deliver up your arms to Beshir Bek Abu Neked, and you offer resistance: I alone have killed the President of Deir Amik;" and proceeded on his way to the house of the said Beshara Sasa. These three witnesses at the same time declared that when Mahi-ed-Din went to the house of Sasa and made these confessions, many other persons were present, all of whom, however, were killed during the massacre at Deir-el-Kamar, so that they alone are the only remaining witnesses. They, moreover, confirmed the veracity of their depositions by swearing on their faith through their respective priests.

Although, therefore, the said Mahi-ed-Din denies having committed the murder, yet, as besides the commission of this crime, there are several Christians whose names are on record, who declare that during the attack at Deir-el-Kamar, Shibli, was amongst the insurgent bands, and plundered with them, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 14).—Sentence on Ali Said.

The Minutes of the trial of Ali Said, a Druse of the village of Sultun who had been arrested in connection with the recent events of the Mountain, have been submitted to your Excellency.

Ali Said was charged with the murder of Khattar Dabb, a Christian of Andara, at the commencement of the disturbances in the Mountain, whose head he cut off, and brought to the Druse Chief Khattar Bek. On being interrogated on the subject, Ali Said denied all knowledge of the matter.

The wife of the deceased, who preferred the accusation, then indicated the Druses, Mohammed Abu Asaf, and Mohammed Harb, and Sheikh Kasim, and other persons who were eye-witnesses of the crime.

Hereupon, the Mudir of Deir-el-Kamar, of the Commission, reported that in answer to the inquiry which he instituted into the matter, the above-named Mohammed Abu Asaf and Mohammed Harb deposed that they saw the head of Khotâr Dib in the hands of the accused, and heard from other eye-witnesses that he was his murderer, and that Ali Said was a well-known bad character.

As from the purport of the report, it is understood that Ali Said did commit the crime in question, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 15.)—*Sentence on Beshir Meri Noked.*

As will appear from the enclosed Minutes of the Druse Chief, Beshir Meri Noked, that the woi Mennch deposed that the said Beshir Meri Noked killed the Christian Ibrahim Shamân, on the occasion of the attack on Deir-el-Kamar, and the Christian Khall Shawish and Asand Nakash gave information that he committed various enormities, such as plundering and despoiling.

As, such being the case, the crime of the said Beshir Meri Noked was apparent, we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that he should be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and other members of the Commission.)

(No. 16.)—*List of Names and Description of the Leaders of the Insurgent Bands the late Outbreak in the Mountain, who have not been captured, and have fled towards the Haurân.*

1. Khotâr Bek Amâl, commanded at the attack on Zahleh.
2. Beshir Bek Amâl, commanded at the battle of Deir-el-Kamar.
3. Sheikh Keny Amâl, commanded at the attack on Zahleh and Deir-el-Kamar.
4. Sulaim Bek Amâl, the same.
5. Sheikh Mahmûd Tishûk, commanded at the attack on Hadeth and Ma'abda.
6. Beshir Bek Noked, one of the greatest marauders, commanded at the attack on Deir-el-Kamar.
7. Sheikh Mahmûd, commanded at the attack on Zahleh.
8. Sheikh Hamûd Mansûr, one of the greatest marauders, was present at the different expeditions.
9. Sheikh Mansûr, the same.
10. Ali Bek Hamâdi, a great insurrectionary leader, was present at the attacks on Deir-el-Kamar and Hasbeya.
11. Khotâr Bek Amâl, the same.
12. Khotâr Bek Amâl, the same.
13. Khotâr Bek Amâl, a great insurrectionary leader, commanded at the occurrences in the neighbourhood of Sidon.
14. Khotâr Bek Amâl, the same, was present at the attack on Deir-el-Kamar.
15. Mahmûd Hamâdi, the same.
16. Mustafa Dweik, an insurrectionary leader, was present at Deir-el-Kamar.
17. Kasim Abd-es-Samad, the same.
18. Rafi Abd-es-Samad, the same.
19. Yusuf Hasan Abd-es-Samad, the same.
20. Kasim Abu Shakra, the same.
21. Khotâr Abu Shakra, the same.
22. Jaddan Abu Shakra, the same.

23. Sulaim Bek Hamâdi, an insurrectionary leader, was present at Deir-el-Kamar.

24. Ismail-el-Atrash, an insurrectionary leader, was a leader of the Haurân Druses at the attack on Zahleh.

25. Hammel Hawâdi, the same.
26. Hamad Abu Fakr, the same.
27. Khotâr Amer, the same.
28. Hamad Azzân, the same.
29. Sulaim Kulkas, the same.
30. Deirns Amer, the same.
31. Fendi Azzân, the same.
32. Yusuf Saru, the same.
33. Waked-el-Hamâdi, the same.

In all, thirty-three persons.

From the depositions of the Christians in general, and of the Druse Chiefs and individuals examined, it has appeared that the above-named and described thirty-three persons were leaders in the attacks on Hasbeya, Rasheya and Deir-el-Kamar, and the other places in the Mountain, and that they committed every species of atrocity and crime. In consequence, however, of their having left their houses, and fled to the Haurân, they have not been, as yet, captured and tried, but we are of opinion, subject to your Excellency's superior judgment and pleasure, that on being taken, they should, pursuant to Articles 55, 56, and 57, of the Penal Code, be punished with death.

(Follow the signatures of the President and the other members of the Commission.)

Inclusion 6 in No 313

Tableau indiquant les Personnes compromises dans les crimes de Meurtre, etc., et les Pénalités infligées.

N ^o de l'Inculpé	Noms des Coupables.	Condition, Profession, et titre de Résidence des	Génie de Coupabilité.	Nature des Crimes.	Pénalité Prononcée.	Remarques.
1	Kharshid Pacha Gouverneur Général de Bagdad	Vice-Roi	A participé aux tentatives de meurtre.	Il ne s'est pas prouvé que nous sommes aux ordres de ses fonctions mais être coupable d'avoir aidé crime.	Exécution.	Il a été tué dans une bataille.
2	Fahre Pacha, Commandant Militaire de Bagdad	Empereur de l'armée Impériale	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
3	Khalid	Khalid de Kharshid Pacha	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
4	Said	Contable de Bagdad et Chargé des affaires des Deuws et des tribunaux.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
5	Said Ben Samih	Formier des Moutages de Bagdad.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
6	Hamid Tallouk	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
7	Khalid Nakul	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
8	Assad Amal	Un des Moutages d'Arbil.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.

Tableau indiquant les Personnes Compromises, &c.—continué.

N ^o de l'Inculpé	Noms des Coupables.	Condition, Profession, et titre de Résidence des	Génie de Coupabilité.	Nature des Crimes.	Pénalité Prononcée.	Remarques.
9	Mr. Mubammed Kham	Druse notable	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
10	Said Samih	Un des Chefs Druses.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
11	Jamir	Un des Chefs Druses.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
12	M. M. M. M.	Treasury de Hish et Nakul.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
13	A. S. S.	Druse de Bagdad.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
14	Bechir Neri	Druse notable.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
15	Bechir Bek Nuri Abu Nakul	Un des Chefs Druses.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
16	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
17	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
18	M. M. M. M.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
19	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
20	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
21	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
22	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
23	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
24	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
25	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
26	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
27	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
28	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
29	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.
30	Bechir Bek Amal	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.	Idem.

[illegible]

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sur.

Beirut, December 30, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the fifteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 2nd instant.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Enclosure 8 in No. 313

*Protocol of the Fifteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth,
December 22, 1860.*

LE vingt-deux Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, sous les Comman-
dants réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte
à deux heures et demie.

Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications.

L'ordre du jour appelle l'examen de la question de l'impôt en nature à lever

Selon M. le Commissaire Britannique, cet impôt, tel qu'il a déjà été réglé, ne peut être levé sans injustice et sans danger pour l'existence même de la nation des Druses. Aux termes de l'arrêté pris par son Excellence Haad Pacha, chaque Druse contribuable serait contraint de fournir une certaine qu-

que la majorité des Brucos ne possède pas ces objets, ni leur équivalent
argent, et se trouve dans l'impossibilité matérielle de se les procurer. C'est
arrivé à en outre le très grave inconvénient de frapper indistinctement tous les
riches ou pauvres, de la même contribution.

A Dattam, on se propose de moins de tenir compte de la capacité relative des contribuables. On les divise en catégories, et il y a même un projet pris en sérieuse considération par la Commission dans lequel la classe la plus pauvre est

6 la guerre civile par l'attitude menaçante des Maronites, les Druses sont tout moins coupables que les Musulmans de Damas : et cependant si on donne à Damas d'une contribution de 40,000,000 de piastres et les Druses d'une nature équivalent par tête à un impôt de 1,100 de piastres, en regard du nombre des Musulmans de Damas entre lesquels sera réparti l'impôt, les Druses, toute proportion gardée, paieront plus en cinq jours que les Damasquiens en cinq mois. Lord Dufferin ne peut s'empêcher de voir là une grande injustice. Il rappelle enfin qu'un certain nombre de villages Druses ont déjà été soumis à des réquisitions et que d'autres ont été complètement pillés. Ne pas tenir compte de ces circonstances et demander aveuglément à tous les Druses, dans tous les villages, une même contribution, ce serait vouloir recommencer la ruine un peuple qui a été déjà frappé dans son existence politique. Le commissaire Lord Dufferin est d'avis que l'arrêté pris par son Excellence devra

Il a fait observer que cet arrêté, lorsqu'il en a donné lecture, n'a soulevé dans la Commission et même de la part de M. le Commissaire britannique, aucune objection : que la perception de l'impôt ne doit pas, comme le dit Lord Dufferin, être effectuée dans le laps de cinq jours, mais seulement commencer dans un délai de cinq jours à partir du jour de la promulgation, ce qui est bien différent, que par conséquent, les agents chargés de cette perception peuvent y mettre tout le temps nécessaire, et qu'en assure, ces mêmes agents ont reçu des instructions qui leur enjoignent de tenir compte des circonstances dans l'exécution de la loi et d'user de ménagements partout où il le faudrait.

M. le Commissaire Prussen est d'avis que la mesure est urgente et

indispensable. Il penche à croire qu'elle n'est point aussi rigoureuse que vient de la présenter Lord Dufferin, dont tous les calculs reposent sur une base douteuse, c'est-à-dire, sur une estimation probablement beaucoup trop élevée des objets demandés aux Druses.

M. le Commissaire Français a volontiers consenti pour sa part à ce que la mesure de l'impôt sur les Druses fut de nouveau examinée, quant à ses effets et retardée de quelques jours dans l'exécution, mais il n'admet pas que l'impôt déjà pris par Fuad Pacha et approuvé par la Commission puisse en principe être rapporté. Il verrait même un grand inconvénient à la prolongation d'un impôt qui compromet l'autorité et laisse indécises les populations. Cet impôt, si on veut le considérer au point de vue pénal, est bien loin de correspondre au nombre et à l'énormité des crimes commis par la nation Druse, et ne saurait aucun titre passer pour une persécution, mais on doit le considérer surtout au point de vue de l'utilité. C'est une mesure d'urgence destinée à mettre dans les mains du Gouvernement une certaine quantité, la plus grande possible, d'objets de première nécessité.

M. le Commissaire Français a lu la lettre d'après laquelle les Druses seraient hors d'état de payer la contribution fixée dans l'arrêté général les Druses n'ont que très peu d'objets mobiliers. Dès qu'ils ont un peu d'argent, ils achètent de la terre. On ne trouvera donc en général chez les Druses ni meubles superflus ni argent comptant. M. de Weckbecker demande s'il ne serait pas convenable d'appliquer exclusivement l'imposition aux riches dont les biens sont déjà sous le séquestre et sur lesquels on pourrait réaliser immédiatement la perception, soit des objets en nature soit de leur équivalent pécuniaire.

M. le Commissaire de Roumélie appuie cette proposition. Au fond, dit M. Novikow, il s'agit d'une question pratique, la question de savoir quel est le meilleur moyen à employer pour se procurer les objets de première nécessité dont les Chrétiens ont besoin. Si les Fellahs Druses ne sont pas en état d'en fournir en nombre suffisant, c'est aux Si eikhs des villages qui possèdent des

objets demander ces objets ou l'équivalent en argent, de plus les Mokatahs Druses étant les principaux contribuables, c'est au Gouvernement qui a séquestré leurs propriétés qu'incombe le devoir de soulager le sort des Chrétiens avec les ressources qu'il peut tirer de ces propriétés.

MM. les Commissaires de France et de Prusse insistent pour que la mesure soit exécutée dans son ensemble contre la masse des Druses, sauf à ne pas poursuivre ceux d'entre eux qui ne possédant rien ou que le strict nécessaire ne pourraient rien donner. M. le Commissaire de Prusse propose l'adoption d'un principe de solidarité entre les individus d'un même village et les villages d'un même district et M. le Commissaire de France la radiation de plusieurs objets, tels que les séneçons et les hausses en cuivre dont la perception paraît pour être trop difficile.

Lord Dufferin admet la possibilité de la mesure avec ces divers tempéraments, et son Excellence Fuad Pacha exprime à ses collègues l'intention où il est de leur envoyer dès le lendemain copie du nouvel arrêté qu'il va prendre conformément à l'opinion moyenne autour de laquelle viennent de se rallier tous les membres de la Commission.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha dépose entre les mains de M. le Vice-Président le texte des sentences émises du Tribunal Extraordinaire siégeant à Beyrouth, ce qu'il soumet à l'examen de la Commission.

Avant que la séance soit levée, M. le Commissaire Français interpelle Fuad Pacha relativement à l'impôt extraordinaire dont la ville de Damas doit être

Il désirerait savoir si la mesure a été décrétée conformément à la

se propose d'expédier immédiatement des dépêches pressantes à Constantinople pour obtenir que la Sublime Porte lide sa décision.

M. le Commissaire Français exprime l'étonnement et le profond regret que lui inspire cette décision, puisqu'elle entraînera nécessairement des retards dans l'exécution d'une mesure que tous les membres de la Commission ont unanimement considérée comme étant d'une extrême urgence. Il ne croit pas se tromper en ajoutant que le sentiment unanime des cinq Commissaires est partagé par leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

La séance est levée à six heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 9 in No. 313.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 30, 1860

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency copy of a written communication I have addressed to my colleagues and to his Excellency Fuad Pacha relative to the extreme caution to be observed in administering the

the chief actors in

I beya, and Dey-el-Kamar.

A glance at this document will sufficiently explain to your Excellency the motives which dictated it; but I would wish more particularly to mention that, having perceived among some of my brother Commissioners a determination to insist upon a severer degree of punishment being inflicted on the Druses than either their crimes deserved or the necessity of the case required, it seemed to me desirable to intervene in such a way as should make them duly sensible of the grave responsibilities we were incurring.

When the subject was lately discussed among ourselves more than two of the Commissioners were inclined to think the number of executions should certainly exceed 200, while another, the most moderate of the three, avowed that at the least they must come within "les centaines."

Such a view of the case appeared to me far too sanguinary, and I endeavoured to the best of my ability to modify their opinion.

The next day I communicated the accompanying observations to the Commission, and I am happy to say that the four propositions appended to it were generally accepted.

The hearing of the fourth article is especially important, inasmuch as the fact of only fifty-six citizens having suffered at Damascus will keep the number of executions in the M. amman within reasonable limits.

Should it be satisfactorily proved by credible eye witnesses, as I am afraid it will, that of those already in custody more than 200 or 300 murdered in cold blood multitudes of unarmed men or little children, I do not think it would be an exaggeration of severity if 20 or 30 of their number are required to pay the forfeit with their lives. It is true great excuses may perhaps be made even for crimes so horrible as these, but I am convinced that if we wish to put a stop to the blood-fests of the Mountain, and the cruel system of vendettas which prevails among all classes of its inhabitants, it will be necessary to make an example of a proportion of those who have earned so hateful a custom to lengths hitherto unheard of, even in the annals of Lebanon warfare.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LORD DUFFERIN AND CLANEDRONE

Inclosure 10 in No. 313.

Communication addressed by Lord Dufferin to his Colleagues in the Syrian Commission.

HER Britannic Majesty's Commissioner has the honour of making the following formal communication to his colleagues relative to the necessity of

taking precautions against a careless and unintelligent application of the
 Fund Pasha in regard to those of the Druse nation who were chief actors in the
 massacres of Hasbeya, Rasbeya, and Deir-el-Kamar.

It will be in the recollection of the Commissioners that, in compliance with
 an understanding arrived at between the Turkish High Commissioner and
 themselves, an invitation was conveyed to the religious heads of the various
 Christian communities to furnish his Excellency Fuad Pasha with sworn lists of
 those persons the pre-eminent atrocity of whose crimes render them worthy of
 death. By entrusting the awful task of denunciation to the prelates of the sects,
 it was hoped that a spirit of merciful discrimination would mitigate the vindictive
 animosity which only too naturally animates their respective flocks, and reduce
 within the scope of Christian justice the numbers of those designated for capital
 punishment.

But it would appear that this expectation was unfounded, inasmuch as out
 of the total number of 8,000 grown-up men who constitute the Druse
 population of the Lebanon, 4,500 heads have been demanded by these holy

It is true the remonstrances of the Turkish High Commissioner induced
 them subsequently to modify the amount of their requisition for blood, but even
 they could only be brought down to the modest figure of 1,300.

Lord Dufferin cannot refrain from expressing his indignation at the
 vengeance thus exacted, and he sees in it a fresh indication of that desire to
 exterminate the Druse nation which he has already had occasion to allude to as

the Mount.

A circumstance, however, which has accidentally come to his knowledge,
 and which he now hastens to communicate to his colleagues, has added consider-
 ably to the sentiments of abhorrence with which he regards the conduct of those
 prelates, and fills him with misgivings as to the justice of the denunciations with
 which they have furnished his Excellency Fuad Pasha.

It would appear that, on the night of the 20th instant, a man from
 the Deir of the name of Yusuf Shadi, accompanied by a policeman, called
 at the house of a Druse Sheikh inhabiting Beyrouth named Sirham Id, and
 accusing him of the murder of his cousin at Deir-el-Kamar, on the day of the
 massacre, proceeded to drag him to prison. Luckily a Christian neighbour
 interfered, and, by becoming security for the accused, induced the prosecutor to
 delay his capture. The next morning, however, Yusuf Shadi re-appeared, and
 again attempted to make the Druse his prisoner, but, in the meantime, Sheikh
 Sirham Id had appealed to an English merchant and several of his Christian
 neighbours with whom he had been in the habit of daily intercourse throughout
 the summer, and proved that, on the day of the alleged crime, and for weeks

being confronted with the accused. Nevertheless, the unfortunate Druse Sheikh
 was compelled to remunerate the policeman.

If an outrage of this sort can be perpetrated with impunity within the
 precincts of Beyrouth, and under the eyes of his Excellency Fuad Pasha, we may
 imagine what will take place among the recesses of the Mountain, where no
 governing fury of a population maddened by the wrongs they have endured, and
 encouraged apparently by their spiritual leaders to maintain the ancient cry of
 blood for blood!

Considerations of this nature have been for some time past pressing in a
 painful manner on the attention of the British Commissioner, and in order to
 guard himself against the charge of having participated, however remotely, in the
 shedding of innocent blood, he has the honour of submitting in writing the
 following propositions to the consideration of his Excellency Fuad Pasha and of
 the Commission.

1st. That no Druse shall be capitally tried by court martial except on the
 charge of having murdered in cold blood an unarmed man, woman, or a child.

2nd. That the evidence of two eye-witnesses be considered necessary to
 secure a capital conviction.

3rd. That in determining the proportion of those who are to suffer capitally
 due regard be had to the numbers of the Druse nation who have been murdered
 with impunity by the Christians, since the arrival of the Commission in Syria.

4th. That a less severe measure of capital punishment shall be dealt out to
 the Druse nation than that which has been considered adequate at Damascus.

No. 314

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 11, 1861.)

(No. 46)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, December 30, 1860.

IN obedience to your instructions to report on the number of Maronite
 and Greek Christians in the Lebanon, as conveyed to me in your Lordship's
 despatch No. 36 of the 1st instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy
 of a paper with which I have been furnished by M. Novikow, the Russian Com-
 missioner, giving the number of Greeks resident in the Lebanon.

M. Novikow, your Lordship will perceive, does not offer an estimate of
 the number of the Heterodox Greeks, but I am assured that they constitute a
 considerable portion of the population of the Lebanon, with the exception,
 however, of Sidon, where they number a few thousand souls.

My Russian colleague also informs me that, although, in the list with which
 he has been good enough to furnish me the total number of Greeks amounts to
 27,950 souls, yet at the same time he states that in his opinion the true num-
 ber will be found to be less by 2,000 or 3,000.

Your Lordship will easily understand the difficulty of forming even an
 estimate of the various creeds of which the population of the Lebanon is
 composed. Only one census, and that an imperfect one, has been
 made for many years, but I have not failed to bring the matter under the notice
 of my colleagues, in order that the subject may receive the attention it

I have, &c.
 (Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Enclosure to No. 314.

Statement of the Number of Greeks resident in the Lebanon

Il y a environ 22,460 Grecs orthodoxes dans la Caïnacaniyeh Chrétienne
 du Liban, et 5,520 dans la Caïnacaniyeh Druse, total 27,980 (orthodoxes des
 deux sexes).

Les principaux centres de la population orthodoxe dans la Caïnacaniyeh
 Chrétienne sont: El-Kura, Kurnet, Jannine, /
 Baskinta avec ses dépendances dans le Metu.

Les principaux centres de la population orthodoxe dans la Caïnacaniyeh
 Druse sont: El-Kura, Kurnet, Jannine, /
 Baskinta avec ses dépendances, et Blamdan.

La population Chrétienne des districts de l'Anti-Liban, Hasbeya, Rasbeya, et
 Merj Ayûn, est presque en totalité composée de Grecs orthodoxes.

No. 315

Major Fraser to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 11, 1861.)

(No. 14.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, December 29, 1860.

SINCE the date of my last communication to your Lordship No. 13 of
 October 2nd, I have been in continued attendance upon Fuad Pasha at this
 place for the purpose of accompanying his Excellency into the Lebanon, in his

6 A

projected expedition for the punishment of the Druses. Various circumstances have tended to cause repeated postponements of this movement.

In the first place, some delay occurred before the exact mode of co-operation on the part of the French troops was satisfactorily arranged, it being extremely painful pains should be spared to prevent their hostile collision with the Druses. This having been at length arranged, and more precise intelligence regarding the actual condition of the Druse population having been subsequently obtained, it was found advisable greatly to reduce the amount of the fine to be exacted from that people, a change necessitating several meetings of the European Commission for the settlement of a new basis. And finally, Foad Pasha latterly formed the opinion that it would give a better hope of success, and create less alarm, should he forego his intention of superintending in person the arrest of the compromised Druses, and, instead, should delegate the duty to the detachment already charged with the levy of the forced contribution, his Excellency only appearing on the scene when the arrests had been completed. This plan has therefore been adopted, and Druses, previously denounced, have now been made prisoners, to the amount of several hundreds. His Excellency has to-day intimated his intention of proceeding without further delay to Mokhtara, whither I intend to accompany him, for the purpose of instituting tribunals for the trial of the condemned. It is further proposed that those condemned to capital punishment should be executed in the Mountain itself, at or near the scene of their crimes, and that as soon as possible thereafter a general amnesty to the Druse nation be proclaimed, excepting a few notorious culprits at present beyond the reach of justice.

I have made these general remarks solely in order to explain to your Lordship the causes which have detained me from day to day at this place, and to serve as a statement or report of local events. Having had the advantage of daily intercourse with Lord Dufferin for some time past, I am aware how impossible it would be for me to add to his Lordship's valuable and comprehensive communications on all such subjects.

Since my arrival here, I have occasionally conferred with Foad Pasha on a variety of topics, and have invariably communicated anything of consequence to Lord Dufferin at the moment. His Excellency being apparently of opinion that the future Government of Syria is likely to be committed to his care, has repeatedly adverted to the improvements which might be introduced in both the civil and military administration of the province. At his request I have explained in detail the various forms of government existing in British Colonies, and more particularly the administrative and defensive system now in use on the Kaffir frontier in South Africa, with which I happen to be familiar, where a state of affairs formerly existed very closely resembling the present condition of the Eastern or Helouan frontier of Syria, and there appears little reason to doubt that results equally favourable might be obtained here, by the adoption of a system analogous to that employed with so much advantage in South Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 316.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. (Received January 12.)

No. 63.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 11, 1861.

THE answer which M. Thouvenel has returned to the communication made to him from the Prussian Government relative to the affairs of Syria, alluded to in my despatch No. 40 of the 8th instant, is to the effect that he cannot discuss the future government of that province with individual Governments, that an European Commission has been sent to Syria for the very purpose of examining into that question upon the spot, and that he is content to leave it to their decision; and, finally, that as far as his personal opinion is concerned, he approves the bases laid down in the plan suggested by Lord Dufferin to his colleagues.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 317.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. (Received January 12.)

No. 64.
My Lord,

Paris, January 11, 1861.

I HAVE read to M. Thouvenel, in pursuance of the instructions contained in it, your Lordship's despatch No. 50 of the 9th instant, relating to the affairs of Syria, and to the withdrawal of the French troops from thence.

A conversation of some warmth ensued between his Excellency and myself. In the first place, M. Thouvenel remarked that the reports of M. Beclard as to what had passed at the unofficial conference of the 17th ultimo, did not coincide. His Excellency sent for M. Beclard's report which he read to me, and which certainly makes both the Russian and Prussian Commissioners to hold very positive language as to the necessity of a prolonged stay of the French troops, the expressions, also, of the Austrian Commissioner, according to M. Beclard, implied rather a hope than an expectation that their presence might be dispensed with at the end of six months.

With regard to M. Beclard himself he describes himself as having, after hearing the different opinions pronounced, and expressing those of Russia and Prussia, remarked that the best mode to render the evacuation certain, would be to proceed in the attempt to constitute a proper Government in the Lebanon, and thus render the further presence of foreign troops

M. Thouvenel remarked to me that in this last observation of M. Beclard he entirely agreed, but he intimated at the same time, his conviction that in the present state of the Ottoman Empire, a strong Government in the Lebanon would be found impossible of realisation. He went on to say, that the intention of the Imperial Government was, after the arrival of the next mail from Syria to address simultaneously to all the great Courts a despatch, calling attention to the Convention of the 5th September, and asking their opinion as to the withdrawal of the troops. The Imperial Government will express no opinion one way or the other, but will be guided in its conduct by the answers which may be returned.

I observed, that no opinions of one Government or another could overturn the stipulations of a Treaty, and that the six months of occupation expired, the French Government would be bound, in good faith, to bring away the troops.

M. Thouvenel did not contest this point, but he said that as he believed in his soul and conscience ("dans son âme et conscience") that the withdrawal of the troops would be followed by a massacre far more extensive than that for which we were now asking redress, or else by a combination of all sects and creeds against the Sultan's authority, the Imperial Government would not take its responsibility of acting alone.

The conversation having turned upon the conduct and proceedings of General Beaufort, to which, I and I attributed in a great measure the evils which would attend a prolonged occupation of Syria, M. Thouvenel replied, that he could not admit that any blame attached to officer, that on the contrary, General Beaufort had acted with a moderation, a tact, and a consideration for Foad Pasha which was beyond all praise. He was quite certain that no other officer would have put up with the want of courtesy which had been evinced towards him by the Turkish authorities.

I replied, that such might be General Beaufort's representation of his own case, but that I had seen other accounts which convinced me that had he been allowed to follow his own inclinations, the peace of Syria might have been again compromised. I had no wish, I said, to throw unmerited blame on a French officer, who, no doubt, was anxious for an opportunity of distinguishing himself, but it was never meant, I contended, that the part which he was to play should be an active one, or that he should have any independent authority in a province belonging to Turkey.

The conversation continued in this strain for some little time, M. Thouvenel professing that the Emperor's greatest desire was to bring away his troops as soon as possible, but urging the necessity of the establishment of a Government in the Lebanon before this could be effected.

I recommended that the French troops should, at all events, be withdrawn

from the interior, and as soon as possible concentrated at Beyrout: their presence

With regard to the absence of Fınd Pasha from the Conference at which the evacuation of Syria was discussed, on which your Lordship comments, M. Thouvenel observed that it was Fınd Pasha's own doing, he having excused himself from attending.

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 318

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 6.)

My Lord

subject of the
state to you in reply, that Her Majesty's Government approve of the views which you expressed in that communication.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell—(Received January 14)

No.

My Lord,

Berlin, January 12, 1861

I CONFERRED this morning with Baron Schleinitz on the substance of the inclosures in your Lordship's despatch to me No. 10, relative to the affairs of Syria.

His Excellency informed me he had latterly been so much occupied that he had really not had time to give the subject the attention the question deserved, but that it appeared to him the time was hardly yet come for the withdrawal of the troops.

I then read to him some extracts of your Lordship's despatch No. 50 of the 9th of January to Earl Cowley, concluding with the remark it contains, "that before the end of this month the British, French, Austrian, Prussian, and Turkish Commissioners will have formally agreed to the fifteen Articles proposed by Lord Dufferin and M. Beclard."

His Excellency said he was not aware that the Commissioners had already made so much progress in their business; that he was no advocate for the prolonged stay of foreign troops in Syria, that the Commissioners on the spot were best able to judge of the question of whether authority was sufficiently centred to allow them to be withdrawn; that if the proper moment had not arrived, those who undertook to recommend the withdrawal were taking upon themselves a very great responsibility.

I then told him Her Majesty's Government were willing to undertake their share of this responsibility, provided the Ministers of the Porte understood on their part their obligations and risks, and I spoke in the sense of your Lordship's despatch No. 2 to Sir Henry Bulwer.

Baron Schleinitz requested me to leave with him your Lordship's despatch No. 50 of the 9th instant to Earl Cowley. This I declined to do, but I said I would venture to give him some extracts of that despatch which I had read to him, if he thought they would be of use to him.

I did this under the firm conviction that the objects of Her Majesty's

Government would thereby be advanced, and I trust that my having done so will not meet with your Lordship's disapproval.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the extracts I gave Baron Schleinitz.

I have, &c
(Signed) WILLIAM LOWTHER

Inclosure in No. 319

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.)

YOUR Excellency will see, from the copy which I sent you in my despatch No. 23 of the 5th instant, that the Austrian Commissioner, speaking on the 19th of December, said that he saw no reason to think that the presence of a foreign force would be necessary two months from that time. You will see that Lord Dufferin expressed his opinion that the foreign force had become an embarrassment to the Sultan's Government, that it was discharging police duties, which were no part of its mission; and that it might be

The French and Russian Commissioners were in favour of the prolonged stay of the foreign troops. The Russian Commissioner was not prepared to say that it would be safe to remove the troops, but Lord Dufferin seemed to expect that his opinion would change on further consideration.

This is the manner in which these Christian Bishops in the East preach "peace on earth and goodwill towards men."

The French Government proposed in July last that European troops should be sent to Syria. Her Majesty's Government consented on two conditions: first, that the foreign troops should act in concert with the Turkish Commissioner Fınd Pasha; and, secondly, that the stay of the foreign troops should not be prolonged beyond six months. It was on the strength of those two conditions that Her Majesty's Government urged upon the Porte the acceptance of foreign aid to tranquillize Syria; it was on the faith of those conditions that the Porte gave her reluctant consent.

It is true that if Her Majesty's Government were convinced that there would be great risks in removing the foreign troops from Syria, Her Majesty's Government might be induced to urge upon the Porte a postponement of the evacuation. But as the conviction of Her Majesty's Government is quite the other way, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to consent to the prolongation of the stay of the French troops in Syria beyond the time fixed by the Convention of the 8th of August.

I have only further to say, that all the Commissioners except the Russian appear to be agreed upon the general heads of an arrangement for the future government of Syria. There seems every reason to hope that before the end of this month, the British, French, Austrian, Prussian and Turkish Commissioners will have formally agreed to the fifteen Articles proposed by Lord Dufferin and M. Beclard. There will then remain no reason whatever for extending the period for which the Convention of August 8 authorizes the stay of foreign troops in Syria.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell—(Received January 14)

(No. 26)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 9, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 192 of the 27th of December last, I inquired of Count Rechberg whether he was prepared to communicate to me his views on Lord Dufferin's plan for the future settlement of the province of Syria.

His Excellency said that Lord Dufferin's memorandum appeared to him to be drawn up with remarkable ability, but there were several points in it upon which he had observations to make. These observations he was about to embody in a despatch to Baron Prokesch, and he would forward a copy of that despatch to Count Apponyi, with instructions to communicate it to your Lordship, which he thought would be the best mode of bringing his views upon the subject accurately before Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. (Received January 16.)

(No. 49.)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 4, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 321

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, December 31, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 12th instant, and I beg most respectfully to thank your Excellency for the most gentle terms in which you are good enough to allude to the views I have ventured to submit to your consideration respecting the future government of Syria.

I will endeavour, to the best of my ability, to convey to my colleagues an exact notion of the opinions your Excellency entertains in regard to the principles by which our future proceedings ought to be guided, and I feel convinced that they will not fail to recognize their force and justice.

It might be presumptuous in me were I to say how heartily I myself concur in them, but I cannot refrain from recording the obligations I am under to your Excellency for having in so considerate a manner corroborated my private views by your great authority, and encouraged me to withstand, with due persistence, the somewhat prejudicial and violent courses advocated by what has been too often a majority of my colleagues.

I need scarcely add how opportune a circumstance I should consider it if, as your Excellency suggests, the Porte would now come forward of her own accord, and propose through the medium of Fud Pasha a carefully digested scheme for the future administration of the province, based upon the principles which have had the good fortune to be approved of by your Excellency, and which, unless objected to by their Governments, are likely to meet with unanimous acceptance at the hands of my colleagues.

It seems to me almost hopeless to expect that a final conclusion can be arrived at in any other way. It is scarcely advisable that the Commissioners should do more than submit to their respective Governments the outlines of their plan for the future administration of the province. These general recommendations once accepted, the elaboration of all details should be left to those most interested in making the new machinery work well.

There can be little doubt that such a task can be better performed by Fud Pasha and his advisers than by five European gentlemen but very imperfectly acquainted with the country, and whose interference will, probably, become interminable the moment they descend from general principles into the intricacies of administrative detail.

The action of such a body ought to be confined to revision of the plan devised by the responsible authorities of the Empire, in order to ensure its construction being in accordance with the spirit of the stipulated conditions.

As this means a result will be arrived at which will, probably, prove the most beneficial to the country and the most acceptable to the Porte.

In conclusion, I will merely beg leave to state, in explanation of the views which, from time to time, I have had the honour of laying before you, Excellency that it has always seemed to me that the disconnection of Syria from the Porte ought to be of a nature to admit the proposed improvements in civil and fiscal administration of the province, without hereafter preventing its re-incorporation in the Empire, should the day arrive when a strong and capable Government shall be established at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 321

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, January 1, 1861.

HAVING already had the honour of submitting to your Excellency's consideration a scheme for the general government of the Province of Syria, I propose in this despatch to make a few remarks on the administration of the Lebanon in particular.

Were we actuated by no other considerations than such as regard the tranquillity of the Mountain, I have no hesitation in saying that the only sensible plan would be to deprive its inhabitants of all their anomalous privileges, and to place them under the immediate control of the Turkish Ruler of the Province. I am of opinion upon this point. All that

has taken place during the last twenty-five years would have been spared had the jurisdiction of the Turks over the Lebanon been asserted. The various elements which compose its population are incapable of governing either each other or themselves. While perpetual strife has deluged the Mixed Districts with blood, an interminable warfare between the peasantry and their feudal Chiefs has rendered the Christian Kesrouan the theatre of anarchy and lawlessness. The important town of Zahleh is always in a state of rebellion against the authority of its Maronite Kaimakam, and the

Greek Christians of the southern Lebanon have shown themselves as ready to fly at the threats of their unorthodox co-religionists as any of their Pagan neighbours.

The independence, therefore, of the Lebanon is an arrangement quite incompatible with good government, and any endeavour to extend the dominion of the Maronites over either their Greek or Druse fellow-subjects is a policy as cruel as it is impracticable.

On the other hand, to propose that the intervention of Europe can be all of those whose misfortunes have excited so much sympathy should become an occasion for depriving them of their privileges, and handing them over in a still more defenceless condition to the tender mercies of their persecutors, would probably excite the indignant opposition of Catholic Christendom.

It was the consideration of these circumstances that induced me to propose the abolition of the Lebanon into a single Pashalik, administered by a nominee of the central authority, as the happiest means of reconciling the practical with the sentimental exigencies of the situation.

an expedient an extension of jurisdiction will be accorded to the Christian name, the exclusive privileges of the Maronites will be abolished, and an opportunity will be afforded of emancipating the Greek majority from the hateful ascendancy of a rival race.

As the official attributes of the officer appointed to rule the Mountain will differ in no respect from those of any other subnodular Pasha of the Province, as the Governor-General will select him, and as his continuance in office will depend upon the good pleasure of the central authority, the

it becoming any impediment to the exercise by the Government at Damascus of its supreme control over the Lebanon which alone can insure its tranquillity; while the fact of his being elevated, as we may suppose he will be, by education, by knowledge of the world, and by difference of race, above

the petty animosities of the barbarous sects he is called upon to govern, will ensure to his administration the necessary degree of liberal impartiality.

I do not imagine that there would be any difficulty in finding among the European subjects of the Porte a class of persons suited to the post, and I might even go so far as to point out Ismail Pasha, General Kineti, as an example of the facility with which a proper selection might be made.

le with the Christian Pasha of the Lebanon it will be necessary to erect a system of legal and municipal Councils, so constituted as to give to each community a share in the administration of their local affairs. It is here that we shall find the opportunity of securing to the Druses so much of it.

jurisdiction as is compatible with the new system established in the Province, as well as of extending to the Greek community, hitherto most unjustly overlooked, that equality in the civil administration of the Mountain to which their numbers and their respectability entitle them.

ch) is the point which appears to me most likely to reconcile the conflicting interests we are bound to consider.

By this arrangement, a remarkable satisfaction will be given to Catholic opinion in France, the pernicious ascendancy of the Maronite sect will be broken, the counterpoise to be found in the Greek element will have been evoked, the civil independence of the Druses will be preserved, and the control of the Central Government will be rendered as complete and irresistible in the Mount Lebanon as in any other portion of its territory.

By no other means, I think, could similar results be obtained. Did we propose to extend Turkish rule unconditionally over Persia, Greece, Bulgaria, France and Russia protest, but even Austria and all the Catholic Governments of Europe would cry out.

To leave the two Kaimakchuluks in possession of their ancient attributes I have the egotism of making out to the domain of discord a fresh lease of Mountain, while the surrender of the Mixed districts to the Turks, unaccompanied by any diminution of the privileges of the M. French would never consent, though the least obstacle of the three, would prove but a slight improvement on it.

The perfect assimilation of the Administration of the Lebanon to that of the rest of the Province, under the jurisdiction of a Christian Pasha, completely subordinate to the Central authority, would seem, therefore, to be the only arrangement really practicable, but I would wish particularly to observe, that even this solution of the difficulty can be only safely accepted by Her Majesty's Government on the condition that France shall enter with good faith into the scheme, and, in consideration of the securities afforded by the new Government of the Province to all classes of Syrian Christians, abandon the idea of preserving, by any statistical jugglery, the exclusive ascendancy of her Maronite

Before concluding I would wish to examine very briefly the manner in which the Druses will be affected by these changes. In consenting to the their transmission ship it is possible we may be accused of sacrificing to the fanatical prejudices of Europe, or the ambition of France, the interests of a and ourselves there have always existed the most free-th

In reply, I would simply observe that, apart from the misfortunes and
 at to which their own barbarous excesses have unavoidably exposed
 condition of the Druse nation under the new system will probably be
 preferable to that of their Christian rivals. It is true the administration of the
 Pasha will be Christian, but as the dependent nature of his position will ensure
 his acting in accordance with the views of the Government, and as manifestly it
 is in the interest of that Government to cherish the Druses of the Lebanon as
 much as possible there is no reason to entertain misgivings on their behalf, as
 this consideration acquires fourfold force when we remember that the alternative
 their powers of emigrating to the Hauran places them in a position themselves
 to determine upon what terms they will consent to stay and garrison the

again, it may be said that by the erection of the Mountain into a Pashalik, the fine old feudal system is destroyed. But it is a mistake to suppose that such a system was anything but a curse to the country. The condition of the Armenian peasantry under the Druse Mokatagi was very pitiable, and that of the

Druse peasantry no better. Moreover, feudal jurisdiction is incompatible with regular government, and if we wish to create an all-powerful central authority a

I have no hesitation in saying that if once the proposed arrangements were concluded, the political influence of France in Syria will have received its death-blow. Hitherto Turkey, excluded from the Lebanon, and reduced to the only resource left to weak Governments on such occasions, has endeavoured to counteract the aggressive policy of France by seeking to use the Druses as a check on the encroachments of her disaffected Maronites. Unfortunately the

perhaps, will fail to heal. Under these circumstances a change of system become necessary, and it seems to me that for the future the encroachments of foreign influence in Syria will be more effectually and more legitimately baffled by placing the Provincial Government in a position to exercise a supreme and direct control over all its subjects, than by any endeavour to counter-balance the factitious pretensions of one savage tribe by pampering the independence and stimulating to madness the worst passions of another.

(Signed) **D. FFERIN AND CLANFROYE**

322

Ach Pasha to M. Munir,—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Munir, January 16.)

Constantinople, le 9 Janvier, 1861

II. résulte d'une dépêche de Lord John Russell, dont l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre vient de me donner communication, que le Gouvernement Britannique approuve le plan soumis par son Commissaire sur l'organisation future de la Syrie. D'après ce plan, il ne s'agit de rien moins que de l'érection d'une Vice-royauté à l'instar de l'Égypte et des Provinces Danubiennes. Il nous est absolument impossible soit d'adhérer à cette proposition, soit d'admettre la compétence de la Commission Européenne dans cette matière.

Je viens d'exposer à l'Ambassadeur Anglais, et je vous ferai connaître par le courrier prochain, le système militaire et administratif par l'établissement duquel nous pouvons seulement nous rendre responsables de l'avenir de la Syrie.

No. 323.

Asir Pasha to M. Munirpa.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Munirpa, January 16.)

Constantinople, 10 2 January, 1851

LE projet de Lord Dufferin, embrassant toute la Syrie, et la constituant en un Etat séparé, ne pourra être accepté par la Sublime Porte.

Vous savez que nous avons toujours maintenu le principe de l'admettre l'intervention de la Commission Européenne que dans l'organisation du Mont Liban, et cela dans les limites des arrangements de 1843. Je vous enverrai sous peu notre plan concernant la future administration de la Syrie, plan dont on verra, nous s'en doutons pas, parfaitement satisfait. Vous verrez que le dit

plan du Gouvernement Impérial, sans avoir les inconvénients ou plutôt les graves dangers de l'opinion émise par le Commissaire Britannique, permet les mêmes garanties à l'égard des Chrétiens.

No. 324

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Fane

No. 11)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1860

THE question of the further occupation of Syria by the forces of a European Power has become one of so much importance, both as a question of principle and as a question bearing on the tranquillity and prosperity of Syria, that I must desire you to request Count Reebberg to give it his most serious attention.

By a Convention signed in August last, at a moment when Europe had been shocked and disgusted by the accounts of the Syrian massacres, the principal Powers of Europe agreed to send to the assistance of the Sultan, in order to restore tranquillity, 12,000 troops, of whom one-half were to be furnished immediately by France.

The Sultan was a party to this Convention, but his Ministers declared openly that his assent was given rather in deference to the opinions and wishes of Europe than from any belief in the necessity or the efficiency of the remedy proposed.

The Convention, and the occupation which it sanctioned, were to endure for six months, and thus expire, therefore, in the month of February next. From the day when that Convention expires, the right of foreign troops to occupy a part of the Sultan's territory expires also.

For the last two months the Ambassador of the Porte in London has been urging upon Her Majesty's Government, by order of the Sultan, the obligation of the European Powers not to continue the occupation of Syria beyond the time fixed by the Convention.

Concerning this request to be perfectly reasonable, I gave it the support of Her Majesty's Government at Paris, and received from the Ambassador of the Emperor in London the assurance that the Commander of the French troops would receive orders to conform to the terms of the Convention, leaving to Her Majesty's Government the responsibility of recommending the evacuation. This responsibility, I stated, Her Majesty's Government were quite willing to incur.

Soon after this, however, a new incident occurred. Intelligence was received both at Paris and in London, to the effect that M. Richard, the Commissioner-General, had submitted the question of the evacuation to the judgment of the Commissioners of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

According to our accounts, the Commissioners of Great Britain and Austria declared their opinion to be that, at the end of February, the evacuation might be effected without risk. According to the French report, the opinion of the Austrian Commissioner was not quite so decided. There appears no doubt that the Commissioners of Prussia and Russia expressed their fear that if the foreign troops were withdrawn, the massacres might be renewed. The Turkish Commissioner, the President of the Commission, was absent.

Upon this report the French Government hesitated, and M. Thouvenel has declared his wish to consult the Powers who were parties to the Convention.

The first thing which occurs to Her Majesty's Government upon this subject is, that the terms of the Convention are clear and precise. The Sultan has relied upon them, and would justly impute to the Powers of Europe a want of faith if they were departed from.

But, in the next place, what is the case for asking the Sultan to extend the Convention for a further period?

Ash Pasha, in his communication to M. Musurus, represents the Maronites and Druses as divided not so much by differences of religion as by political animosities. Each party, violent in its antipathy, he declares wishes to exterminate the other, and these animosities are not assuaged, but inflamed, by the presence of foreign troops believed to be favourable to one of the two rival parties.

I must say that this representation is borne out by the facts, and by the statements of Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria.

It appears that, from time to time, massacres and murders have desolated the district of the Lebanon. Maronites have been as forward in acts of cruelty, revenge, and in the indulgence of hatred, as the Druses. Before the massacres of 1860, the Maronites, under the guidance of one of their Bishops, had been preparing arms to a large extent, and were evidently meditating war upon the Druses. Since the French occupation, Maronites have followed the march of the French troops, and when they lit upon a helpless Druse old man or woman alone, have murdered them without mercy. Some twenty or thirty Druses, it is said, were put to death in cold blood by the Maronites during the first advance of the French troops.

At a later period a tax was proposed, and had even been sanctioned at one moment, imposing a payment upon every Druse taxpayer equal to the whole amount of a peasant's yearly income. Had it been persisted in, the Druse peasantry must have abandoned their property, and fled from their dwellings. Thus, in fact, seems to have been the object sought.

Again when the punishment of the Druses was in question the Christians, through their Bishops, demanded that out of 8,000 adult Druses, 4,800 heads should be given to them to satisfy their vengeance; so little has the doctrine of forgiveness of injuries been embodied by these Maronite bishops and their flock.

In fact, though nominally Christians, they are in reality a fierce and barbarous race. They seek the extermination of a hostile tribe, and Her Majesty's Government cannot think that the idolatry and superstition of that tribe justify the Powers of Europe in promoting or consenting to their extermination.

In conclusion, it is to be remarked that the utmost alleged in favour of continued foreign occupation is an apprehension in the minds of the Christians of danger to them after the departure of the foreign troops. That apprehension, of course, cannot be removed by any reasonings. Since Ash Pasha went to Syria no massacres have been committed there. But it is in the nature of foreign occupation to keep alive an apprehension of the dangers which that occupation was to be admitted as reasons for the continuance of foreign troops, which it produces, have a tendency to perpetuate itself.

Thus, if the French occupation of Syria were to be prolonged, we should probably find the apprehensions of the Syrian Maronites as strong in 1871 as they are in 1861, unless, indeed, in the mean time, under the protection of the Christian Powers, they had succeeded in exterminating the whole of the inhabitants of the Mountain who are not of their own party.

For these reasons, therefore, Her Majesty's Government are unable to give in any representations to the Porte, with a view of renewing the terms of foreign occupation in Syria. As to any resolution on the part of the Powers of Europe to retain a European force in Syria without the assent of the Sultan, that would clearly be an act of war, and is not to be thought of by Powers who profess to entertain towards Turkey sentiments of friendship, and who have together united in guaranteeing her integrity and independence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

You may read this despatch to Count Reebberg, but you are not to send Excellency a copy of it.

No. 325

Lord J. Russell to M. Louthier

No. 16.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1860.

THE question of the further occupation of Syria by the forces of a European Power has become one of so much importance, both as a question of principle and as a question bearing on the tranquillity and prosperity of Syria, that I must desire you to request Baron Schlegel to give it his most serious attention.

By a Convention signed in August last, at a moment when Europe had

been shocked and disgusted by the accounts of the Syrian massacres, the principal Powers of Europe agreed to send to the assistance of the Sultan, in order to restore tranquillity, 12,000 troops, of whom one-half were to be furnished immediately by France.

The Sultan was a party to this Convention, but his Ministers declared openly that his assent was given rather in deference to the opinions and wishes of Europe than from any belief in the necessity or the efficiency of the remedy proposed.

The Convention, and the occupation which it sanctioned, were to endure for six months and then expire; therefore, in the month of February next. From the day when that Convention expires, the right of foreign troops to occupy a part of the Sultan's territory expires also.

For the last two months the Ambassador of the Porte in London has been urging upon Her Majesty's Government, by order of the Sultan, the obligation of the European Powers not to continue the occupation of Syria beyond the time laid by the Convention.

Concerning this request to be perfectly reasonable, I gave it the support of Her Majesty's Government at Paris, and received from the Ambassador of the Emperor in London the assurance that the Commander of the French would receive orders to conform to the terms of the Convention, leaving to Her Majesty's Government responsibility of recommending the evacuation. This responsibility I stated. Her Majesty's Government were quite willing to incur.

Soon after this, however, a new incident occurred. Intelligence was received, both at Paris and in London, to the effect that M. Rivet, the Commissioner of France, had submitted the question of the evacuation to the judgment of the Commissioners of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

According to our accounts, the Commissioners of Great Britain and Austria declared their opinion to be that at the end of February the evacuation might be effected without risk. According to the French report, the opinion of the Austrian Commissioner was not quite so decided. There appears no doubt that the Commissioners of Prussia and Russia expressed their fear that if the foreign troops were withdrawn, the massacres might be renewed. The Turkish Commissioner, the President of the Commission, was absent.

Upon this report the French Government hesitated, and M. Thouvenot has declared his wish to consult the Powers who were parties to the Convention.

The first thing which occurs to Her Majesty's Government upon this subject is, that the terms of the Convention are clear and precise. The Sultan has relied upon them, and would justly impute to the Powers of Europe a breach of faith if they were departed from.

But in the next place, what is the case for asking the Sultan to extend the Convention for a further period?

Anti Pasha, in his communications to M. Mianous, represents the Maronites and Druses as divided not so much by differences of religion as by political animosities. Each party, violent in its antipathy, he declares, wishes to exterminate the other, and these animosities are not assuaged, but inflamed, by the presence of foreign troops believed to be favourable to one of the two rival parties.

My representation is borne out by the facts, and by the statements of Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria.

It appears that from time to time massacres and murders have desolated the district of the Lebanon. Maronites have been as forward in acts of cruel revenge, and in the indulgence of hatred, as the Druses. Before the massacres of 1860 the Maronites, under the guidance of one of their Bishops, had been preparing arms to a large extent, and were evidently meditating war upon the Druses. Since the French occupation Maronites have followed the march of the French troops, and when they lit upon a helpless Druse old man or woman, have murdered them without mercy. Some twenty or thirty Druses, it is said, were put to death in cold blood by the Maronites during the first advance of the French troops.

At a later period a tax was proposed, and had even been sanctioned at one moment, imposing a payment upon every Druse tax payer equal to the whole amount of a peasant's yearly income. Had it been persisted in, the Druse peasantry must have abandoned their property, and fled from their dwellings. This, in fact, seems to have been the object sought.

Again, when the punishment of the Druses was in question, the Christian sects, through their Bishops, demanded, that out of 8,000 adult Druses 4,800 should be given to them, to satiate their vengeance; so little has the doctrine of forgiveness of injuries been imbibed by these Maronite Bishops and their flocks.

But, though nominally Christians, they are in reality a fierce and barbarous people. They seek the extermination of a hostile tribe; and Her Majesty's Government cannot think that the idolatry and superstition of that tribe justify the Powers of Europe in promoting or consenting to their extermination.

In conclusion, it is to be remarked that the utmost alleged in favour of

the French occupation is, that it prevents the Druses from committing further massacres. But it is in the nature of

any occupation to keep alive an apprehension of the dangers which that occupation professes to prevent, and thus, if such apprehensions were to be admitted as reasons for the continuance of foreign occupation, that occupation would be the effect which it produces, have a tendency to perpetuate itself.

If the French occupy Syria, the apprehensions of the Syrian Maronites as strong in 1871 as in 1861; unless, indeed, in the meantime, under the protection of the Powers, they had succeeded in exterminating the whole of the inhabitants of the Mountain who are not of their own party.

For these reasons, therefore, Her Majesty's Government are unable to join in any representations to the Porte with a view of renewing the term of foreign occupation in Syria. As to any resolution on the part of the Powers of Europe to retain a European force in Syria without the assent of the Sultan, that would only be an act of war, and is not to be thought of by Powers who profess to entertain towards Turkey sentiments of friendship, and who have agreed to assist in guaranteeing her integrity and independence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P. S.—You may read this despatch to Baron Schlenitz, but you are not to give him a copy of it.

No. 326

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Lowther

(No. 17. Confidential.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I SEND you a copy of an instruction which the Prussian Minister at Paris, Foreign Affairs has sent to the Prussian Minister at Paris.

As we agree with the Governments of France and Prussia that the discussions on Syrian affairs ought to take place in Syria, it is needless to enter into any discussion with the Prussian Government on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 327

Lord J. Russell to Mr. Lowther.

(No. 22.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I HAVE received your despatch No. 24 of the 12th instant, reporting your conversation with Baron Schlenitz upon your communicating to his Excellency the substance of my despatch No. 16 to you upon the affairs of Syria; and I

have to inform you, in reply, that I approve of the language you used upon that occasion, and of your having left with his Excellency extracts of my despatch to Lord Cowley upon this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 328

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 64.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 63 of the 11th instant, in which M. Thouvenel agrees with M. Berliand that the best way of rendering the evacuation of Syria certain, is to establish a proper government for the Lebanon.

But the present state of the Turkish Empire, impossible,

for a weak government and a strong government are to be taken in this instance as synonymous, it would seem to follow that, in his Excellency's opinion, Syria might be occupied by French troops till an impossible condition fulfilled—in other words, for ever.

Is M. Thouvenel's meaning? I should hope not. But it is a point which should be cleared up.

Your Excellency will see, by a telegram from Sir Henry Bulwer, that the Porte has it in contemplation to keep 25,000 regular troops in Syria, and to appropriate 200,000*l.* for re-building houses and furnishing an indemnity for Christians in Syria.

If these offers, the Sultan couples a demand for the faithful execution of the Convention made in August last, and ratified on the 5th of September. Her Majesty's Government conceive that it will be impossible for the French Government to resist that demand. For France is bound by her Treaty obligations to evacuate Syria when the time has expired during which the Treaty authorizes her to remain, unless all the Contracting Parties to that Treaty should agree, by a fresh diplomatic document, to extend that period. It will not contemplate the case of so violent an infringement of the rights of the Sultan as would be involved in the occupation of his territory by foreign force against his will.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 329

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 66. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I HAVE

despatch No. 40 (Confid.)

received your Excellency's despatch No. 40 of the 11th instant, in which you state that the French Government would confer upon the Governor-General of that province

Lord Dufferin has, however, fully considered all the objections to which Count Pourtales alludes.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 330.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 67.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 63 of the 11th instant, reporting the substance of the answer which has been returned by M. Thouvenel to the communication made to him from the Prussian Government relative to the evacuation of Syria.

Your Excellency will perceive by my despatch No. 17, of the 11th inst., to Mr. Lowther of this day's date, of which a copy is inclosed,* that Her Majesty's Government have returned a similar reply to representations made to them by the Government of Prussia upon this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 331

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 27.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1861

I HAVE received from Lord Dufferin a copy of his despatch to your Excellency of the 23rd ultimo, respecting the course which Fend Pasha is pursuing in confiscating the estates of Druse Chiefs and of others belonging to that community, and I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government consider it very desirable that you should call the attention of the Porte to the injustice and inexpediency of this measure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 332

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 31.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 17, 1861

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2 of the 1st instant, giving you an account of a conversation which I had had with the French Ambassador respecting the evacuation of Syria by the French troops, I inclose, for your information, copies of correspondence which I have since had with Earl Cowley on the same subject.

I likewise inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Berlin and Vienna, directing them to call the serious attention of the Prussian and Austrian Governments to the question.

Your Excellency will not conceal from the Porte the opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to the propriety and expediency of the retirement of the French troops from Syria at the period stipulated for in the Convention. But although a knowledge of this opinion may serve to support the Turkish Government in resisting any attempts which may be made on the part of other Powers to induce it to consent to the stay of the French troops being prolonged, you will be careful, in your communications with the Porte, to avoid pressing it, against its own inclination, to insist upon the retirement of the occupying force.

The Turkish Government may not feel itself equal to defend the Christians after the departure of the foreign troops, and it might therefore, if left to act for itself, shrink from insisting upon a fulfilment of the terms of the Convention;

* No. 326.

† Nos. 302, 310, 317 and 325.

‡ Nos. 324 and 325.

not hesitate to adopt and favour a measure for which it is very anxious, if it felt that it could relieve itself from any responsibility for consequences by alleging that it had acted in deference to the urgently expressed desire of the British Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 333.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

No. 17

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 17, 1861.

I TRANSMIT for your Excellency's information copies of two papers which have been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador,* containing the Porte's refusal to adopt Lord Dufferin's plan for the future government of Syria.

I am &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 334

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 18.)

No. 20

Sir,

Constantinople, January 9, 1861.

YOUR Lordship wishes to know what security the Porte can give, on the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, for the maintenance of tranquillity and the necessary protection to the Christians. I have had a long conversation with His Highness Ash Pasha on this subject.

He says that the army in Syria will be maintained at 25,000 regular troops, recruited in four Pashalics, namely, Damascus, Salon, Aleppo, and Adana, and

will be organized, and a police force formed in the towns in which the Christian population will be enrolled.

He adds, that the rebuilding of the houses of the Christians must depend upon the manner in which the proposed indemnity is raised; and the Porte is now considering the subject, and will, within two or three days, inform me of the result. It seems to Ash Pasha, however, that the tax which M. Outrey proposes to levy on Damascus will be the complete destruction of the city, and will be unjust because it will fall principally on the wealthy inhabitants, who opposed the late disturbances. But I do not enter more fully into this question until I hear more clearly what the Porte determines on.

With respect to the conduct, according to Lord Dufferin's despatches, that has been shown by the Porte in condemning its excessive severity, and will write to Foul Pasha on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

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No. 335.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

(No. 62.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 19, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Lordship's information, copies of two papers which have been communicated to me by the Turkish Ambassador,* containing the Porte's refusal to adopt your plan for the future government of Syria.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 336.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 18.)

(No. 98.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 17, 1861.

I REGRET to find by your Lordship's despatch No. 64 of yesterday, dated, that a misapplication of words in my despatch No. 65 of the 11th instant has led your Lordship to conjecture that M. Thouvenel desires to imply that until a strong Government shall be established in the Lebanon, a thing which he thinks incapable of realization, the occupation of Syria by French troops ought to be continued—in other words, that that occupation should be permanent.

But, "paper," to which your Lordship adverts in your despatch of the 11th, of the Lebanon, I should have done better

What M. Thouvenel desired to convey was, that in his opinion the troops ought not to be withdrawn until the future government of the Lebanon shall be settled between Foul Pasha and the Commissioners of the Great Powers. But, he added in the nature of a remark, that it was his conviction that in the present state of the Ottoman Empire, the government so settled, whatever it might be, would not be a strong or beneficial one.

I may, perhaps, remark here, that as far as I am aware, the Turkish Government has not even hinted to the French Government any desire that at the expiration of the six months stipulated by the Convention of the 5th September, the French troops should be withdrawn. It would be well were the Turkish Ambassador instructed to say, that order and tranquillity being restored, and the guilty in the late massacres punished, the presence of foreign troops is no longer necessary. A similar communication should be sent to all the Powers who signed the Convention of the 5th September.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 337.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 19.)

(No. 100.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 18, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL informed me this afternoon that the despatch which I stated to your Lordship in my despatch No. 65 of the 11th instant his Excellency was about to address to the Representatives of the Emperor at the great Courts of Europe, with reference to the evacuation of Syria, would be sent off on Monday next. The object of it would be to propose that the Conference should again meet to decide whether the occupation of Syria by foreign troops

leaves either the responsibility of continuing it beyond the terms specified by the Convention of the 5th September, or of withdrawing the troops in the presence of the certainty which seemed to prevail, that their departure would be

followed by fresh disasters. The Conference would best decide the question after hearing the opinion of the different Courts.

I have, &c
(Signed) COWLEY

No 338.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 89.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 10, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 98 of the 7th inst., in explanation of your previous despatch No. 65 of the 11th instant, respecting the language held by M. Thouvenel in regard to the evacuation of Syria.

I have to observe to your Excellency that all I have said about the evacuation of Syria was prompted by the constant, pertinacious, and renewed representations of the Ottoman Ambassador in London, who represented himself as instructed to this effect by Aali Pasha, and read extracts of despatches from that Master.

I have always said to M. Musiris, that if the Ottoman Government thought the stay of European troops necessary to prevent massacre, Her Majesty's Government would acquiesce in their opinion, if not necessary, it was the duty of the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs to address the Five Powers, to express the opinion of Turkey as to the safety of the Christians in Syria, and to specify the guarantees she would offer to secure them against a renewal of massacre.

Sir Henry Bulwer has been instructed also to say that such a step is essential before Her Majesty's Government can give a final opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No 339.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 2.)

My Lord

St. Petersburg, January 11, 1861.

In obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 110 of the 16th ultimo, I did not fail to communicate to Prince Gortchakoff Lord Dufferin's despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer, stating his Lordship's views as to the best means of settling the future government of Syria; and I stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government are disposed to view Lord Dufferin's sketch favourably, but that they were disposed to think that, if adopted, the Governor of Syria should be named with the consent of the Five Powers.

When I placed this despatch in Prince Gortchakoff's hands, he was pained to express himself in terms very favourable to Lord Dufferin personally, and he praised the conciliatory manner in which his Lordship had discharged the duties entrusted to him by Her Majesty's Government. Prince Gortchakoff added that the best understanding had subsisted between Lord Dufferin and the Russian Commissioner. His Excellency then promised to give Lord Dufferin's report an attentive perusal, and to state to me frankly his opinion of the views therein set forth.

On my reminding him yesterday of his promise he repeated his favourable expressions in regard to Lord Dufferin, but added, that giving his Lordship credit for the uprightness of his intentions, and for the clearness and honesty of his views in respect to the evils under which the part of the Ottoman Empire in question was labouring, he could not altogether concur with his Lordship in regard to the remedies by which he proposed to meet them. It was not, for instance, to his taste that a Turkish administration should be established where no Turkish administration now existed, as in the case of the southern division of the Mount Lebanon. This, he thought, would aggravate the evils complained of, and could not meet the approval of the Russian Government.

With respect to the choice of a Governor and the enumeration of the qualifications which would be desirable in the person selected for this office, nothing, he said, could be more correct than Lord Dufferin's observations, but they constitute unfortunately a mere theory. Was such a man to be found among the officers or dignitaries of the Porte? It reminded him, his Excellency said, of the saying, "It would, he feared, be difficult to do so on the hunting grounds in question."

But," continued Prince Gortchakoff, "to speak seriously, all this tends to one result, viz., the establishment of Fuad Pasha as the permanent Governor of Syria. Now as to Fuad Pasha, without wishing to use hard words, I cannot say less than this, that of all the venal creatures who surround the Ottoman Government he is, perhaps, the most venal. He is a perfect leech ('une véritable sangsue'), and what is worse, an intelligent leech ('une sangsue intelligente'). To make him Governor of Syria would be to establish a permanent system of corruption ('la corruption en permanence')."

I have, &c
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No 340.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 47.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 17, 1861.

I HAD a conversation on Monday last with Count Rechberg on the state of affairs in Syria. I brought to his Excellency's knowledge the substance of the reports addressed to your Lordship and Sir Henry Bulwer by Lord Dufferin, and I pointed out the conclusive evidence which the reports of the French Commissioner gave in regard to the state of the province.

Count Rechberg said that he thought it highly desirable that the French occupation of Syria should cease at the stipulated period, if this could be done without danger of a renewed massacre of the Christians. He had always disliked the project of a military occupation by France alone, and he would rejoice in seeing the removal of French troops, from what he deemed too close proximity to Egypt, successfully accomplished. He was struck, he observed, by the conflicting tendencies of the reports he received from Syria, and of the language held by the French Ambassador here. The latter dwelt on the obvious danger of prolonging the foreign military occupation of the province until order and authority were completely restored, while the Austrian Commissioner reported that all the members of the Commission, excepting the Russian, but including the French, were favourable to evacuation at the appointed term.

The Marquis de Montebello said that, in the opinion of his Government, grave disorders would ensue if the French troops were withdrawn, while M. de W. Lebecke stated, as reported by Lord Dufferin, that he did not think the presence of a foreign force would be necessary two months subsequent to the date (17th December) of the meeting at which this subject had been discussed at Beyrouth.

Count Rechberg said that this opinion of the Austrian Commissioner which was only of a prospective character, would not justify his Excellency in declaring an absolute conviction that the withdrawal of foreign troops from Syria at the expiration of the Convention could be effected with complete safety, although he inclined to the adoption of that opinion.

Count Rechberg said, lastly, in answer to a suggestion of mine, that he was most strongly of opinion that, in any case, the occupation of Syria by French

troops must not be prolonged for a day beyond the appointed term, without the sanction and authority of the Powers who had signed the Convention of the 27th of August.

I was anxious to elicit an unequivocal declaration on this point from Count Reehberg, as I thought it not unlikely that M. de Moustier, adopting the language of M. Thouvenel, reported in Lord Cowley's despatch to your Lordship No. 18 of the 4th instant, might have suggested, or may still suggest, with dangerous plausibility, that a few weeks more or less in the departure of the French troops from Syria would not signify, and that a prolongation of their stay for that period would not require the signature of another Convention.

I have, &c.

Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 341

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 36.)

My Lord,

Berlin, January 19, 1861

I, THIS morning, communicated to his Excellency Baron Schleinitz your Lordship's despatch addressed to me No. 16 of the 16th instant, relative to the question of the further occupation of Syria by the forces of a European Power, and I requested his Excellency to give it his most serious attention. In conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I read the above-mentioned despatch to his Excellency, and when I had concluded, he said he entirely agreed with your Lordship's opinion as expressed in that despatch. There was no doubt that, according to the Convention signed in August, the troops should be withdrawn in the month of February next; but he said, which would be the greater evil—the

evacuation of the troops in Syria, there is no doubt the evacuation should be completed at the time fixed. He added, "We are very unwilling here to take upon ourselves the recommendation of such a step as the evacuation, and, indeed I have no very decided opinions upon the subject; I am entirely guided by the reports I received from Syria itself, as the Commissioners there are much better able to judge of the state of affairs than we are."

He said he was most anxious to know the fifteen Articles upon which he learnt the British, French, Austrian, Prussian, and Turkish Commissioners were nearly agreed, "3e brève," he said, "de les connaître;" and in reply to his question whether I was acquainted with them, I said I was not.

But, said his Excellency, if after the departure of the foreign troops there should be a repetition of the massacres which shocked and disgusted Europe last year, then the different Governments may feel themselves called upon to act in such a manner that it may serve as a "coup de grâce" to the Government of the Sultan.

I have, &c.

Signed) WILLIAM LOWTHER.

No. 342

M. Thouvenel to Count de Minkowski.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count de Minkowski, January 22.)

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 18 Janvier, 1861

NOUS approchons du terme fixé par la Convention du 5 Septembre dernier pour la durée de l'occupation en Syrie. J'ai eu plusieurs fois à vous entretenir des intentions du Gouvernement de l'Empereur à ce sujet. Investi de la mission d'exécuter des décisions communes, nous tenons avant tout à remplir les conditions auxquelles nous avons reçu ce mandat. Toutefois, par

cette raison même, avant de quitter la Syrie, nous regardons comme un devoir de mettre les Puissances dans le cas d'examiner de concert si le départ du corps expéditionnaire à la date convenue peut s'effectuer sans danger pour la tranquillité du pays, et si nous semble opportun d'appeler sur ce point leur attention.

Les Puissances ne se sont proposé en Syrie aucun but politique, et le Gouvernement de l'Empereur s'est entièrement associé à leur pensée. Elles ont une œuvre d'humanité; cette œuvre est-elle accomplie? Les Puissances connaissent comme nous l'état des choses et savent combien la pacification a manqué jusqu'ici avec lenteur. La Commission Européenne instituée à Beyrouth avant d'abord à pourvoir aux nécessités les plus urgentes en provoquant, d'un côté, des réparations, de l'autre des chatiments. Ce n'était là cependant qu'une partie de sa tâche, et non la plus importante. Elle devait encore recueillir et proposer aux Puissances les éléments du nouvel arrangement qu'il s'agit de combiner avec le Gouvernement ottoman pour l'administration de la Montagne. Ce travail, en effet, est le complément indispensable de toutes les mesures déjà prises ou à prendre d'un commun accord avec la Porte. Tant qu'il n'est pas achevé, on peut dire que rien n'est fait, car dans l'état de desordre où sont toutes choses en Syrie, l'essentiel est de fixer les conditions du Gouvernement du Liban et c'est là aussi ce que les Puissances

non seulement en vue n'est point rempli, mais la Commission arrive à sur au terme des questions de répression et d'indemnité pour ce qui concerne Liban; d'autre part, l'entente n'est pas encore définitive pour s'occuper à prélever à Dairat, et la Porte manifeste la prétention d'évoquer à Constantinople la solution de cette question. La réorganisation administrative absorbée récemment dans des entretiens considérables. Mais absorbés par d'autres soins, les délégués ne se sont point jusqu'à présent trouvés en mesure de la traiter officiellement, et il serait d'ailleurs de déterminer le moment où ils pourraient communiquer aux Puissances le résultat de leurs

travaux, M. le Comte, l'incertitude même que ces retards laissent planer sur la réorganisation du Liban entretient les esprits dans un état d'excitation extrême; et les renseignements que nous possédons nous font craindre que le départ de nos troupes ne soit suivi de nouveaux désordres, s'il a lieu avant que les dispositions nécessaires pour garantir la sécurité des populations aient été adoptées.

Devant des considérations de cette nature tous les Cabinets comprendront que nous attachions beaucoup de prix à dégager notre responsabilité. Si d'une part, nous entendons demeurer fidèles aux stipulations arrêtées par la Conférence, de l'autre nous ne voulons point que l'on puisse nous reprocher de n'avoir point signalé le danger que nous croyons entrevoir. Nous sommes donc amenés à demander aux Puissances de faire connaître à cet égard leur pensée, en attendant les délibérations, comme d'habitude, au même titre que les

Nous avons permis, par l'insistance que nous avons mise à poursuivre les travaux de la Commission, combien nous désirons pouvoir évacuer la Syrie à la date stipulée, et, encore aujourd'hui, personne ne verrait avec une satisfaction plus sincère que les circonstances nous permettent de réaliser ce désir. Si les Puissances décident qu'il y a lieu de prolonger le terme de l'occupation, ayant accepté de fournir l'effectif du corps expéditionnaire nous ne refuserons point, sans doute, de continuer les sacrifices que nous nous sommes imposés pour prêter au Sultan la co-opération de nos troupes; mais, dans le cas où les Puissances seraient d'avis qu'il convient de désigner l'une ou plusieurs d'entre elles pour participer à cette mission, nous serons prêts à accepter leur

Il me semble, M. le Comte, que le moyen le plus naturellement indiqué pour établir une entente sur ces divers points serait de convoquer la Conférence. Si cette manière de voir obtient l'entier assentiment du Cabinet de Londres, je vous prie de me le faire connaître le plus tôt possible et je provoquerai la réunion des Plénipotentiaires aussitôt que l'adhésion des différentes Cours me serait parvenue.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture et laisser à Lord John Russell copie de

cette dépêche, que j'adresse également aux Représentants de l'Empereur à Berlin, St. Pétersbourg, Vienne, et Constantinople

Agreez, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 343.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 23.)

(No. 110. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 21, 1861.

I WAS surprised to find, during a conversation which I had with the Austrian Ambassador yesterday, that the Austrian Commissioner in Syria had reported to his Government that the Commissioners were all agreed that the troops of occupation might be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention.

On questioning Prince Metternich as to the date of the Austrian Commissioner's report, I find that it was the 17th December, that is, the day on which the Commissioners held the meeting advertised to in Lord Dufferin's despatch of the 18th of that month to Sir Henry Bulwer, and M. Beclard's description of which I had the honour to lay before your Lordship in my despatch No. 65 of the 11th instant.

Prince Metternich was good enough to read to me M. Weckbecker's report. That gentleman states that a meeting having been convened at Lord Dufferin's

opinion as to the expediency of withdrawing the troops of occupation at the period fixed by the Convention, and that he (M. Weckbecker) being the first to speak had declared his opinion that the province might be safely left to the

is developed at considerable length and is founded on much the same reasons as those brought forward by Lord Dufferin.

M. Weckbecker adds that after a lengthened discussion the other Commissioners, whose opinion had been asked, had agreed in the conclusion at which he

his own concurrence in them.

It is evident in comparing M. Weckbecker's report with those of Lord Dufferin and M. Beclard that he is in full agreement with them on the occasion in question, but it is satisfactory to know that he himself holds, and has communicated to his Government, the opinion that the French troops can be safely withdrawn from Syria at the period fixed by the Convention of the 5th September.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 344.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 23.)

(No. 122.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 22, 1861.

THE despatch on the affairs of Syria to which I alluded in my despatch No. 100 of the 18th instant was sent to Count Flahault last night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 345.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 107.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 23, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL appears to think that, unless the European Powers are of opinion that the French troops can be withdrawn from Syria with safety to the Christians, they ought to remain.

But Her Majesty's Government cannot accept this view of the case. The French troops went to Syria in virtue of a Convention signed by the Representatives of the six Powers. On the 4th of March next, at latest, that

If the six Powers, including, of course, the Sublime Porte, agree to renew that Convention, the French troops will have a right to remain. Otherwise the French troops, if they should then remain in Syria, will be the invaders of the territory of Her Majesty the Sultan.

I am, &c.
J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 108.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 24, 1861.

I HAVE had the honour to receive from the Count de Flahault a despatch addressed to him by M. Thouvenel, of which I send you a copy.

In this despatch, of which the tone is calm and dispassionate, the Government of the Emperor recalls to mind the grounds upon which the expedition to Syria was originally undertaken; and it is affirmed, with truth, that the interests of humanity, and not any political object, were the motives of that expedition.

Various reasons are given to show that those objects are not yet accomplished, and the Emperor's Government expresses a desire to know the opinions of the Powers parties to the Convention of the 5th of September.

With this view the French Government proposes to summon the Conference of the Representatives of the Powers at the earliest day upon which it can be assembled.

I do not wish to enter here into a discussion of the various reasons for postponing the term fixed by the Convention for the evacuation of Syria which are given in this despatch.

There is one consideration, however, which appears to Her Majesty's Government of paramount importance, upon which their decision must be based.

The resolution to send troops to Syria was taken upon a sudden emergency, when all Europe was in a state of horror and indignation at the intelligence of the massacres perpetrated in the Lebanon and at Damascus. The object of the five Powers was to prevent a renewal of those massacres, and to show the fanatical tribes of Syria that such outrages upon humanity could not be committed without punishment and reparation.

At the same time a Commission was appointed, over which an officer of the Sultan was to preside, or has been chosen to preside, to consider and advise upon the means of pacifying Syria. This Commission was, in the first instance, to urge the Sultan's officers to punish the guilty and to afford indemnity to their victims. Its further duty, and, as M. Thouvenel says, the most important part of its task was, "to collect and propose to the Powers the elements of the new arrangement which it is proposed to make, with the concurrence of the Ottoman Government, for the administration of the Mountain."

The institution of this Commission, however, was a measure entirely separate from the Convention for sending foreign troops to Syria, and it had objects of which some were entirely separate and distinct from the despatch of troops.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that it would be a grave error in point of right and in point of policy, if the five Powers were to confound the question of foreign occupation and that of the future administration of the Mountain.

It must be recalled that Syria is a province of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan is the Sovereign of that country, and not the five Powers. The first question to ask, therefore, is whether the Sultan has need of foreign troops to maintain tranquillity in Syria. The next question is, how the Sultan proposes to provide for that tranquillity, and prevent a renewal of the massacres of last year.

If the Sultan engages to do this, and if he shows that he has means to do it, the question of the continuance of foreign occupation at once falls to the ground. If the Sultan will not undertake to secure tranquillity, or if he shall be unable to provide means to do it, further questions may arise. But those questions would be of the gravest nature, and until we know the answer of the Sultan it is not necessary to anticipate them. Suffice it to say that unless the five Powers and the Sultan agree to renew the Convention of last September, that Convention will expire, and the lawful occupation of Syria by foreign troops will cease with it.

The consideration of the measures necessary for the permanent peace of the country is a difficult question, and, as M. Thouvenel says, it would be for the five Powers to determine the moment when the Commissioners may be able to present to the Powers the result of their labours.

measure of the
for the present tranquillity of Syria.

in Syria until means are found of totally preventing for the future those bloody encounters of hostile tribes which have been for ages the scourge of that country. They care not whether those European troops should belong to France or to any other country. Her Majesty's Government will not agree to become responsible for the future administration of a province of the Sultan by the agency of foreign troops.

You will read this despatch to M. Thouvenel, and give him a copy of it.
I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 24)

N 50

My

Beirut, January 10, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 347.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, January 4, 1860.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform your Excellency that his Highness the Pasha of Egypt, in reply to a suggestion I ventured to make to him some two months ago, on the strength of the friendly relations which on a former occasion subsisted between us, has been good enough to place at my disposal 2,500 bushels of corn for the benefit of the distressed Christians of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 347

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, January 12, 1861

I REGRET to be obliged to inform your Excellency that I have been lately hearing great complaints of the injustice and oppression to which the Druses of the Meten, a Mixed district in the Christian Kamakamship, are being subjected by the Maronite soldiers of Jusuf Keram.

It would appear that about a month ago a certain village, called Abediah, was searched for plundered property by a Turkish official. After everything supposed to be stolen had been restored to the rightful proprietors, an invitation was addressed to the Christian portion of the community to enumerate all the outstanding debts against their Druse neighbours, and Jusuf Keram was recommended to quarter such a number of his armed followers in the houses of the inhabitants as would insure a speedy satisfaction of the claims. Such a proceeding naturally gave rise to every species of iniquitous extortion: false accusations were advanced, long-forgotten claims were revived, and a demand

the days of Mahomet Ali. The unfortunate people in vain appealed against so monstrous an imposition. The soldiery erected themselves into a tribunal, and any one who remonstrated was immediately imprisoned on the charge of complicity in the late massacres.

After everything they possessed had been squeezed out of the inhabitants, the troops moved over to another village, where they began to repeat a similar process of pillage and extortion.

Luckily I received, thanks to the vigilance of Colonel Burnaby, timely intelligence of what was going on, and having had the good fortune to gain the confidence of the Christian Kamakam, such measures have been taken as will

be anxious to acquaint your Excellency with the spirit which has been displayed in order that you may have an idea of the kind of future in store for the Druses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Inclosure 3 in No. 347

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, January 12, 1861

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that some days ago Jusuf Keram, the Christian Kamakam, had been murdered by the Druses of a village in the Meten.

Nothing could be more circumstantial than the narrative which reached us. The place where the bullet entered the victim's head, the spot where it came out, the weapon wherewith the crime was committed, the motives which had induced the Druses to slaughter this particular individual, were minutely described by several eye-witnesses.

Jusuf Keram, accompanied by two Turkish officers, started off at midnight to the scene of the tragedy; eighteen rounds of ammunition were served out to the French troops quartered at Beirut; and for three days society was kept in a state of breathless expectation until news should arrive that all those engaged in the murder had been condignly punished.

It turns out, however, that the whole story was a gross fabrication, arising out of the fact that the man in question had been struck with a stone by the Druse servant of a Christian Emir, whom Jusuf Keram accuses of having instigated the assault.

In reference to the above subject I have further to add that, immediately on hearing a rumour of disturbance in the Mountain, Abinet Pasha went off in person to the spot, leaving orders with a detachment of his soldiers to follow.

This entry of Turkish troops into the Christian Kaimakamiah has been considered by my colleagues and by Josef Keram an unjustifiable infraction of the sacred Pasha has justly incurred for hesitating to interfere with troops when a collision between Christians and Druses was to be apprehended, it is scarcely surprising that his successor should be anxious to show himself more alert on a similar occasion.

Josef Keram wanted to resign his post, but from this resolution he has been dissuaded.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 4 in No. 347

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, January 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that on the 4th instant Fud Pasha left Beyrout for Moktara, in order to preside over the trials of the Druse prisoners accused of murder by the Christian bishops and notables.

On passing through Dair-el-Kaim, his Excellency was surrounded by crowds of Christian women crying out for blood, and both here and elsewhere similar demonstrations are being organized.

Major Fraser writes me word that his Excellency is greatly embarrassed by the fact of the Christian hierarchy who furnished him with lists of the proscribed having refused to supply the evidence necessary to prove the guilt of those they accused. "The whole 12,000," say they, "are worthy of death and not necessary we should descend to particulars."

On receiving intelligence of this circumstance, I recom-
mended to announce his intention of setting at large all those against
testimony should be forthcoming, within the space of a week; and I have also
remonstrated with such of my colleagues as enjoy the confidence of the prelates
against this unreasonable conduct. I am since informed that their reluctance
has been overcome, and that they have condescended to enter into details. It
will remain to be seen on the strength of what testimony these personages have
been prepared to consign to the hands of the executioner more than a thousand
of their fellow-creatures. All that I have observed leads me to believe that the
lists of the accused are composed in a great measure of names designated either
by chance or by motives of private animosity. In support of this conjecture, I
may mention that I have been myself compelled to interfere three several times,
to prevent a man known to have been resident in Beyrout while the disturbances
were going on, from being carried off to prison on the charge of murder at
Dair-el-Kaim, while several other gentlemen of my acquaintance, French,
English, and American, have had occasion to do the like.

My colleagues and I have been pursuing a course of
pursuit and persuasion

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 5 in No. 347

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beyrout, January 13, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that yesterday I had a
very confidential conversation with Josef Keram, the Christian Kaimakam.

As your Excellency is aware, this individual was originally appointed at the
instance of the French Consulate. A short time previous to his nomination, I
had been warned against the inexpediency of allowing any one so immediately
under the influence of another nation to attain such an important post, more
especially as Josef Keram was supposed to be a tool of the French Consulate.
When I found, however, upon inquiry, that the French candidate was a
person of as much honesty and ability as any one who could be put in competi-
tion with him, I considered it would be quite contrary to the spirit of my
instructions were I to allow any feelings of national jealousy to interfere with
his appointment.

I therefore, not only supported his nomination, but took especial care to
give him a cordial reception every time he has called upon me. The consequence
has been that on each successive visit he has become more intimate in his
communications, and yesterday, he at last confided to me his desire to be guided
in his future conduct by my advice.

he cause of this somewhat unexpected demonstration is to be attributed to
the fact that Bishop Tobia has discovered Keram to be a less subservient

than he had supposed.

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W. H. & I. T. ROGERS

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(No. 54)

Beirut, January 13, 1851

I have, &c

-igned) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

Leisure in No. 349

Protocol of the Sixteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout,
December 29, 1860.

LE vingt-neuf Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Eud Pachá représenté par Abro Mleud, étant réunis à Heyrout sous la présidence de M. Béchard, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à trois heures. Le procès-verbal est lu et adopté avec quelques modifications.

Abro Elendi exprime au nom de l'Fund Pacha le regret que son Excellence n'ait pu assister à la séance par suite de son indisposition. Il

Le Commissaire Français, ayant pris connaissance, ainsi que ses collègues, des jugements, ou pour mieux dire des conclusions sous forme de rapports, rendus à son Excellence Vahid Pacha par le Tribunal Ekzaminatoire de Beyrouth, et que son Excellence a communiqués à la Commission dans la précédente séance, remarque que ces conclusions, en ce qui concerne Kourthud Pacha et les autres fonctionnaires ou officiers Ottomans, ne provoquent que l'application de la peine de la détention dans une forteresse, tandis que la peine du mort, d'après ces mêmes conclusions, est applicable à Saïd Bey Djouhdat et aux autres Cosses Druses. Comme la plus grande part de responsabilité, en principe, semble devoir peser sur les autorités Ottomanes, le Commissaire Français, organe de toute la Commission, exprime le désir de savoir en quoi cette responsabilité a pu peser sur eux des juges, les mêmes communiqués par son Excellence à son Excellence, et en attendant à cet égard aucune indication satisfaisante. Il invite donc Abro Efendi à transmettre cette interpellation au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman.

Abro Elcadi répond que MM. les Commissaires trouveront sans doute dans le dossier des pièces qu'il vient de déposer, les éclaircissements qu'ils désirent. Il a un devoir de transmettre à Fuad Pachà l'interpellation de M. [redacted] lieu de croire que les explications de son Excellence satisferont entièrement la Commission.

M. le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique appelle l'attention de ses collègues sur la nécessité qu'il y aurait, selon lui, de prendre des précautions contre l'application négligente ou inintelligente de la procédure sommaire qu'ils ont recommandée à Faid Pachà à l'égard des principaux auteurs des massacres de Hadessa, Rarheya, et Dris-el-Kamar. MM. les Commissaires se rappelleraient que, conformément à une entente arrêtée entre eux et le Haut Commissaire Ottoman, les Chefs religieux des différentes communautés Chrétiennes furent invités à fournir à son Excellence Faid Pachà des listes avérées, contenant le nom des Druses que leur haute responsabilité dans les événements, ou leur participation aux massacres dans des circonstances aggravantes, rendraient passibles de la peine de mort.

En voulant aux profils des communautés chrétiennes la grave tâche de cette dénonciation, on était en droit d'espérer qu'un juste discernement de leur part adoucirait l'annusité vindicative qui emporte trop naturellement, d'ailleurs, leurs légitimes respects, et ramènerait aux proportions d'une justice chrétienne le nombre de ceux qui seraient dignes pour la peine capitale. Mais il paraît que l'on se trouvait en espérant un tel résultat, vu que, sur les 8.000 adultes dont se compose la population Druse du Liban, 4.000 têtes ont été demandées par ces persennages. Il est vrai que les représentations du Haut Commissaire

Ottoman les ont déterminées plus tard à réduire le nombre de leurs sanguinaires réquisitions. \square 6%

[illegible]

malheureux pendant l'été, et prouva que, le jour du crime dont on l'accusait, pendant plusieurs semaines avant et après, il n'avait pas quitté Beyrouth. Confondu par de tels témoignages, l'habitant de Dier-el-Kamar, tout en protestant contre l'intérêt que l'on témoignait à un Druse, déclara qu'il désistait de sa poursuite, pourvu qu'on lui donnât une certaine somme de prix du sang. Il fut, d'autre part, obligé d'abandonner sa réclamation quand il fut vaincu, par la confrontation de l'accusé avec la femme du défunt, que ce prétendu coupable était innocent; néanmoins ce malheureux Cheik Druse fut obligé de récompenser les témoins.

Si un pareil outrage peut être impunément commis dans l'enceinte même de Beyrout et pour ainsi dire sous les yeux de Fiad Pacha, quelles violences et quelles injustices ne doit-il pas se commettre dans les gorges de la Montagne, où aucune influence éclairée, Chrétienne ou Européenne, ne peut intervenir pour mettre un frein à la fureur vengeresse d'une population, justement indignée sans doute, mais évidemment enroulée par ses chefs spirituels à mainteins, dans toute sa vigueur, l'ancien principe du sang pour le sang.

Ces réflexions depuis quelque temps occupent véritablement l'esprit du Commandant Britannique, et afin de se prémunir d'avance contre l'accusation d'avoir en quoi que ce soit participé à l'effusion du sang innocent, Lord Dufferin s'honore de soumettre à son Excellence Fusa Pachà et à la Commission les propositions suivantes :—

1. Qu'aucun Druse ne sera traduit devant le Tribunal Miltaira sans être accusé d'avoir assassiné de sang-froid un homme, demeuré, une femme, ou un enfant.

2. Que le serment de deux témoins oculaires soit exigé pour servir de base à toute condamnation capitale

Qu'en réglant le chiffre des condamnés à mort, on aura égard au nombre qui ont été assassinés par les Chrétiens, depuis l'arrivée de la Commission en Syrie;

Que le degré de la peine capitale appliquée à la nation lituane sera moindre que celui qu'on a trouvé suffisant à Danzig.

Abou Elendi confirme à certains égards, par de nouveaux renseignements, les appréciations auxquelles vient de se livrer M. le Commissaire Bréhaudoux, et constate à son tour que la conduite des prêtres Chrétiens ne paraît pas avoir été dictée par ce sentiment de justice Chrétienne qui devrait la caractériser. Il burl dénonce 4.600 personnes. M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman s'est de leur fait remarquer qu'il s'agissait uniquement de condamnations à mort, et que le chiffre de leurs dénonciations n'était point en rapport avec la gravité du crime.

categories, comprenant seulement dans la premiere le nom de ceux qui doivent être condamnés au dernier supplice. Cette premiere categorie renferme encore, au grand honneurment du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, le nom de 1,200 individus, parmi lesquels son Excellence, apres avoir communiqué les projets de sentences, se trouva dans le cas de faire exécuter seulement les plus coupables.

En réponse aux observations de Lord Dufferin et d'Alro Isenst, concernant

les dénonciations faites par les évêques Chrétiens, le Commissaire Russe rappelle que, conformément à ce qui a été convenu entre les membres de la Commission et son Excellence Fuad Pacha, les principaux coupables devaient être si-
 — par les Chefs spirituels, sur l'indication des Primats Chrétiens eux-mêmes.
 En présentant les susdites listes, les évêques n'ont fait que remplir strictement le mandat qui leur avait été confié, et qui consistait à servir d'intermédiaires entre le Chef du pouvoir exécutif et leurs coreligionnaires. Il leur eût même été impossible de procéder aux dénonciations de leur propre chef, attendu qu'ils n'avaient pas assisté personnellement aux massacres. On ne saurait donc en aucune façon faire peser sur eux la responsabilité du chiffre plus ou moins élevé des dénonciations. Il y a même grandement lieu de penser, selon M. le Commissaire Russe, qu'ils auront réduit le chiffre primitif des dénonciations faites par leurs ouailles, chiffre qui, d'après les idées reçues dans le pays en matière de droit pénal, devait sans doute comprendre autant d'accusés qu'il y avait eu de victimes.

Quant à la question des condamnations qui seront prononcées dans la Montagne, M. Novikow rappelle que la Commission a établi trois catégories de coupables passibles de la même peine. Elle a posé le principe, mais il ne lui paraît nullement d'entrer dans les détails de l'application. Toutefois M. le Commissaire Russe croit devoir ajouter que la seule peine décrétée étant la mort, il avait été bien entendu que cette peine ne serait appliquée qu'aux principaux criminels, et que le truge devait être effectué avec un scrupuleux. La répression des Druses porte un double caractère : celui d'une peine afflictive et celui d'une mesure préventive, destinée à supprimer de terreur le reste de la nation, et à lui servir de leçon pour l'avenir. Ce n'est donc pas autant dans le nombre que dans le choix des coupables et dans la recherche des causes, susceptibles de donner à l'œuvre de la justice plus de retentissement, qu'il faut le plus de soin. Il faut en effet que l'effet moral des exécutions. A cette fin, les villages mêmes qu'ils habitent, et même, à la même heure, sur tous les points de la Montagne, un tel mode de procéder permettrait de réduire dans une large mesure le nombre des exécutions. Dans la pensée de M. le Commissaire Russe, l'efficacité de la répression résultera moins de l'application de peines individuelles que d'un ensemble de mesures propres à garantir le pays contre le renouvellement des mêmes calamités. Dans cet ordre d'idées, deux mesures lui semblent impérieusement réclamées par les circonstances, c'est

en une fois, mais devrait continuer à s'effectuer sans interruption d'une manière permanente ; 2, la nomination définitive du Haïran, car il n'y aura jamais de sécurité réelle pour les populations du Liban et des contrées environnantes, tant que les facteurs de désordres seront sûrs d'y trouver une sorte d'asile inviolable.

Enfin et pour clore l'article des répressions à exécuter en conséquence des événements de la Montagne, M. Novikow fait observer que les garnisons Ottomanes de Hasbey, Racheya, et Dair-el-Kamar, qui ont livré aux Druses les Chrétiens placés sous leur protection, sont plus coupables que les Druses eux-mêmes. Jusqu'ici on n'a puni que le Commandant de ces garnisons. M. Novikow est d'avis, et il pense que tous ses collègues sans exception partagent son sentiment à cet égard, que les officiers même subalternes sont tous solidaires de la trahison commise envers les Chrétiens, et que ce ne serait pas trop que de les punir en les dégradant.

Abou Elondi répond que ces officiers, n'ayant point, à vrai dire, de responsabilité directe, puisqu'ils obéissaient aux ordres de chefs supérieurs, déjà condamnés, n'ont point paru mériter de condamnation, mais qu'il entre dans les projets du Gouvernement de les éloigner tous sans exception. En ce qui concerne la simultanéité des exécutions dans toutes les localités habitées par les Druses qui seront condamnés, le vœu émis par M. le Commissaire Russe est entièrement conforme aux propres intentions de Fuad Pacha.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche désire que, dans l'œuvre de la répression des Druses, Fuad Pacha, tout en pratiquant une justice sévère, évite autant que possible une trop grande effusion de sang. Selon lui, les Représentants des Communautés Chrétiennes ne peuvent que recommander au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman de se montrer avare de la peine de mort.

M. le Commissaire Prussien ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer que rien dans la conduite de Fuad Pacha n'autorise à croire qu'il doit outrepasser les bornes

de la justice. Sa tendance est plutôt de rester en deçà, et quand depuis cinq mois Fuad Pacha n'a pas encore sévi contre un seul Druse, ce n'est pas la miséricorde qu'il semble précisément nécessaire de lui recommander.

M. Bédard est d'avis que la Commission est allée aussi loin que possible dans la voie du sentiment Chrétien, quand elle a décidé que la répression des Druses s'accomplirait surtout en vue de l'avenir, et que l'on ait seulement à frapper trois catégories de coupables : les organisateurs du massacre, les chefs de bandes, et les assassins qui ont commis les plus révoltantes atrocités. Cette triple formule circonscrit dans des limites suffisamment étroites l'œuvre de justice confiée à Fuad Pacha depuis plusieurs mois, et qui vient à peine d'être commencée. Dans une telle occurrence, M. le Commissaire Français pense que

l'œuvre de la Commission qui s'est établie à cet égard entre tous les membres de la Commission, et dont mention a été faite dans le procès-verbal de la séance du 14 Novembre. Depuis lors, il n'est survenu aucun incident qui puisse déterminer la Commission à se déjuger, et à proposer de nouvelles bases à la répression des Druses.

M. le Commissaire Prussien rappelle l'attention de la Commission sur la manière irrégulière et illusoire dont s'opère à Damas la mesure du désarmement. M. Novikow constate que, lors du voyage des Commissaires à Damas, à peine 1,500 armes avaient été recueillies. M. Bédard fait observer que, tant que les agents de l'Autorité ne croiront pas pouvoir pénétrer dans le harem, les perquisitions dans les maisons Musulmanes ne donneront aucun résultat. M. de Rehfues est d'avis que l'on devrait, sur un avertissement préalable, faire évacuer momentanément la partie des maisons Musulmanes réservée aux femmes pour y procéder aux perquisitions, et que, si cette opération rencontrait trop de difficultés, on devrait lever sur Damas un impôt forcé d'armes et de munitions. Lord Dufferin insiste sur l'utilité de la mesure du désarmement qu'il est en train, selon lui, d'opérer partout, à Damas et dans la Montagne. MM. les Commissaires, en terminant cette conversation, reconnaissent tous unanimement que les deux mesures du désarmement et de l'impôt extraordinaire à Damas sont de la plus haute importance. Ils expriment de nouveau à cet égard le profond regret que leur inspire la récente décision prise par la Porte, et les ajournements successifs qu'elle entraîne.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et trois-quarts.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 330.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 24)

(N. 3.)

My Lord,

Beyrouth, January 13, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a despatch I have just received from Major Fraser, in which he details at greater length some

of the facts with which I have already acquainted your Lordship relative to his Excellency Fud Pasha's proceedings in the Mountains.

Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 350

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Mokhtela, January 10, 1861.

ALTHOUGH the service in connection with which I had the honour to accompany Fud Pasha into Mount Lebanon is but commencing, I feel it necessary that your Lordship should be informed of the progress of events, the more so that obstacles, the nature of which I shall immediately explain, are being raised to his Excellency carrying out the final punishment of the Druse prisoners in the manner decided by the European Commission.

Between 700 and 800 prisoners had been collected at this centre from the various Druse districts of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon—persons who had been denounced in lists sent in by the Chiefs of the different Christian sects, as having taken part, as actors or directors, in the recent massacres. His Excellency desiring to select for capital punishment a limited number of those

Commission of Civil and Military officers to be formed here, for the purpose of conducting preliminary examinations with a view to such a selection.

When this Commission called upon the Christians present to indicate those they considered most guilty, and to give their evidence in support of such accusation, the Christians, as a body, refused either to indicate or to give evidence against particular prisoners on the general plea that all were guilty and deserving of death. Successive parties of Christians who have arrived here have made the same reply.

I have now discovered an emissary in this village, who waylays witnesses coming to give evidence regarding the murder of their relatives, and induces them to withhold this, recommending them, instead, to lay it before the heads of their sect at Beyrouth; otherwise, that the Government will only put a few Druses to death, thus depriving the Christians in general of the full satisfaction they desire.

I was about to arrest this person, who is a man of superior intelligence, but, on further consideration, I thought that by finding employment for him I could defeat his purpose, and at the same time use him as a means of communication with the directors of this movement. I have adopted this plan, and have tried to convince him—I hope with some success—that by the course the Christians are adopting they will utterly defeat their own object.

I have requested him to inform his principals that if no evidence is brought before the Court, which will shortly commence formal trials, the prisoners must inevitably be discharged.

Fud Pasha is of opinion that this movement has been instigated by Chiefs of sect, and that it is necessary that some action be not made, of being thus enabled to demand the expulsion from Lebanon of all those denounced by them, amounting in the first lists to 4,500; and even in the second—the first having been rejected by Fud Pasha as utterly unreasonable—to some 2,000 individuals, including nearly all the principal persons among the Druses.

His Excellency some days ago desired that at least two persons should be sent hither by each village from which prisoners have been taken, and who were cognizant of the alleged crimes. Should these witnesses arrive to-day, as is rather hoped than expected, the trials will commence to-morrow, the examinations having terminated last evening.

I have myself been conducting an inquiry among the Druse prisoners, and not serve to test such other evidence as may be offered. I have had several conversations with Druses since my arrival here regarding their past culpable acts and their present position.

They state, in exculpation of their conduct, that the war was not commenced by them, but that the Druses would have acted precisely as the Druses have done to them—an assertion which certainly derives colour from assertions to the same effect recently made to me by the Christians themselves.

The Druses further state, in bar of heavy punishment, that their loss of life has been very severe, amounting to upwards of 1,000 killed, besides very many wounded, not only during the continuance of hostilities, but also since the arrival of French troops in the Mountain, accompanied by Christians who have utterly pillaged their villages, and murdered, in cold blood, such inhabitants as they could lay their hands upon.

They have offered to produce detailed lists, in proof of these assertions. Should these be furnished I shall duly transmit them for your Lordship's

Signed) A. T. FRASER

No. 351

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell—(Received January 24.)

No. 351

My Lord,

Beyrouth, January 13, 1861

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a despatch I have just received from Mr. Wrench, Acting Consul at Damascus, relative to an alleged foray of Druses from the Hauran on a village in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and a confirmation of the report before receiving

account of test of these rumours to of the occur

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now, a fresh panic will be commu
supplied to the French for prolonging the war as far as possible. In order to prevent as far as possible the effects likely to result from this last incident, I have suggested to the Turkish Commissioner the expediency of placing General Kreutz in temporary command of the troops stationed in the neighbourhood of the Hauran, and I have further submitted to his consideration whether it might not be possible to take into his service four or five regiments of Swiss mercenaries. Such a description of troops would be duly subservient to the Government, and at the same time would inspire the Christians with confidence. The only disadvantage attending to their employment would arise from the necessity of their being occasionally paid.

In connection with this subject I may mention that a few days ago 280 French soldiers arrived at Beyrouth from Alexandria whether they had gone on their way to Chios. The officer in command hearing that peace had been proclaimed, on his own responsibility, it is said, determined to lend his detachment to the standard of General de Beaufort. This circumstance seems to have a good deal disturbed Fud Pasha, as your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed despatch which Major Fraser has addressed to me at his Excellency's request.

It is very much to be regretted that his Excellency should have been so little successful in restoring a sense of security to the Christian population of the province. Whether it is from incompetence, or from a want of motive, or from uncertainty as to what his future relations are to be with Constantinople it is obvious the Turkish Commissioner has afforded plausible occasion of complaint to those whose interest it is to criticize the progress of his administration. Nevertheless, I am still of opinion the country is safe. With Fud Pasha at Damascus, with General Kreutz in the Mountain, and Omer Pasha, a very intelligent Circassian officer, at Aleppo, or wherever his services may be required, being very irregular can occur. Above all things, if the Porte would authorize
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a handsome indemnity to be distributed to the sufferers of Damascus and the Lebanon, a feeling of security would return, and all excuse for the French occupation would cease. As it is the officers attached to the expedition seem to look forward to a continuance of their stay, more especially since the arrival of a letter from the Emperor, addressed through the General to the army, in which, after consoling with them on their forced inactivity, His Majesty talks of their mission to hold in awe the fanatics which had arisen, "et qui existe encore," in Syria.

I have already written so much on the important subject of the occupation that it is not necessary I should on this occasion trouble your Lordship with any further observations.

Nothing has occurred of late to alter my former impressions. Your Lordship will be able, far better than any one here, to determine what is done. I will merely add, in reference to any remark of M. Thouvenel's

that it is an idle pretext to allege the reparation of ruined villages. The French army remaining in the Mountain. My previous despatches will have acquainted your Lordship in what a languid manner M. de Beaufort's relations have subjected themselves to this task, and such a statement only shows the profound desire of the authorities here and at Paris to withdraw the Emperor's troops from Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEROYE

Inclosure 1 in No. 351.

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Damascus, January 11, 1861, 1:30 P.M.

I AVAIL myself of the departure of an express from the French Consulate to inform your Lordship of an event that has just occurred, and has taken every one by surprise.

Last night, the Christians of Sahnéyeh, a village two hours to the south of Damascus, were assembled in the house of the Christian Sheikh of the village, when a Druse came in, and informed them that they had better flee, as his co-religionists, who had escaped to the Hauran, were returning to take the property they had left in the village. The Christians believing that the object of the Druses was to massacre them, fled immediately to Darfya, one hour from Damascus.

They had left the village about half-an-hour, when about 200 horsemen arrived there, composed of the Druses of the Hauran, and refugees from Ashrafieh and Sahnéyeh, who plundered all the property of the Christians, and made off to their strongholds.

These Druses, if coming straight from the Hauran, must have passed by the bridge of Kesweh, where a strong force of troops is posted.

Neither the Vah, Mushir, nor Chief of the Police were aware of this outrage until noon to-day. The Mushir when informed would not believe it, as he said the Druses could not pass the strong cordon of troops in that direction.

Your Lordship will be interested to know that I will have a full report of the event from the Christians who are ready to take offence at the slightest report; proving, as it does, that the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Damascus are not safe from attacks by the Druses. It is also probable that the Christians of the outlying villages will flee further, and that the French troops will be obliged to occupy the Beyrout.

The French Acting Consul is reporting this occurrence to his Commissioner by the present opportunity.

The presence of his Excellency Fuad Pasha would do much to diminish the fears of the Christians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 351.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Mokhdra, January 10, 1861

FUAD PASHA has handed me a document, addressed by the Chief of the French Staff to his Excellency's Secretary, announcing the arrival, at Beyrout, of a French detachment of 260 men, being a portion of the Chinese Expedition detained at Alexandria, and ordered thence to Syria.

As the Pasha appears desirous your Excellency should be informed of his views on this occurrence I do myself the honour of recording these, as expressed last evening, and of transmitting therewith a copy of Colonel Oumoud's note.

His Excellency not only considers any attempt, more particularly on grounds of an unsatisfactory character to add to the force of the French contingent in Syria, already in excess of the numbers to which it was limited by the recent Convention, to be a direct breach of the engagement entered into on that occasion by the five Powers in alliance with the Porte, but is especially to be deprecated at a moment when the troops are so calculated to excite a feeling among the population to prove injurious both to the authority of the Sultan's Government and to the future tranquility of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

No. 352

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 26.)

(No. 136.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 25, 1861

M. THOUVENEL has informed me that the Prussian Minister has communicated to him a despatch from the Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs relative to the present state of things in Syria.

According to M. Thouvenel this despatch, the spontaneous effusion of the Prussian Cabinet, is a complete counterpart of his own to M. de Flabault of the 18th instant, a copy of which is enclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 108 of yesterday's date, which I had the honour to receive this morning.

M. de Schleinitz, according to M. Thouvenel, distinctly states that he will not take upon himself the responsibility of recommending the departure of the French troops from Syria at the period fixed by the Convention of the 5th of September last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 353.

Lord J. Russell to Karl Cowley.

(Separate.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 27, 1861.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to communicate to Prince Metternich my despatch No. 108 of the 24th instant, containing the views of Her Majesty's Government on the points put forward in M. Thouvenel's note to the Count de Flabault of the 18th instant, respecting the continued military occupation of Syria.

Your Excellency will act in concert with Prince Metternich in any steps which you may take relative to the assembling of the Conference on this question, and you will invite the Turkish Ambassador to act in concert with you and the Austrian Ambassador.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Baron Schleinitz to Count Pourtales — (Communicated to Lord J. Russell by Count Bernstorff, January 28.)

M. le Comte,

Berlin, le 16 Janvier, 1861.

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir le rapport par lequel vous nous rendez compte d'une conversation que vous avez eue avec M. Thouvenel sur les affaires de Syrie et notamment sur la question de savoir si les circonstances exigent une prolongation des délais stipulés dans la Convention du 5 Septembre pour la durée de l'occupation Française.

M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères a traité le même sujet dans une dépêche adressée le 2 de ce mois à M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, et que j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint en copie. Vous verrez par cette

M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, on rappelant que c'est l'expédition militaire en Syrie, déclare que c'est à elle aussi qu'il appartiendrait de provoquer une entente sur les modifications que la dite Convention pourrait

Pour exprimer en connaissance de cause une opinion arrêtée à cet égard, il faudrait être édifié plus que nous le sommes encore sur l'état réel des choses en Syrie, et sur les conséquences probables que le départ des troupes Françaises pourrait entraîner. D'après nos renseignements la pacification du pays ne paraît cependant pas, à l'heure qu'il est, suffisamment assurée pour qu'il soit permis d'espérer qu'il pourrait dès à présent et sans danger être

Selon nous il serait desirable qu'avant de faire cesser l'occupation Française, la nouvelle organisation politique du pays fût achevée et eût pour le moins un commencement d'exécution. J'ignore si jusqu'au terme assigné par la Convention du 5 Septembre à l'occupation Française on tel résultat pourra être obtenu. D'un côté, le Cabinet du Roi, pour sa part, ne saurait donc vouloir ni assumer ni partager la responsabilité des dangers dont le départ

M. de l'autre, il est d'avis que la présence de ces troupes en Syrie, le se fonde sur un arrangement survenu entre les grandes Puissances et la Porte, ne saurait être prolongée au delà du terme fixé par cet arrangement qu'en vertu d'un acte auquel tous les Gouvernements signataires de la Convention du 5 Septembre auraient donné leur adhésion.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signed) SCHLEINITZ

No.

Mr. Fane to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 28.)

(No. 63.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 24, 1861

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions I have read to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch addressed to me No. 14 of the 16th instant. His Excellency interrupted my reading of that despatch several times, in order to express his concurrence in the views it embodied, and his appreciation of the cogent reasoning by which they were supported. There was not a single phrase which called forth any expression of dissent on the part of Count Rechberg.

When I had concluded my reading of the despatch, his Excellency requested me to convey to your Lordship the expression of his best thanks for the communication I had been instructed to make to him, and to add that he shared the views expressed in it, and was desirous to act in complete accord with Her Majesty's Government on the question of the occupation of Syria by foreign

I learn from the Turkish Ambassador that Count Rechberg informed him of the substance of your Lordship's despatch, and of his entire concurrence with the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of which it

Prince Callimachi has stated to me that he had received communications direct from Fud Pasha, in which he asserted that the prolonged presence of French troops in Syria was calculated to aggravate, instead of to appease, the animosity of the hostile tribes, and that the means at his command were amply sufficient to enable him to maintain the peace of the province without any foreign aid.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 356

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 28.)

(No. 47.)

My Lord,

Berlin, January 26, 1861

IN conversation this morning with Baron Schleinitz, I informed him it was my intention to address the Five Powers by the Ottoman Government, it was the duty of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to address the Five Powers to express the opinion of Turkey as to the safety of the Christians in Syria, or to specify the guarantees he would offer to secure them against a renewal of massacres. His Excellency entirely agreed with your Lordship's opinion; but I understood him to say the French Government was about to address a communication on the subject to the Great Powers.

The Turkish Minister, a few days since, informed Baron Schleinitz of the desire of his Government for the speedy removal of the troops from Syria. Baron Schleinitz expressed the opinion of the Prussian Government as not opposed to the evacuation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. LOWTHER.

No. 357.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 29.)

(No. 50.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, January 18, 1861.

AS I knew the great repugnance the Porte would feel to name a Governor of Syria for ten years, and that any arguments I could individually use in favour of this course would be unavailing, I thought it better to give your Lordship's views every weight by informing Ali Pasha frankly of what you had written to me on the subject, and I ought not to disguise from your Lordship that the language His Highness used on this occasion was very decided. In fact he said, such an arrangement was a severance of Syria from the Empire, and that the Porte would only consent to it as a consequence of force, which it would resist to the best of its ability.

As Lord Dufferin's later proposition has diminished the term to five years, I have with your Lordship, I thought it better not to compromise the subject further by discussion here for the moment, and to leave it to your Lordship to state to M. Moustier what, on hearing the Porte's objections, may be your final opinion. I felt it, however, at the same time, my duty to state clearly the view which Her Majesty's Government had taken of the subject, and the manner in which Pashas were granted; and I should judge from Ali Pasha's language that he will give your Lordship his firm demand as to the accuracy of the statements which your Lordship has received, at least as far as the present time is concerned, on this subject, and profess his willingness, on any case of bribery being proved, to advise the Sultan to inflict the most summary punishment on the delinquents. I am myself obliged in justice to say that I believe a great deal of exaggeration has existed on this matter, and that the stories circulated at Pera and elsewhere are not to be implicitly believed. I do not, however, mean to deny that very improper appointments are not very frequently made. I too frequently complain of appointments, not to have my

opinion recorded in an opposite sense; but I am inclined to think when the choice of a Pasha unfitted for his situation is made, that this is generally to be attributed to influence of other kinds, and not to be considered as the effect of money given or taken by the higher officials. I think, notwithstanding, that it would be advisable that the person charged with reorganizing Syria should have very extensive power, and that the duration of his office, unless some serious cause for displeasure or dissatisfaction arose, should be fixed.

There is also an article in Lord Dufferin's recent propositions, that of placing the Christian subjects of the Porte in Syria under foreign protection, to which the Porte would undoubtedly have grave objections; nor am I aware how your Lordship would view this measure, since its consequences would be very extensive, and would be opposed to the general policy which Her Majesty's Government has hitherto pursued in the East.

Upon the whole the most practical course seems to me that the Porte should state its own intentions, which will then have to be discussed by the Great Powers and the Commissioners, and I should trust that on many essential points all parties may agree.

With respect to what your Lordship observes as to the absolute necessity of the Porte providing adequately for the tranquility of Syria, I have not disguised from the Ottoman Government that any failure on its part in this respect would be equivalent to the loss of all further support from Her Majesty's Government. As to the means now at its disposal for providing adequately

my own on such a subject, but I have very great faith in Lord Dufferin's judgment, and would be inclined to take his opinion as conclusive.

At the same time I think if the Porte were to increase the number of foreign regiments it has in its service, and maintain a certain force of this description in Syria, such a measure might furnish an additional guarantee to those other measures which it is already prepared to take, and to which I alluded in my recent communication. Nor do I at present think it would be very difficult to get the Porte to give this security, if Her Majesty's Commissioner deemed it advisable, and Her Majesty's Government authorized me to recommend it.

In short, my general notion is that Aali Pasha and the Grand Vizier would be induced to adopt any reforms in Syria that did not tend to separate that province from the Empire at large, and which might be adopted as general improvements in the other parts of the Sultan's dominions, but I think they will very strenuously and obstinately oppose the establishment of any condition of things in Syria that would tend to alter the present situation of Egypt and the Danubian Provinces.

It seems to me better to state this to your Lordship at once, and without reserve, but at the same time I shall not fail to urge upon this Government, with all the ability in my power, whatever views your Lordship, who is so much better able to form an opinion, may ultimately form, and instruct me to enforce.

I have, &c.

Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 358

Memorandum communicated by M. Muruz, January 29, 1861.

Il résulte d'une dépêche télégraphique adressée à l'Ambassadeur de Turquie à Londres, le 27 courant, que le Cabinet des Tuileries a proposé à la Sublime Porte de convoquer la Conférence à l'effet de décider la question de savoir si l'évacuation de la Syrie doit être effectuée à l'expiration du terme fixé par la Convention, ou s'il y a lieu de la prolonger. "Vous n'ignorez pas," ajoute l'Ambassadeur, "que la Sublime Porte désire, c'est de voir l'occupation de la Syrie terminée, et de voir la Syrie évacuée." L'Ambassadeur ajoute que la Sublime Porte connaît immédiatement et par le télégraphe au Ministère Impérial, quelle est l'opinion du Cabinet Britannique sur la réunion de la Conférence, et, si cette

Conférence étant convoquée, jusqu'à quel point la Sublime Porte pourrait compter sur un résultat conforme à son désir de faire cesser l'état de choses actuel en Syrie.

No. 359

Memorandum by Lord J. Russell.

I HAVE received from M. Muruz, the French Minister at Constantinople, a copy of a despatch from the Ambassador of Her Majesty at Constantinople, dated the 27th inst., in which he states that the Sublime Porte has proposed to the Great Powers, and to the Commissioners, that the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the expiration of the term fixed by the Convention, or that it should be prolonged. The Ambassador adds that the Sublime Porte desires to see the occupation of Syria terminated, and that it wishes to know the opinion of the British Government on the subject.

January 29, 1861

No. 360

Lord J. Russell to Karl Cowley

(No. 120. Confidential)

Foreign Office, January 29, 1861.

My Lord,

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 136 of the 25th instant reporting that M. Thouvenel had informed you that the Prussian Minister had communicated to him a despatch from his Government on the question of prolonging the military occupation of Syria, which despatch, M. Thouvenel states, is a complete counterpart of his Excellency's note to Count Flahault, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 108 of the 24th instant.

On this subject I have to state to your Excellency that Count Bernstorff has communicated to me confidentially a copy of this despatch, and I now transmit it confidentially to your Excellency.

Count Bernstorff said the Prussian Government could not undertake the responsibility of advising that the French troops should evacuate Syria, but that if any Power objected to the renewal of the Convention the French occupation would cease as a matter of course.

I am, &c.

Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 361

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 29)

(No. 139)

Paris, January 28, 1861

My Lord,

VARIOUS circumstances have prevented my communicating to M. Thouvenel before to-day your Lordship's despatch No. 108 of the 24th instant, which contains the answer of Her Majesty's Government to his Excellency's despatch to Count Flahault of the 18th instant relative to the evacuation of Syria.

M. Thouvenel said that he must have the despatch translated before he spoke to me officially upon it, but he noticed at once with expressions of satisfaction the moderate and friendly tone which pervades it. He admitted the correctness of your Lordship's statement that "the institution of the Commission sent to Syria was a measure entirely separate from the Convention for sending foreign troops from the despatch of troops;" but still he said there was so much connection between the institution of a regular Government and the establishment of order and peace, for which latter object, according to the terms of the Convention, the

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troops had been sent, that he could not entirely separate the one from the other. He could state most solemnly that those who supposed that there was any desire on the part of the Emperor or of his Government to prolong indefinitely the occupation of Syria were entirely mistaken. "Our feeling," he said, "is simply this: that we shall bring our troops away, leaving the people we went to protect in a worse position than before the late occurrences. The Mountain then had an administration of its own founded on an arrangement between the Five Powers and the Porte. At the present moment there is no Government at all, except the supreme power of the Porte. All that we desire is, that before we go a Government may be installed, which shall not place the Maronites in a worse position than they were. We shall then have done all that under the circumstances it was possible to do, and we can defend ourselves before the Catholic world, should fresh atrocities ensue, but if, in consequence of the departure of our troops, there is a renewal of the massacres the whole blame will fall on us. It is not a post that arrives from Syria that does not bring petition upon petition to the Emperor for continued protection, and it is difficult to abandon a people who have at all times looked to us, for I will not deny that we place a certain value in the preservation of our influence over the Maronites."

I replied that it was a question whether the presence of French troops was not rather a hindrance than a help to any settlement. On the one hand, the Maronites, reckoning on French protection, put forth the most extravagant pretensions, on the other, the Druses were naturally much irritated, and unwilling to be governed by the Maronites. But he could assure me he had no desire to support the exaggerated hopes of the Maronites. Let the Commission agree with Fuad Pasha upon a system of government, he cared not what it might be provided the privileges assured in 1845 were maintained, and he should be perfectly satisfied. But until this should be accomplished he still trusted that the evacuation might not be insisted upon. If the Commission would really set to work, a very short time ought to bring this affair to a conclusion. He did not see why a Government should not be installed before, or at all events very soon after, the commencement of March, particularly if orders were sent to the Commissioners to hasten their work, or if the Porte felt that the withdrawal of the troops depended upon its accomplishment. Let the labours of the Commission be limited to the future administration of the Mountain alone, and there need not be any great delay in bringing that to a practical conclusion.

But, I objected, the Porte may insist on the evacuation of Syria at the period stipulated by the Convention. What then?

"Why then," replied M. Thouvenot, "the troops must go; of that there can be no doubt. Without the Porte's assent they cannot remain. At all events," he concluded, "let us discuss this question calmly when the Conference meets. If it is decided against our wishes, we shall regret it, but we shall respect the decision."

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 362

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 29.)

No. 156. Confidential

My Lord,

Paris, January 29, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive late on Saturday night a few autograph lines from the Emperor, inclosing a despatch from General Beaufort to the Minister of War, dated Beyrut, the 12th instant, in which General Beaufort calls at great length the attention of his Government to the present state of Syria, and concludes that it would not be advisable to withdraw at the present moment the army which he commands.

The Emperor, in his letter to me, expresses the wish that I should endeavour to prevail on Her Majesty's Government to regard this matter in an equitable light, to adopt an organization which will prevent a renewal of the massacre of the Christians, and he will then, he says, be very glad to withdraw his troops.

I had a copy taken immediately of General Beaufort's despatch, which your Lordship will find inclosed.

But I had further to determine what course I should take myself. The most disagreeable, and yet matters rate that I did not deem it expedient to refuse altogether to be a channel of communication between His Majesty and your Lordship.

Exaggerations of real facts, and so many assertions at variance with the reports received by Her Majesty's Government, that I abandoned the first idea I had of answering the Emperor's communication in writing, but I have requested His Majesty to grant me an audience, when I can discuss the whole matter with him.

Besides endeavouring to show the Emperor that the reports of General Beaufort are not implicitly to be relied upon, I shall, upon the general question, make use of those arguments with which your Lordship has furnished me in your despatch No. 104 of the 24th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure to No. 362.

General Beaufort to the Ministry of War

M. le Maréchal,

Beyrut, le 12 Janvier, 1861

LE rapport que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser le 4 Novembre dernier résumait les résultats obtenus par les opérations du corps expéditionnaire dans la Montagne, les mesures prises pour hâter la réinstallation des Chrétiens avant l'hiver, partout où notre action directe pouvait s'étendre, et les difficultés de tous les instants suscitées par les agents Ottomans pour empêcher le bien que nous cherchions à faire. Il exposait ensuite la misère des populations Chrétiennes pour le présent, leurs préoccupations pour l'avenir, la nécessité d'y mettre un terme, et enfin les moyens qui me paraissent pouvoir être employés pour arriver au but que l'Europe se propose.

Depuis lors mes délégués les successives vous ont tenu au courant des faits et de incidents qui se sont produits. Je crois néanmoins nécessaire au jourd'hui paraître se préoccuper de la solution de la question de Syrie, de mettre sous vos yeux le tableau exact d'une situation qui ne tend que s'aggraver, la dégager promptement d'une incertitude qui démoralise les Chrétiens, encourage les mauvaises dispositions de leurs ennemis. Dans le Liban rien n'a été fait en dehors de ce que nous avons pu faire directement, malgré les efforts des Turcs pour paralyser notre action. A l'heure qu'il est le Gouvernement Ottoman, qui devait punir les coupables et secourir les victimes, ne peut encore prouver par aucun fait sérieux sa sincérité, lorsque cherchant à écarter l'intervention de l'Europe et le concours de la France il promet tout à la répression. Pour le châtiement, aucun des Chéfs Druses arrêtés le 21 Septembre n'a encore été condamné, lorsque leur culpabilité ressort évidente pour tous de leur conduite pendant les massacres, et nul ne peut prévoir, bien que leur procès dure depuis trois mois, le sort réservé à Khorechid Pacha, à Tahir Pacha, et aux autres agents Turcs si gravement compromis, et formellement accusés.

Mis en demeure de sévir contre les Druses de la Montagne, Fuad Pacha n'est parvenu par les délégués des Chrétiens les listes des plus coupables et a

Toutes ces dispositions prises, le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Sultan est parti le 3 pour Mokhtarah, afin d'aller surveiller lui-même cette répression annoncée avec éclat. Les Chrétiens ne s'y sont pas trompés : leurs délégués ont refusé de suivre le Pacha, qui voulait faire d'eux des accusateurs publics, rejeter sur eux aux yeux des populations la responsabilité des condamnations, et déclarer ensuite après un jugement sommaire, prononcé en dehors de tout contrôle et en présence de ces délégués seuls, qu'il avait satisfait à toutes leurs demandes et que dès lors la répression était complète, le sang effacé. Je suis encore sans détail sur ce qui s'est passé à Mokhtarah depuis son arrivée, mais je sais déjà que, de toutes parts, les Chrétiens déclarent qu'ils ne veulent accuser que les gens qu'ils signalent eux-mêmes à la justice, et qu'ils ne le feront que si le jugement a lieu à Beyrouth publiquement et avec les garanties de justice que peut seule lui donner la présence des délégués des Commissaires Européens.

Pour la restitution aux Chrétiens des objets enlevés par les Druses elle n'a réellement produit de résultat sérieux que là où les détachements Français ont agi directement malgré l'opposition des agents Ottomans. Partout ailleurs les Turcs se sont contentés de faire rendre quelques mauvaises couvertures, des ustensiles de ménage de peu de valeur qu'ils conservent en magasin, sans le prétexte d'apporter de la régularité dans la distribution aux Chrétiens, ou qu'ils ne donnent que sur des reçus constatant qu'ils forment un compte largement évalué, sur l'indemnité défective à payer plus tard à ces derniers.

Pour la réinstallation des habitants dans leurs villages ruinés, pour la reconstruction de leurs maisons détruites par l'incendie, partout où nos soldats ne sont point pour aider aux travaux, partout où l'argent de l'Europe ne fournit pas les matériaux indispensables, rien ne se fait. Quelques secours insignifiants nous ont pu servir à peine à peine suffire aux besoins du moment, parfois la quatrième ou la cinquième partie d'une indemnité calculée d'après une évaluation dérisoire des pertes à réparer—telles sont les seules mesures prises depuis cinq mois par l'autorité ottomane, et dont elle fait grand bruit. C'est avec une peine infinie que j'ai pu obtenir la promesse de 750,000 piastres pour rebâtir Dénizli. Pour une ville de 5,000 habitants, complètement détruite, et encore sur cette somme 300,000 piastres seulement ont été payées.

Quant aux localités qui sont en dehors de l'action du corps expéditionnaire :

Dans tout le district de Dyetzan, les habitants sont sans aucune ressource pour vivre ou relever leurs maisons; ils n'ont reçu depuis leur entrée dans leurs villages qu'une couverture pour trois ou quatre personnes, et une distribution de farine qui les a fait vivre pendant quelques jours. Ainsi viennent-ils de réclamer en masse à Fund Pachà qu'ils sont allés trouver à Mokhtarah, et d'ailleurs à la Commission, afin qu'à moi, une supplique dans laquelle ils déclarent que s'ils ne sont point secourus promptement, ils vont être de nouveau obligés d'évacuer dans les villes déjà si encombrées du littoral.

Pour toutes ces populations complètement dénuées de ressource non seulement le présent n'est point assuré, mais l'avenir est précaire. Elles ne peuvent cultiver, manquant de bêtes de labour et de semence. Leur principale industrie, celle qui pourrait les faire vivre l'an prochain, est la soie ; elles n'ont ni la graine qui donne les vers ni les abris pour les élever, lorsque depuis deux mois Fual Faïha promet de la graine et de l'argent pour les abriter. Ainsi que je le prévoyais dès mes premiers rapports, les rigueurs de l'hiver et la nuée ont déjà fait plus de victimes que les massacres. Il est des villages dévastés par les fièvres, d'autres dans lesquels tous les enfans en bas âge sont mort d'épuisement et de froid.

La tranquillité matérielle existe ☐ **oui** ☐ **non** ☐ **peut-être** ☐ **pas du tout**

exerçons, mais est-ce bien le cas ☐ **oui** ☐ **non** ☐ **peut-être** ☐ **pas du tout**

ne soit pas ☐ **oui** ☐ **non** ☐ **peut-être** ☐ **pas du tout**

les dispositions étaient prises pour en assurer partout l'exécution qui ne pouvait rencontrer de difficulté que dans les détails insignifiants, lorsque Foud Pacha profitant d'une objection faite en faveur des Druses par un des membres de la Commission, suspendit la mesure.

Discutée de nouveau, modifiée et approuvée définitivement depuis plus de quinze jours, elle reste aujourd'hui à l'état de lettre-morte, sans qu'il soit question de la remettre en vigueur, lorsque chaque jour de retard aggrave une misère à laquelle elle est depuis longtemps remède.

Telle est la situation du Lituan, celle des autres parties du pays offre partout un tableau presque aussi triste.

A Beyrouth, à Saïda, dans toutes les villes du littoral, l'encombrement des réfugiés est toujours le même, et les ressources diminuent en même temps que les besoins.

Dans la Beguin, les secours ne parvenaient qu'à dans les villages placés dans le rayon d'action du Comité Français, constitué à Zablé, pour distribuer l'argent des souscriptions.

Aucune mesure sérieuse n'a été prise pour ceux de l'Anti-Liban, des districts de Hasbeya et de Rascheya, restés sous l'action directe des Turcs. Partout, de ces côtes, la situation est la même qu'il y a six mois : les maisons détruites ne se relèvent pas, la population mourant de faim est en grande partie réfugiée aux alentours.

Les Chrétiens des environs de Hasselbeck commençaient, comme ceux de Zabte, à se réinstaller. Malgré la présence d'une garnison Turque assez considérable sur ce point, des désordres venaient, dit-on, d'avoir lieu, et, menacés par les Moudjahids et les Moutazis, ces Chrétiens auraient été obligés de quitter leur pays. J'attends des détails sur ce fait qui vient de m'être signalé.

Dans les districts de Safra et Dikka, situés au nord-est de Tripoli, les disorders continuent, les Chrétiens sont chaque jour victimes de nouvelles vexations. Les exactions des Chefs ont atteint leur comble presque complète, sans que l'autorité de Tripoli paraisse se préoccuper de remédier à cette situation.

À Alep, quelques troubles y eurent lieu et ont nécessité l'envoi de deux bataillons de Trailleurs, pris dans la garnison de Damas.

Tout le pays aux environs de Hama et de Hama, entre Dama et Alep, est ravagé par les Arabes. Les nouvelles qui me parviennent de ces localités sont assez inquiétantes.

A Danna, la situation est peut-être encore plus mauvaise que celle que j'exprime dans mon Rapport du 4 Novembre. L'effet des premières mesures de rigueur de l'Etat Parla diminué tous les jours, les Musulmans ont osé livrer à des actes de violence conservent une attitude hostile et menaçante, les Chrétiens, dont rien n'a assuré l'avenir, perdent la confiance que l'intervention Européenne leur avait un instant rendue ; le désarmement des Algériens d'Abd-el-Kader, que l'autorité Ottomane persiste à exiger, augmente leurs inquiétudes. L'émigration continue et nous aurions déjà quitté la ville si des mesures n'avaient été prises pour les en empêcher. La présence de la Commission a pu encore ranimer leur confiance pendant quelques jours, le dévouement n'a été que plus grand ensuite, lorsqu' aussitôt après son départ les travaux, commencés la veille de son arrivée dans le quartier détruit, ont complètement cessé, lorsque soulagement qu'ils avaient espéré, ils sont retombés dans leur

Dans le Hautan la position des Chrétiens est toujours aussi précaire : ils vivent sous la menace incessante des Arabes et des Druses qui s'y sont réfugiés.

et apprécier la valeur des renseignements qui me parviennent des localités plus ou moins éloignées. Je suis allé, par quelques officiers de mon Etat-Major, sous le prétexte d'un voyage à Jérusalem, pour enlever à cette excursion tout caractère d'investigation.

Ces officiers m'ont quitté le 12 Décembre à Sagan, et ont longé la côte en passant Sour (Tyr), St Jean d'Acre, et Kaifa. De là ils ont traversé la Galilée et la Samarie par Nazareth, le Thabor, Djennin et Naplous, pour gagner ensuite Jérusalem, et ils sont revenus par Ramleh s'embarquer à Jaffa, sur un des courriers de la côte qui les a ramené le 30 Décembre à Beyrouth.

Le résumé des observations faites pendant ce voyage complétera le tableau de la situation générale de la Syrie.

Saida, ainsi que je l'ai jugé moi-même, était dans une situation telle que j'ai dû y envoyer une compagnie d'Infanterie, l'Agent Consulaire de France, et un de nos religieux, avaient été grossièrement insultés par des soldats Turcs. Les Musulmans excités menaçaient les Chrétiens, l'autorité de l'Agent du Mudir était impuissante pour calmer l'agitation, et n'aurait pu empêcher le désordre s'il s'était produit. La présence de nos troupes a bien vite calmé l'effervescence, et rendu la confiance aux Chrétiens de la ville et à plus de 3,000 réfugiés des districts de Djezzin, de Hasbeyra, et de Rascheyra.

Sour, l'ancienne Tyr, n'est plus aujourd'hui qu'une misérable bourgade de 100 habitants, dont 1,500 à 2,000 Chrétiens, le reste Musulmans et Métis. On y trouve, en outre, 2,000 réfugiés de Rascheyra, Fokhira, de Munes et d'El Kefir; ces malheureux installés

Le pays aux environs et jusqu'à Acre est assez tranquille, les Métis, qui forment la majeure de la population, n'inquiètent plus les Chrétiens, bien qu'ils aient aidé au pillage pendant les derniers événements, et tout porte à croire qu'ils se détacheraient facilement des Turcs qu'ils détestent, s'ils ne se croyaient pas condamnés à leur sort.

Et Jean d'Acre compte encore une population sédentaire de 11,000 à 12,000 âmes, dont 9,000 Musulmans, 2,000 Chrétiens, et 300 ou 400 Juifs. Les fortifications restaurées et augmentées par Ibrahim Pacha, mais nombreuses dégradations que l'on ne s'est jamais préoccupé de réparer, sont cependant, du côté de la mer principalement, en assez bon état. L'armement est de 150 canons de tous les calibres, de toutes les origines, et de 18 mortiers, presque tous hors de service et montés sur des affûts vermoulus. Le Gouvernement vient toutefois d'envoyer à Acre comme il l'a fait à Tripoli, quelques pièces nouvelles pour armer les défenses du côté de la mer. La garnison est de 10,000 soldats de Nizam, et de 350 canonniers pris parmi les Musulmans de la ville. Le Pacha n'a guère qu'une population de 60,000 habitants, parmi lesquels 20,000 Chrétiens.

L'esprit des Musulmans d'Acre a de tout temps été très mauvais; aussi les Chrétiens ont-ils eu de sérieuses inquiétudes pendant les derniers événements. Le moindre incident pouvait être le signal des massacres, et s'ils n'ont point eu lieu, on le doit exclusivement au dévouement du Mufti. Malgré cette justice que les Européens et les Chrétiens de la ville lui rendent unanimement et publiquement, ce Musulman Adjalab Aboul Nada a seul été arrêté à la suite d'une enquête faite par l'Amiral Mustapha Pacha sur ce qui s'était passé à Acre, emmené à Beyrouth et exilé à Rhodes par Fuad Pacha, comme accusé d'avoir poussé ses co-religionnaires au désordre.

principalement par les canonnières connues pour leur fanatisme, ne cessent de menacer et d'insulter les Chrétiens, leur annonçant hautement que les massacres ne seront le jour très prochain où les Français quitteront le pays.

À Haïfa, les inquiétudes sont moins vives, parcequ'il se trouve toujours sur la rade quelques bâtiments européens qui donnent de la confiance aux Chrétiens du reste peu nombreux dans cette

À Nazareth et dans toute la Galilée, le calme est rétabli depuis le débarquement des troupes Françaises, mais les inquiétudes ont été vives pendant les événements du Liban et de Damas; et si les Chrétiens ont été respectés, tous déclarent hautement que, n'ayant aucune confiance dans les Agents Turcs dont le mauvais vouloir leur était connu et dont l'impuissance est manifeste, ils ne le doivent qu'à l'énergie d'un Chef de Bédouins, Aqilé Agha, qui, par haine des Turcs, s'est fait ouvertement leur défenseur et a maintenu les Musulmans prêts à les attaquer. La belle conduite de ce Chef est comparée dans tout le pays à celle d'Abd-el-Kader à Damas, comme l'Emir il aime la France et lui paraît dévoué, c'est un homme à encourager, car si un désordre se produisait dans

la Galilée, ce serait encore aujourd'hui le seul secours sur lequel les Chrétiens pourraient compter.

Il y a également à Nazareth un Musulman influent dont la conduite pendant les derniers troubles mérite les plus grands éloges: c'est le Né Mahmed Saphidi, qui a été décoré par l'Empereur auquel il fut présenté à Paris par M. de Sauley qu'il avait sauvé des mains des Bédouins, dans une excursion scientifique à Tibériade.

À Nablous et dans la Samarie, le pays est agité et presque inconnu aux Turcs; il y a quelques années à peine, est maintenant tranquille sous l'administration d'un homme vigoureux qui n'a cependant avec lui que 300 soldats, le Gouverneur Jossel Bey, qui a apporté dans son commandement les traditions

que contiennent les mauvaises dispositions des Musulmans vis-à-vis des Chrétiens ne sont pas douteuses. Ces derniers tremblent de voir se réaliser les bruits habituellement répandus sur notre prochain départ. Ils savent que, si nous quittons la Syrie avant d'avoir donné au pays des garanties sérieuses de tranquillité, la réaction contre eux sera terrible, et qu'ils ne peuvent compter pour les défendre sur les Turcs, dont ils n'attendent ni protection ni justice.

Quant à la Judée et à la Vallée du Jourdain, c'est toujours le pays de l'incertitude et du désordre. Les routes à quelque distance de Jérusalem ne sont plus sûres, les Chrétiens ne voyagent pas sans l'exposer, leur situation est intolérable, et ils sentent qu'ils sont à la merci du fanatisme des Musulmans.

Jérusalem, Bethlém, et leur banlieues, sont peut-être les parties de toute la Syrie dans lesquelles on s'aperçoit le moins de l'effet produit par les derniers événements. Le contact momentané des Européens, attirés par les Saints Lieux, semble avoir rendu les Musulmans plus calmes, mais leur fanatisme. Néanmoins, la nouvelle des massacres y a produit une grande émotion, et les Chrétiens ont eu pendant plusieurs jours de sérieuses inquiétudes, surtout par l'attitude des soldats Turcs qui cherchaient à pousser au désordre, et par l'insouciance des autorités qui paraissaient fermer à double les yeux pour ne pas voir le mal prêt à se produire. Là, comme partout, après la certitude qu'il n'en sera rien, tout l'espoir est dans l'intervention et dans les garanties qu'elle donnera à la Syrie.

À Ramlé et à Jaffa, même situation, même inquiétudes. La situation que j'ai voulu présenter telle qu'elle

1. Les troubles commencés dans le Liban, continués à Damas, ne sont pas tout le reste de la Syrie, cela n'est dû qu'à l'arrivée des troupes Françaises. Partout, les dispositions étaient prises pour une extermination générale et personne ne m'a aujourd'hui un vaste empire bardi de longue main par le fanatisme Musul.

2. Qu'une propagande active existe, encore à l'heure qu'il est, à la haine contre les Chrétiens, les populations jusqu'ici indifférentes des localités où ils vivaient depuis longtemps sous la plus grande sécurité.

3. Que les mauvaises dispositions des soldats et de la plupart des agents de la Porte sont évidentes, et qu'ils ne paraissent point aux Chrétiens une intervention qu'ils considèrent comme une violation de l'islamisme.

4. Que pour encourager les Musulmans, ôter l'espoir et la confiance aux Chrétiens, des bruits sont habituellement répandus sur le prochain départ des troupes Françaises, l'appui que les Anglais prêteront à la Porte pour empêcher son autorité complète sur tout le pays, aux Druses pour les préserver d'ennemis qu'ils ont eue.

5. Que l'opinion générale est que Fuad Pacha obéit à une direction qui lui est donnée de Constantinople, et qu'il ne cherche qu'à gagner du temps et à menager les Musulmans et les Druses.

6. Que la misère des Chrétiens est horrible à Damas, dans le Liban, dans l'Anti-Liban, et dans des villes de la côte, et que partout la mortalité augmente dans des proportions effrayantes.

7. Que dans tout le pays l'industrie et le commerce souffrent lorsqu'ils n'ont point complètement cessé.

8. Que les rançons et les bruits augmentent et que l'espoir des Chrétiens est dans l'intervention de l'Europe, dans la France qui est venue si généreusement à leur secours, mais qui aussi,

sous peine de perdre son influence et de faillir au rôle qu'elle a entrepris au nom de l'humanité, est obligée aujourd'hui de réaliser cet espoir en obtenant pour la Syrie des mesures assez efficaces pour garantir sérieusement l'avenir.

Les Commissaires Européens étudient en ce moment la question d'organisation, et leurs rapports mettront bientôt, je l'espère, les Gouvernements à même de s'en occuper. Le remède est là aussi bien pour le présent que pour l'avenir. Les Turcs, dans les conditions où ils se trouvent, ont intérêt à affaiblir les Chrétiens et à ménager les Musulmans et les Druses; les premiers n'ont donc à attendre d'eux ni satisfaction réelle, ni secours sérieux, ni justice.

Je ne reviens point sur les bases d'organisation que j'ai développées dans mes précédents rapports; elles restent pour moi le moyen le plus pratique pour arriver à créer, sans susciter de nouveaux embarras, sans trop froisser les susceptibilités, un état de choses qui puisse donner aux Chrétiens la sécurité et la tranquillité dont ils ont besoin pour se relever. Si l'administration de toute la Syrie ne peut être chrétienne et indépendante—ce qui serait évidemment la meilleure solution—si elle ne peut être détachée de la Porte, dont

l'intégrité, le Liban du moins doit avoir une organisation chrétienne, et si nous l'obtenons nous aurons fait beaucoup pour tout le pays et accompli dignement le rôle que la France a accepté. Une idée vient de faire dans ces derniers temps d'assez grande progrès ici, et se trouve aujourd'hui discutée par la presse Européenne, c'est celle de la Viceroyauté de Fuad Pacha. Elle paraît être l'idée Anglaise, et il est hors de doute qu'elle est poursuivie activement par le Commissaire Extraordinaire du Sultan qui cherche à la propager par tous les moyens possibles. Je ne veux point apprécier encore si l'homme qui, de plus de six mois, cherche à entrever le bien que l'Europe veut faire ici—celui qui offre toutes les garanties désirables, mais il est Turc, son action restera Turque comme ses tendances; et si elle parvient à maintenir la tranquillité, elle ne donnera jamais le bien-être à des populations qu'il faut replacer dans la position qu'elles doivent occuper dans la société moderne, ni évincer ni l'oppression ni l'esclavage. Le Liban a eu son temps de prospérité, avec une organisation qui a pour elle une longue expérience: qu'on lui rende cette organisation, si l'on ne peut en donner au pays entier une meilleure et une plus complète.

Tout en préparant aujourd'hui les chances de succès de l'idée qu'il poursuit, Fuad Pacha ne sort pas du rôle qui lui a été tracé par son Gouvernement et ne perd pas de vue le but à atteindre: celui de placer toutes les parties du pays sous l'action directe des Turcs et des Musulmans. Il ne suffira pour lever tous les doutes, s'il en existait encore à ce sujet, de citer ici deux faits qui viennent de se produire. L'un des deux est du reste les premières conséquences de la

nomination de Fuad Pacha au Commandement de la Montagne du Nord. Fuad Pacha a immédiatement ordonné l'abolition de la conscription, et il a protesté contre la nouvelle atteinte au statu quo basé sur une organisation qui pourrait être modifiée que par celle que l'Europe pourrait établir définitivement au pays.

En nommant Joseph Bey Karim et en paraissant ainsi accorder une satisfaction aux Chrétiens, parce que la presse avait exagéré ses services, son influence et sa valeur, Fuad Pacha avait apprécié l'importance réelle du jeune Chef Maronite; il savait que dans aucun cas elle n'arriverait à lui créer un obstacle sérieux, et il prévoyait avec le discernement profond qu'il faut lui reconnaître, que ce commandement qu'il paraissait lui donner à la sollicitation de l'opinion publique deviendrait dès qu'il le voudrait la source des dissensions et des oppositions qui doivent nuire à la rupture du faisceau qu'ont formé en face du danger commun les Chrétiens de toutes les communions.

Cette mesure, habilement exploitée par les agents du Pacha, fut bientôt présentée dans tout le pays comme une organisation exclusivement en faveur des Maronites seuls protégés par la France. Les Grecs, froissés de ce que l'on ne tenait pas compte de leurs désirs ou de leurs sympathies, murmuraient et semblaient se rapprocher des Turcs, qui leur faisaient entrevoir dans l'organisation de tout le pays un commandement à part confié à l'un d'eux. Ces impressions tendirent à amener une réaction complète, des haines circulèrent chez les Grecs pour demander la Vico-Royauté de Fuad Pacha, et l'influence éclairée des évêques ne put seule conjurer ce qui paraissait un malheur. Les Grecs, qui ont une politique Turque. L'opposition des Grecs était naturelle: nous voulons bien, disent-ils, accepter une organisation à laquelle nous sommes déjà habitués, nous

soumettre à des influences reconnues de tout temps; mais si la mesure est nouvelle, si le Chef est pris en dehors des familles importantes auxquelles nous avons toujours obéi, on doit consulter notre choix aussi bien que celui des Maronites.

Le second fait est aussi significatif. Il y a sept à huit jours, de cavaliers de Joseph Karim envoyé à Abadié, village situé du Meten à proximité d'Hannana et dans les limites du Cammaccamat Chrétien, furent insultés par les Druses et l'un d'eux fut frappé et blessé légèrement. Fuad Pacha sous le prétexte que quelques Druses de Djouré, fuyant les arrestations, s'étaient réfugiés dans les bois aux environs d'Abadié et que des désordres pouvaient se produire, envoya Ahmed Pacha, Gouverneur de Beyrouth, sur les lieux, faisant ainsi intervenir directement l'autorité Turque dans la Montagne Chrétienne, et le fit suivre une heure après d'un détachement de 150 soldats du Nizam qui se sont établis à

Fuad Pacha n'attendait que l'occasion d'occuper le Liban. Le Cammaccamat du Nord, comme il a déjà fait occuper Abadié, la partie sud de la Montagne. L'occasion s'est présentée, il l'a saisi. Joseph Karim a protesté en demandant le retrait immédiat des troupes Ottomannes de son commandement, où seul il peut maintenir l'ordre, et en offrant sa démission

la question: l'un et l'autre ont écrit à Fuad Pacha, qui répond d'une manière évasive à Joseph Karim de conserver son commandement, sans lui parler des troupes. L'affaire en est là, et j'ai vu du Représentant de la France que d'un commun accord les Commissaires Européens allaient protester de leur côté contre un acte qui constitue une nouvelle violation à un ordre de choses qui ne peut être modifié que par une organisation définitive.

Le but de Fuad Pacha est donc évident. Il a déjà introduit l'action directe des Turcs dans la Montagne Druse, en créant les quatre commandements de Deir-el-Kaim, Montara, d'Abé, et de Djézir. Il cherche aujourd'hui à désunir les

de la nomination d'un Chef Maronite, en faisant entrevoir qu'elle paraît être, pourrait, si des difficultés s'élevaient en Europe, si les Puissances voulaient en finir avec cette question de Syrie, passer pour une solution acceptable.

Fuad Pacha, il faut le reconnaître, a l'intelligence de la situation et pourrait avec constance et persévérance le but qu'il se propose depuis son arrivée ici. Il veut affaiblir les Chrétiens et cherche pour cela à les désunir. Il veut augmenter l'influence Musulmane et méconner les Druses. Tous ses actes sont habilement calculés. Tout l'effort qu'il cherche à produire consiste à satisfaire l'opinion publique par des mesures qu'il annonce à grand bruit, mais qu'il ne met plus à exécution dès que l'effet est produit. En lisant l'exposé de ces mesures, on croit à des faits importants, en cherchant les résultats obtenus, on ne tarde pas à se convaincre qu'elles ne sont qu'un moyen de calmer peu à peu les sentiments d'indignation qui ont poussé l'Europe à s'occuper des événements de Syrie, et de gagner du temps.

Veuillez, &c.

ALFRED

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 30.)

(No. 160.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 29, 1861

IN my despatch No. 1,003 of the 31st of July last I stated that M. Thouvenel in a conference held that day on the question of the occupation of Syria, had said that circumstances might arise over which the French Government could have no control, such as illness among the troops, or continued bad weather on a very exposed coast, which might physically prevent the fulfilment of Article V of the Convention, namely, that which fixes the period of occupation.

It appears, from such information as I can obtain, that the latter of these

contingencies is not unlikely to arise, and that it may be next to impossible to embark troops from Beyrout during the month of March, and even of April.

I am tempted, therefore, to ask your Lordship whether advantage may not be taken of this uncertainty, and whether it may not form the basis of an arrangement which, while meeting to a certain extent the wishes of the French Government, may still realize the desire of Her Majesty's Government for the early evacuation of Syria. Might it not be agreed that squadrons from the different Powers should be sent in lieu of the army of occupation, but that, in consequence of the uncertain weather generally prevailing on the coast of Syria during the months of March and April, and the consequent difficulty of embarking troops at that season, or of keeping ships on the coast, the change should not be effected until the 15th of April or 1st of May.

I should, however, state fairly to your Lordship that I have no doubt whatever that if, when the Conference meets, the Porte shall demand the strict observance of the Convention of the 5th of September, and that that demand shall be met by Her Majesty's Government, the French Government will meet to the contingency which I have alluded to above, but I am equally sure that the enforcing the fulfilment of such a demand will cause the greatest irritation here, and I am apprehensive of the consequences it may have on the future relations of France with the Porte.

In submitting this suggestion for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, I rather wish to ask that latitude to this extent should be left me, in case I should eventually consider it desirable to make use of it than that any formal proposal should now be made to the French Government. An arrangement of this nature should rather be the result of the discussions of the Conference than of an understanding between the two Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 30.)

No. 105. Confidential.

My Lord,

Paris, January 29, 1860.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 156 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform you that the Emperor.

I stated to His Majesty that I had asked permission to see him in consequence of the letter which he had done me the honour to address to me, which required longer explanations than could well be given in writing. Referring to the contents of the letter itself, I said that His Majesty had appealed to me to obtain the equitable consideration by Her Majesty's Government of the state of Syria, while it was my duty to appeal to His Majesty for an equitable consideration of the engagements which he had contracted.

Although I had taken the precaution to carry with me a copy of the Protocol of the 3rd of August, which regulates and assigns the reasons for the expedition of a body of French troops to Syria, I fear that I failed in making His Majesty clearly understand the difference between the duties assigned to them and those devolving on the European Commission, nor did he seem to be aware that he is positively bound to withdraw his troops at the period fixed by the Convention of the 5th September. His Majesty constantly said not only that he was ready, but that he was most anxious to bring his troops back to France for their maintenance in Syria was a great expense to him, and that he would do so as soon as a government was organized for the Lebanon, as he should then consider himself absolved from all further responsibility. His

was difficult for him to turn a deaf ear to the numerous petitions which were addressed to him from the Maronites, praying for continued protection, that the Catholic Party in France were narrowly watching all his proceedings, and that he could not excuse himself either to one or the other, were the departure of the French troops to be the signal for fresh massacres.

I said that I thought His Majesty might combine the protection which he wished to ensure to the Maronites, with a due regard for the engagements that he had contracted. Might not, I asked, the troops of occupation be replaced by naval squadrons on the coast, which would afford all the protection required, without violating the sovereign rights of the Sultan? The Emperor objected that the interior of the country would not come within the observation of a naval force; but I replied that any one who knew anything of those countries might feel certain that the presence of squadrons on the coast, able to disembark, if necessary, troops of marines, would be quite sufficient for the purpose of preventing any great disturbances. I pressed this arrangement on the Emperor very strongly, and I am not without hopes that my observations made some impression upon His Majesty.

The Emperor having, in the course of the conversation, constantly alluded to the contents of General Beaufort's despatch, of which I had the honour to transmit a copy to your Lordship yesterday, as showing that the state of Syria was a prolongation of the occupation necessary, I said that although I admitted that His Majesty was justified in relying on the reports of his agents, I must be permitted to claim for my Government an equal confidence in the veracity of British Agents. But the reports received from Syria by His Majesty's Government differed in many essential points from those of General Beaufort. I would not trouble His Majesty, I continued, by entering into too many details, but there was one very essential point to which I would allude; viz., that whereas General Beaufort seemed to think that continued French occupation of Syria was to be a panacea for all the misery to which the inhabitants of that unfortunate country were now subjected, there were many who were convinced that the occupation tended indirectly to perpetuate them, that is, that the Maronites, trusting under French protection to exterminate their feudal enemies, and obtain possession of their territory, would do nothing for themselves, while they nourished the most preposterous ideas of becoming the sole rulers of the Mountain. On the other hand, the presence of French troops inspired not unnaturally considerable jealousy in the Turks, and mistrust and irritation among the Druses; so that, in fact, all progress towards a settled form of government seemed at a dead lock.

I did not omit to notice, by citing the example of Rome, how easily a temporary occupation is converted into a permanent one, and the Emperor replied, without hesitation, that I was quite right.

I will not trouble your Lordship with any further details of this conversation, which had little other apparent result than an expression of the Emperor's desire that the influence of all the Powers would be employed to engage the Porte to institute, without further delay, a Government of some kind in the Mountain.

I am persuaded myself—and this persuasion is not so much founded on the Emperor's own assurances to me as on a comparison of what I hear from others—that the hesitation evinced by His Majesty to order the evacuation of Syria proceeds from no other motives than those alleged by himself and by M. Thouvenot, and that, were the organization of an Administration of the Lebanon to be announced as complete, to-morrow all opposition to the departure of the troops would cease. If the Legislative Body had not been about to meet, we should, I believe, have heard nothing upon the subject at all, but the Emperor's resolution wishes to counteract the bad impression made in some minds through his proceedings with regard to the Pope, by pointing to the protection

his troops are withdrawn from the former country before its reorganization is complete, he may be accused of abandoning the Maronites to the tender mercies of the Turks. However, I am quite prepared to find that others do not share this opinion; nor can I expect that, after all that has occurred, justifiable doubts will not be entertained of the Emperor's good faith. I merely, as in duty bound, state my own convictions, leaving it to Her Majesty's Government to give such weight to them as they may consider them to deserve.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

No. 130.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1861.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 152 of the 28th instant.

Her Majesty's Government trust that, with some further explanations, the question of the evacuation of Syria by European troops may be settled by general agreement.

M. Thouvernel fears that Syria may be left by the French armed force in a worse state than they found it. But to arrive at this conclusion he adopts premises for which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, there is no solid foundation. He says that the Mountain then had an Administration of its own, founded on an arrangement between the five Powers and the Porte. At the present moment there is no Government at all except the supreme power of the Porte.

The state of the case appears to Her Majesty's Government somewhat differently. A Commission has been instituted with a view, not only to insure the punishment of the guilty and reparation to the sufferers, but to organize an Administration for the Lebanon calculated to ensure peace for the future. This Commission has not yet reported. If its report tends to a more independent action of the Porte's officers in Syria, it will probably be rejected at Constantinople. In the arrangements proposed by the Porte tend to deprive the Christians of their privileges, those arrangements will not be approved of by the five Powers.

The discussions may be protracted, they may be extended over many months, but the inference to be drawn from these circumstances is not that European troops should remain in Syria indefinitely but that until new provisions are agreed upon, the arrangements should be maintained.

It is true that sudden disorders may at times require a prompt remedy. It is true that, after what has occurred, the exercise of authority by a Christian might excite apprehension, and therefore no such person should be appointed. But a Christian Kaimakam has been already appointed. He can fairly complain of the selection. He exercises, and will continue to exercise, the powers belonging to the Kaimakam of the Christians. He is himself a Maronite of a very fair and conciliatory character. All that appears necessary to Her Majesty's Government, therefore, is—

1. That the French should maintain a strong force on the coast of Syria for the protection and succour of the Christian inhabitants.

2. That the French should maintain a strong force on the coast of Syria for the protection and succour of the Christian inhabitants.

Her Majesty's Government are glad to receive the admission of M. Thouvernel, that, if the Porte should insist on the evacuation of Syria at the period stipulated by the Convention, the troops must go.

For the present, the matter must rest on this issue. If the Porte should decline to be a Party to any fresh Convention, stipulating for the continued occupation of Syria, the Convention of September falls to the ground, and the evacuation will take place at the termination of the period during which that Convention is in force. The responsibility of France towards Europe and towards the Maronites will be amply covered by this proceeding.

Yours, &c.
J. RUSSELL.

Ash Pasha to M. Mururus.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Mururus, January 28.)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Le 16 Janvier, 1861

J'AI l'honneur de vous envoyer, ci-joint, copie d'une lettre que son Excellence l'Amir Pacha a écrite à la réception de l'accusation lancée gratuitement contre nos autorités militaires au sujet de la première opération qu'elles ont faite dans la Montagne Druse.

Vous voudrez bien, M. l'Ambassadeur, vous en prévaloir pour détruire complètement l'effet que des rapports erronés ont pu produire autour de vous relativement à la conduite de nos troupes, conduite irréprochable sous tous les rapports, et à laquelle sont dus les résultats dont tout le monde reconnaît aujourd'hui la valeur.

Je vous prie, &c.
A. V. D.

Inclosure in No. 365*

Fund Pasha to Ash Pasha

Le 2 Janvier, 1861

J'AI remarqué avec un sentiment bien pénible, dans une des correspondances de nos Ambassades que votre Altesse avait bien voulu me transmettre l'accusation assez grave contre les autorités militaires Ottomannes au sujet de la première opération qu'elles ont faite dans la Montagne Druse. Le Général de Beaufort s'est plaint à son Gouvernement de ce que, non seulement je n'ai pas accepté franchement sa co-opération, mais que j'ai favorisé la fuite des Druses vers le Hauran.

Le Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionnaire Français a un caractère trop loyal pour ne pas admettre que je lui ai donné toute la part qui a été convenue entre lui et moi dans toutes les opérations faites dans la Montagne. Je n'ai rien fait de contraire à cette entente. J'ai accepté toute sa co-opération dans les limites que la Convention de Paris avait tracées, et que l'affaire elle-même pouvait admettre. Si j'ai rendu inutile la présence des troupes Françaises, ce n'est pas un crime pour moi.

Quant à ce qu'avance M. de Beaufort au sujet de la retraite de quelques Chefs Druses vers le Hauran, il semble nous accuser de leur faciliter les moyens d'échapper à la punition que j'ai été appelé à leur infliger. Ce que j'ai fait avant nos opérations par l'arrestation des Chefs Druses les plus influents, et ce que je viens de faire dans ce moment-ci en arrêtant près de 1,500 individus dans trois jours, sans porter la moindre perturbation dans la Montagne, où les Chrétiens se rétablissent peu-à-peu, donne un démenti éclatant à toutes ces assertions.

Ceci établi, je passe à l'examen des faits: tout homme qui connaît ce pays et sa configuration topographique n'hésitera pas un moment à déclarer que, quelle que soit la vigilance qu'on puisse mettre, il est de toute impossibilité de couper la retraite aux individus ou à de petites bandes qui, nourris dans ces montagnes, en connaissent tous les détours; ils ont mille issues pour échapper, tout rocher leur sert de route, tandis que, pour ceux qui les poursuivent, ils ne trouvent pas même des chemins pour aller d'un lieu à un autre. J'ai présumé en personne ces opérations, je me suis donné toutes les peines du monde, et je me suis même, je pourrais le dire, exposé à tous les dangers pour faire tomber entre mes mains les coupables qui cherchaient leur impunité dans leur fuite, et vous n'avez pu faire tomber dans nos filets qu'une centaine d'individus. Ce sont ces difficultés qui m'ont fait chercher d'autres moyens qui viennent d'obtenir une réussite complète. Je ne prétends pas avoir une grande compétence dans la tactique militaire; mais je puis m'appuyer sur une autorité que tout le monde doit reconnaître, c'est celle de Férîk Ismaïl Pacha (Général Khaty), qui est la seconde en personne dans toutes ces opérations, et qui est prêt à répondre à tous les reproches qu'on pourra faire contre nos actes.

Veillez, &c.

No. 366.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 132)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1861

M. MUSURUS called upon me yesterday, and informed me that he had received a telegram from Aali Pasha dated the 28th instant, and stating that a proposal had been made by the French Government to the Porte for the convocation of the Conference, in order to decide whether the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period specified in the Convention, or should be deferred. The desire of the Porte, Aali Pasha went on to say, was that the foreign occupation of Syria should close at the time already fixed, and that the Turkish Government considered that it was fully competent to provide alone for the tranquillity of Syria and the security of its inhabitants. Finally, Aali Pasha desired M. Musurus to ascertain the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the meeting of the Conference, and if it should meet, how far the Porte might reckon upon a result in conformity with its desire to put an end to the present state of things in Syria.

I informed M. Musurus that Her Majesty's Government could not give any advice to the Porte respecting the re-assembling of the Conference. That Her Majesty's Government will direct the Ambassador of Her Majesty to attend such Conference only in case of the presence of the Representatives of the Sultan at the Conference. That it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that, in case the Porte does not wish to renew the Convention, it should declare to the allied Powers that the Sultan has means to prevent a renewal of massacre, and that if other conditions are agreed to, the arrangement of 1843 for the government of the Mountain will remain in force.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 367

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

No. 64.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which M. Thouvenot addressed on the 18th instant to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, expressing the desire of the Government of the Emperor to ascertain the views of the Porte on the subject of the evacuation of Syria, and as to its views on the question of the presence of foreign troops in that country. The Porte should be made aware that it will give that the massacre shall not be renewed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 368.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

No. 64.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1861.

M. MUSURUS called upon me yesterday, and informed me that he had received a telegram from Aali Pasha dated the 28th instant, and stating that a proposal had been made by the French Government to the Porte for the convocation of the Conference, in order to decide whether the evacuation of

Syria should be effected at the period specified in the Convention, or should be deferred. The dears of the Porte, Aali Pasha went on to say, was that the foreign occupation of Syria should cease at the time already fixed, and that the Turkish Government considered that it was fully competent to provide alone for the safety of the country. Aali Pasha desired M. Musurus to ascertain the opinion of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the meeting of the Conference, and if it should meet, how far the Porte might reckon upon a result in conformity with its desire to put an end to the present state of things in Syria.

I informed M. Musurus that Her Majesty's Government could not give any definite answer to the question whether the Government would direct the Ambassador of Her Majesty to attend such Conference only in case of the presence of the Representative of the Sultan at the Conference; that it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that, in case the Porte does not wish to renew the Convention, it should declare to the allied Powers that the Sultan has means to prevent a renewal of the massacre, and that until other conditions are agreed to, the arrangement of 1845 for the government of the Mountain will remain in force.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 369.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

No. 85.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 31, 1861

WITH reference to what is contained in your Excellency's despatch No. 50 of the 19th instant, I have to state to you that if the Turkish Government entertain the sentiments which Aali Pasha has expressed to you, they will of course state them when the Report of the Commission on the Affairs of Syria has been made, and has to be considered by the Porte and the Five Powers.

In the meantime the Sultan's Government will, no doubt, consider itself bound to adhere to the arrangements made in 1842 and 1845.

It is not because the Christians have been the victims of massacre and outrage that they are to be deprived of any of the safeguards which, in other years, were solemnly promised to be given to them by the organs of the Sublime Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 370

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 134)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 31, 1861.

I AM sorry that Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to grant your Excellency that discretion which you propose in your despatch No. 160 of the 20th instant.

On reading your Excellency's various despatches and their inclosures, it is obvious that the French Government maintain that until some new mode of governing Syria has been devised, which will prevent conflicts between Druses and Maronites for the future, the European or French occupation ought to continue.

If France continues on this ground, it is obvious that a postponement for two months would merely strengthen the Church party in France and in Syria, which desires to deprive the Turks of the Province of Syria. Should the French Government entirely abandon this ground, and ask for a renewal of the Convention to the 1st of May, on the ground of weather, you will inform me of the circumstance, and at the same time desire the Ambassadors of Austria and Turkey at Paris to communicate it to their Governments.

It may be necessary to repeat that Her Majesty would not authorize you

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to attend any Conference on the affairs of Syria at which the Representative of Turkey should not be present.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 371

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 135. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 3, 1861

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 165, Confidential, of the 29th instant, reporting, in continuation of your despatch No. 156 of the 28th instant, the substance of a conversation which your Excellency has had with His Imperial Majesty on the subject of the prolonged occupation of Syria. Her Majesty's Government are willing to make every allowance for the Emperor's personal position. The Maronites in Syria, a fierce and implacable tribe, wish to exterminate the Druses, and are anxious to violate the Convention of 1845.

The Emperor alleges as one reason for wishing to prolong the occupation of Syria by French troops that he could not turn a deaf ear to the numerous appeals to him from the Maronites, who are anxious to see the Druses exterminated. This is tantamount to saying that if the Druses were exterminated, the British Government, and the other Powers, would be obliged to withdraw their troops from Syria, and the Maronites would be left to their own devices.

The Emperor alleges as one reason for wishing to prolong the occupation of Syria by French troops that he could not turn a deaf ear to the numerous appeals to him from the Maronites, who are anxious to see the Druses exterminated. This is tantamount to saying that if the Druses were exterminated, the British Government, and the other Powers, would be obliged to withdraw their troops from Syria, and the Maronites would be left to their own devices.

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No. 373.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 57.)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch I have received from Fuad Pasha in reply to the representations I addressed to your Excellency respecting the persecution of Protestants at Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 373.

Fuad Pasha to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Mokhdrah, 3 Janvier 1861.

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre du 15 courant, par laquelle vous m'avez adressé une copie d'un rapport que vous m'avez adressé au sujet de la persécution des protestants à Nazareth. Je vous prie d'excuser le retard que j'ai mis à vous répondre, mais j'ai été occupé par d'autres affaires. Je vous prie de croire que j'ai été très sensible à votre intérêt pour les protestants de Nazareth. J'ai adressé à votre Excellence une copie d'un rapport que j'ai reçu de Fuad Pacha en réponse à vos représentations. Par la même occasion, j'ai adressé de sévères réprimandes aux autorités de Nazareth qui n'ont pas fait respecter les lois de l'Empire dans la circonstance que vous relatez, et j'espère qu'à l'avenir aucun fait de ce genre ne se reproduira.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signed) FUAD.

No. 374.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 58.)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from Mokhdrah, January 15, relative to a further requisition I had forwarded to his Excellency Fuad Pasha from the Protestants of Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 374.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.)

Mokhdrah, January 15, 1861.

I HAVE since had the pleasure to read to His Excellency Fuad Pasha the whole of the documents describing the particular acts complained of, together with the representations of the Protestants of Nazareth.

His Excellency stated that his reprimand to the Mudir, together with his order to the authorities of Mokhdrah, which was received on the 7th instant, would have arrived at Nazareth a day or two after the date of Mr. Zeller's last application for redress; that, therefore, there was reason to believe no further disturbance would occur, and his Excellency having written

at the same time to Mustapha Pasha, of Acre, to inquire into and report the whole circumstances, he had no doubt this was now being done.

As the Mokhdrah authorities have shown themselves by their evident bad faith, and connivance at these acts, I have requested the Pasha to suspend both these functionaries from "their respective offices, and to send them to Acre, pending an investigation of their conduct." His Excellency at once agreed to this, and will transmit to Nazareth the necessary instructions in the course of to-day.

No. 375.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 59.)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 375.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, January 17, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the substance of a private letter I have received from Major Fraser, relative to the conduct of the Christian notables on the authority of whose denunciations several hundred Druses have been arrested on the charge of murder.

I have also transmitted to your Excellency a copy of a letter from the same authority, in which the same persons are mentioned as being guilty of the same crimes, and as being the cause of the extraordinary and silence in Mokhdrah.

I am happy to say that Jussuf Keram has been induced to act in opposition to Bishop Tolin on this occasion, and at his invitation some trustworthy evidence will be forthcoming.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 375.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.)

Mokhdrah, January 14, 1861.

THE Christian Deputies assembled here from the different towns and villages of the country had yesterday an interview of two or three hours duration with Fuad Pasha.

His Excellency told them that his mission to Syria had three objects in view, viz., repression, reparation, and reorganization. That the first had been in a great measure accomplished. With the second he was now engaged, but to bring it to a successful termination he required the aid of the Christians. To the third he would proceed by-and-by. In the meantime, as a portion of the second measure, he was proceeding with the punishment of the Druses. In order to accomplish this satisfactorily, he required them to point out the most guilty persons, and to furnish him with the evidence against these persons.

The Christians replied that they could not point out individuals further than they had done; that they had already sent in lists of the leaders in the

various massacres, all of whom were guilty, and they now awaited the infliction of the penalty these deserved at the hands of the Government.

After a long discussion, to show that the summary punishment of hundreds of prisoners, without a formal trial, and the opportunity of bearing the evidence against them, or of making such defence as they could, was a course quite inconsistent with justice, and one which would not be permitted by the general sentiment of Europe, which did not demand a wholesale slaughter, the Christians persisted in saying they could give no more detailed evidence than had already been supplied in furnishing the lists above referred to.

His Excellency then informed them that he would have a declaration drawn up to the effect that they refused to point out the principal among the prisoners now detained here, or to give evidence against individuals, which he would require them to sign. This they also said they could not do.

After some warm discussion, during which his Excellency had occasion to say that at this rate it would be difficult to give them satisfaction; but when he had done the best he could to administer justice without their aid, and to justice officers on what he might consider a proper footing those who were still dissatisfied would be at perfect liberty to proceed to some other portion of the Empire, or to quit it altogether, if they preferred that course,—it was agreed they should consider till to-day, when they would give a final reply.

To-day they appeared before the Commission appointed for the trial of the prisoners, and stated that they adhered to their statement of yesterday. They could give no further evidence than they had already done in sending in the names of the principal criminals, and that having done so, they now expected satisfaction from the Government.

They were informed that the Government having now assumed the position of Public Prosecutor on the lists sent in, without in any degree denying the value of these lists, yet required the aid of the Christians in furnishing the details and evidence against individuals, in order to assure their legal conviction of crimes which the accused would, in all probability, deny as having been committed by the particular individuals under trial, however certain it might be to have been the work of some Druse or Druses. After many vague replies they always returned to the same—that they could not give the evidence required, nor point out any individual more guilty than their neighbours, referring to the long lists formerly sent in as the only aid they could give.

The Mufti then requested them to make that statement in writing; that they declined to do. He then asked them to allow their reply to be written in Court and to affix their signatures; they refused this also. They were willing to speak it, but not to write it or to allow it to be written. It was felt impossible to proceed at this rate, and as some indignation was shown by the Court, at the request of the Christians they were again allowed till to-morrow (15th) to make up their minds what they would do.

And thus the matter stands this evening. I ought to say that I have this information of proceedings from Fuad Pasha himself. I had no intimation that they were to appear before the Commission to-day, otherwise I should have sent to watch the proceedings. This morning I was informed they were writing a petition to Fuad Pasha—they appear afterwards to have changed their intention. I have not the slightest doubt, in my own mind, that these deputies are quite capable of furnishing all the information and evidence that Fuad Pasha requires, and withhold it from factious motives and by concerted plan, evidently with a view to arrest the action of the Government unless it comply with their demand for a mass and general execution of the Druses whose names they have sent in. I believe, of at least 1,200. This idea is borne out by the following facts. I sent yesterday for two of the Hachaya Deputies, I asked them to point out to me the principal criminals among the prisoners now here; they replied to me as they did to Fuad Pasha—an answer evidently preconcerted. After a good deal of fencing I said, "I see you know no details; of course

so them?" "So-and-so," "Oh! yes, I do. The second, I only saw in the Serai at Hachaya during the massacre; the third, I saw also helping the first to murder So-and-so; the fourth, I saw murder such another person," naming the Emir Jaghya, and so on. I quietly wrote down their statement, by which I

found that these two Deputies had been eye-witnesses of several assassinations—several of the assassins being now in prison. Yet, until by a kind of ruse this was extracted, they persisted in telling even me they could point out no one as particularly guilty, and could give no details in evidence, while they were actually capable of giving the very best.

Enclosure 3 in No. 373

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, January 17, 1861

HAVING had reason to fear that his Excellency Fuad Pasha was disposed to take advantage of the false position in which the Druses have placed themselves—probably at the instigation of their Turkish rulers—to deal with the Chiefs of the nation in a manner prompted rather by instincts of jealousy and self-preservation than by those of justice, I have written a despatch to Major Fraser, copy of which I have the honour to inclose, couched in terms calculated to enable that officer to use such language in his confidential communication with his Excellency as shall induce him to act with greater impartiality.

So, I trust your Excellency will not think my expressions too severe. This step has been taken rather as a precaution to guard against a possible tendency, than as a remonstrance against what has taken place: a private letter to Major Fraser, I have begged him to be careful to convey any statements to Fuad Pasha in such a way as shall neither be mortifying nor offensive.

I have, &c.

Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOY

Enclosure 4 in No. 373

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser

Beirut, January 16, 1861

YOU are already aware that in my opinion the best chance of obtaining a good government for this country consists in detaching its administration from its present dependence on a distant capital, in rendering the head of the new government personally responsible for what occurs within his jurisdiction, in recommending to his adoption certain improvements in the administrative departments of his Pashalik; and in subjecting his government to such an amount of supervision as is implied by the residence at his Court of Political Agents from the Five Powers.

With guarantees like these and under the auspices of an able man, it is to be hoped that the motley population of Syria will enjoy greater tranquility and happiness than has yet fallen to their share. The barbarous distinctions which have hitherto divided its inhabitants into numerous tribes and sects may be expected gradually to soften down; differences of race and of religion will to a certain extent become subordinate to those social relations which a community of interests will establish, and the petty feuds which for so many years have deluged not merely the Lebanon, but every quarter of the province with blood, will become as impossible as they now are in Scotland, or in other countries where a state of society at our time not a whit less disorderly has long since disappeared beneath the beneficent influences of civilization.

Under these circumstances, and with this prospect, I am disposed to think that it will be advisable to abolish the anomalous privileges of the Lebanon, and to assimilate its administration with that of the rest of the Province.

Unhappily, there is one consideration which may induce some hesitation in arriving at so natural a conclusion. For years past the Turks have exhibited towards the Christian and Druse inhabitants of this favoured district an ungovernable and vindictive jealousy. Unable to subject them immediately to their own control, they have encouraged anarchy and created discord, in the hopes of

maintaining their own authority. The late events may be considered the result of this policy.

fore, therefore, consenting to deprive these two unhappy tribes of the protection afforded them by their semi-independence, one is naturally anxious to ascertain whether there is any likelihood that the new Governor will take advantage of the circumstance to exhibit towards either of them that traditional ill-will to which they have hitherto been obnoxious. One would hope that an intelligent man, who rightly appreciated his position and his duties, would be ready at once to shagoon the inhuman traditions of the Porte upon this subject, and make it a point of honour to deal so considerately with those whom *happ* will have thus confided to his charge, as to leave them no room to regret the abolition of their ancient privileges. Some assurance upon this head is absolutely necessary; and a sense of justice will require it as much on behalf of the Druses as of the Christians.

intervention of Europe, in the opinion not only of Her Majesty, but also in that of the Government of France, as expressed by M. Thouvenot to Lord Cowley, is directed to insure the future well-being of either tribe. Any securities, therefore, that it may be necessary to require for the Christians, are equally to be extended to the Druses. Nay, the future relations of the Druses to the Government ought even to be a matter of greater solicitude than that of the Christians. These latter will always retain the sympathies of Europe, and the slightest inclination exhibited by the Syrian Government to fail in its duties towards them will be unanimously checked by the Representatives of the Five Powers. But a similar anxiety will never be exhibited on behalf of the Druse nation.

To those who have but superficially examined the course of the late events, the Druses are little better than barbarous assassins, any oppression to which they may become subject will probably be a matter of indifference to a majority of the European Governments, and a jealous or designing Viceroy would be able to vent his malice upon them with impunity. Even in the conduct of an enlightened person as his Excellency Fead Pasha, a tendency to abet the illicit encroachments of the Central Government is observable.

Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded him by the late disturbances, he has put the Porte in complete possession of half the Mountain: he has expropriated the estates of the Druse aristocracy; he has occupied the palace, and even confiscated the personal property, of the wealthiest of the Druse Chiefs, although its owner has not yet been proved guilty of any direct participation in the late events. He has visited the richer Sheikhs with an indiscriminating severity, which his excessive leniency towards the chief citizens of Damascus renders the more striking; and to the posed to the Commission. M. *unpublished*, while the

an impossibility, and that the views of Turkish policy are incorrigible. herefore, we may be willing to harmonise the political privileges of the Mountain with the other institutions of the Province, if can only be on condition that the civil and social rights of all its inhabitants, Christian or non-Christian, are honourably respected.

The right of the Druse nation to the maintenance of an undisturbed existence in the Lebanon, on the slopes of Mount Hermon, in the Wadi et-Tems, and amid the other ancient habitations of their race, is as indefeasible as that of the Christians to occupy the Kerouan. Their privileges are immemorial, and Her Britannic Majesty's Government will never be a party to any arrangement which will put them into jeopardy.

I am myself of opinion that if the future administration of the country were conducted on rational principles, it would be far preferable to entrust the protection of those in whom we are interested to its intelligent and honest than to the doubt.

in operation, they are an embarrassment to the rulers, and a disadvantage to the ruled. If, however, instead of witnessing evidences of a more magnanimous disposition, an inclination is perceptible in

Fead Pasha to take advantage of the false position in which the Druses have

policy which has at last outworn the patience of Europe; if the Druse aristocracy are to be destroyed, their possessions indiscriminately confiscated, the jealousy of a Government which can only maintain its own influence

I shall be justified in consenting to abolish privileges which the persistent injustice of all Turkish authorities would seem to render indispensable; and to unite Druse and Christian under the ægis of a common independence against the pernicious designs of those whom they have learnt to regard as their common enemy, rather than, as they ought to be, their natural protector.

Under any circumstances, I would beg you to represent these views to his Excellency Fead Pasha in such a manner as your discretion may suggest, in order that we may ascertain how far it would be prudent to entrust him with authority over the destinies of the inhabitants of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOY

Inclosure 5 in No. 874.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Palmer

Sir,

Beirut, January 18, 1861.

IN some of my former despatches to your Excellency I have had occasion to allude to the state of disorder which for some time past has been prevailing in the purely Maronite district of Kesrouan.

I now have the honour of transmitting to your Excellency a paper containing certain accusations which the exiled Chiefs of the House of Khazin have preferred against the leader of the insurrection which drove them from their homes.

A perusal of this document will enable your Excellency to perceive that the disorders and the inhuman outrages of which the Lebanon has been for so many years the theatre have been exclusively confined neither to the Mixed districts nor to antagonistic races. In fact, the crimes committed by the Christian followers of Tannus Shakin, on the persons of some of the unfortunate ladies of the Khazin family, exceed anything that has ever been laid to the charge of the Druse nation. It is also, I am assured, a fact too notorious to be disputed, that the rebel leader and his adherents who still remain in undisputed possession of the lands of the exiled Sheikhs, were encouraged and countenanced in their excesses by Bishop Tobia and some of his brother ecclesiastics.

The natural inference from such a condition of affairs would lead one to consider that the so-called privileges of the Lebanon are as conducive to anarchy in the Christian portion of the Mountain as they have been to discord in the Mixed districts, and that the introduction of a strong Government is as necessary in the one quarter as the other.

With regard to Bishop Tobia, who may be considered as one of the chief causes of all the misery and bloodshed which has existed in the Lebanon: I would only say that his removal from the country is an absolute necessity. Unfortunately it will be difficult to discover any direct evidence against him. His baneful influence is perceptible in every disturbance, but his caution and cunning make it rather felt than seen. I intend eventually sounding my French colleague upon this subject: but as every day furnishes us with fresh indications of his perversity, I intend delaying this step until a favourable opportunity should occur.

If ever the exercise of arbitrary authority could be justified, it would be in the case of this unscrupulous Prelate, whose ambition and passion for verify one's conception of the worst specimen of a mediæval ecclesiastic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOY

Accusations brought against Tannou Sahin.

ACCUSATIONS contre Tannou Chahine, de Reïoun, dans la Province de Kairouan

1. Pour avoir dans le mois de Novembre 1858, adopté le titre de Sheikh l'habat (Chef des jeunes gens) et après le titre de Bey.

2. Pour s'être mis à la tête d'un mouvement révolutionnaire qui n'avait pour but que d'amener un désordre dans cette province et de produire une désorganisation gouvernementale.

3. Pour avoir excité par ses diverses discours un grand nombre des habitants des villages du Kairouan, et pour avoir nommé parmi eux ses représentants afin de les associer dans ses méfaits et

Suivant les noms de vingt-six délégués avec leurs villages

ces personnes furent reconnues par le dit Tannou Chahine par l'application du "Chef de l'Association des jeunes gens;" plusieurs parmi eux adoptèrent le titre de Bey.

4. Pour avoir invité les suivants de son parti d'acheter des armes offensives à Beyrouth et autres parts.

5. Pour avoir commandé à ses délégués de ramasser des sommes d'argent des bourgeois paisibles afin d'acheter des armes et des munitions de guerre.

6. Pour avoir donné l'ordre à ses délégués de distribuer à ses suivants armes et des munitions de guerre afin d'organiser leur armement complet.

7. Pour avoir en 1857, soulevé l'étendard d'une insurrection et pour s'être mis à la tête de ses suivants qu'il ordonna de s'assembler chez lui à Reïoun.

8. Pour avoir excité et incité [sic] d'outrages et de chasser les Chefs Feudaux de la Province du Kairouan.

9. Pour avoir dans le courant de la même année au mois de Janvier opéré au grand rassemblement de ses suivants, et s'être rendu avec eux à Genta afin de massacrer la famille Khazim, qui se mettant en fuite au grand péril de la vie échappèrent au sort qui leur était destiné. Néanmoins les insurgés tirèrent sur eux des coups de fusils, dont uno perça le cheval que montait Abdulla Hattar Khazim.

10. Pour avoir au mois de Juillet de la même année réunis à Azeloun un petit nombre de ses suivants de la plus mauvaise réputation dans le but de massacrer certains personnages de la famille de Khazim qui s'y trouvèrent encore, et par conséquent ayant été l'instigateur et l'auteur de la mort de la femme de Diah Khazim et sa fille Suzanne qui furent fusillées, et des blessures qui furent infligées à la tête de sa seconde fille Naufara par des coups de yataghan, a bien que de la destruction de la maison de Nicolas Khazim et de la mise en fuite du reste de cette famille qui se trouvèrent à Azeloun.

11. Pour avoir ordonné qu'on s'entretint ses victimes; mais qu'on les dépouilla de leurs vêtements, et après les avoir laissés dans cet état pour plusieurs jours fit traîner leurs cadavres jusqu'à une muraille qu'on fit écrouler sur eux, autant que le pillage de leurs maisons.

12. Pour avoir aggloméré et confisqué la récolte de la famille de Khazim, leurs chevaux et leurs bestiaux.

13. Pour avoir ordonné qu'on coupe les chemins et pour avoir ordonné de poursuivre dans leur retraite un grand nombre de paysans qui habitaient une autre province, soit Chrétiens ou Musulmans, qu'ils ont arrêtés et dépouillés.

14. Pour avoir frappé et emprisonné plusieurs habitants paisibles qui avaient refusé de se soumettre à ses ordres d'insurrection.

15. Pour avoir envoyé de ses agents à d'autres provinces pour inviter leurs habitants à se lever aux armes contre les Chefs feudaux et le Gouvernement Local, ce qui amenera une insurrection qui fut suivie de grandes pertes pour le dit.

16. Pour avoir annoncé par maintes lettres dispersées dans diverses provinces qu'il était le Représentant du peuple suivant la volonté des sept Puissances Européennes, et qu'il était en possession d'ordres honorifiques des dites Puissances qui testaient ceci.

17. Pour avoir été une des causes principales du grand mouvement d'insurrection connu au monde par le nom de l'insurrection de Kairouan contre les

Chefs feudaux qui envenimèrent leur chasse de leurs terres et la confiscation de leurs biens; pour rémédier laquelle le Gouvernement Turc n'a su venir en aide quoiqu'il avait le vouloir.

18. Pour avoir incité à certains de ses suivants d'attaquer et mettre en fuite les officiers et gens du Gouvernement Turc qui étaient venus pour lui restituer certains biens confisqués à Nekach ou leur tirant des coups de fusils si leurs mis en fuite.

19. Pour avoir agi d'une telle manière que quand il fut nécessaire un jour d'envoyer une force de la part de la Porte dans le Kairouan pour calmer une guerre que les Chrétiens avaient commencée contre les Musulmans, que cette force était obligée d'aller à Jebel de crainte d'être attaqués le long de la côte comme ils l'avaient été auparavant.

20. Pour avoir écrit une lettre aux habitants de Jebel dans laquelle il leur dit de ne pas reconnaître l'ordre du Gouvernement et Turc et du Kairouan donné à la force dernièrement arrivée parcequ'il possédait un "billord" des sept Puissances, qui déclare que la liberté a été donnée aux Chrétiens et qu'ils ne sont sujets à personne et que s'ils voulaient être délivrés de l'esclavage, personne ne pouvait les empêcher, ni la Makhur ni le Kairouan, et dans laquelle il leur dit aussi que s'ils avaient besoin d'aide il leur enverrait une quantité d'hommes, et que si par hasard le Commandant de la force envoyé par le Gouvernement avait l'audace de ne pas reconnaître l'ordre qu'il lui envoie de quitter le pays, qu'il devait lui écrire de suite afin d'amener des hommes de tout côté.

21. Pour avoir élevé le drapeau tricolore de la France pour amener ces habitants à se réunir et le suivre dans l'insurrection susdite.

(Sont les signatures de sept Sheikh de la famille Khazim)

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Hallam.

Sir,

Beyrouth, January 18, 1861.

IN a previous despatch I had the honour to inform your Excellency that I regretted Fual Pasha should afford such plausible pretexts to those whose interest it was to criticize his government for many of their complaints. Such a circumstance could only be accounted for on the supposition of failure in inspiring the confidence of the Christian population arose in his incompetency to govern, from the emptiness of his treasury, influence of a fanatical and reactionary tendency, or grating at Constantinople.

Although great intellectual ability may certainly co-exist with ineptitude for the conduct of affairs, it is difficult for any one acquainted with his Excellency to believe he is defective in the talents necessary to a practical statesman.

The effect, therefore, of what we observe, must be referred rather to the two latter causes. But although it may be admitted that a destitution of pecuniary resources will account for a great deal, there are certain symptoms in his general policy which cannot have been influenced by any such considerations.

It is, therefore, to the third and last supposition, that I am disposed to refer a great deal of what is unsatisfactory in his conduct. Indeed, I have reason to know that he receives instructions from home, conceived in a sense different from what he himself would have recommended, and that the scandalous endeavour to acquit Khorsad Pasha and the other Turks at the expense of the lives of the thirty Druse Sheikh has been inspired from Constantinople. If, therefore, he should seem unaccountably loth to throw himself into the arms of the European Commission; if he should use every expedient to deaden the blow which he is commissioned to strike; if the energy he displayed at Damascus should suddenly turn into an attempt to screen all Mohammedan offenders, above all things, if those who know him pretty well are able to detect from time to time antagonistic influences at work within his breast, it may not be unreasonable to account for the inconsistency of his actions by supposing that he cannot decide which part to play, whether to preserve his future position at Constanti-

people by becoming the apologist and defender of the interests of the Porte, or to create for himself a career in this country, by consenting to carry out the views of Europe. Such a hesitation, impossible to an unscrupulous man, may be some sort considered to do his Excellency credit, as it would be almost a betrayal of his Sovereign's confidence were he to disregard the illiberal admonitions he may receive from home.

The conduct of Emin Pasha at Damascus rather tends to confirm these conjectures. He is certainly endeavouring to conciliate the Moslem party, he holds language, I am told, unfavourable to Fuad Pasha. His first act, after his arrival, was to insult the American Consul, and to turn a certain Moslem, who had greatly distinguished himself by his protection of the Christians, out of the Council. He has, moreover, further astounded the inhabitants by a remark too dull to have been invented for him: "You have both," said he, "Christians and Moslems been duly punished for your sins—let no more be said about the matter." The original expression, however, though generally interpreted as I have related, bears the notion of providential visitation as much as punishment.

Under any circumstances, it is evident that we cannot expect Fuad Pasha to act in such a way as can alone restore peace and confidence to this unhappy country, as long as his position remains so ambiguous.

The sooner, therefore, our Report can be concluded, and an understanding arrived at with the Porte as to the future government of the country, the better.

I have spoken in this sense to M. Bédard, and he agrees with me; unfortunately his instructions in regard to the Articles of the Memorandum will not arrive until Monday, so that nominally he is still held to the old Shehab idea, and even now there is reason to fear M. Thouvenot may not have given him the necessary liberty to agree at once to a Report devised in accordance with them.

In the meantime, if only we could effect a liberal and satisfactory settlement of the indemnity, much would be done in the way of restoring confidence, and I trust your Excellency will have compassion on our destitute condition, and induce His Imperial Majesty to repair, without delay, the losses caused by the mismanagement of his servants.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANHOYE.

No. 376.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 60.)

My Lord,

IN my last despatch No. 375, containing a report on the Plan of Damascus, I required confirmation of the statement that the circumstances were not exaggerated, and that the rumours of a general massacre were unfounded.

I have since received information from everywhere of the manner manifested by the agents of France, and to the Government, representations tending to show that the country is in a state to require the prolongation of a foreign occupation, and it is observable that these alarming rumours generally arise at the moment a mail is at the point of starting, and too late to admit of any verification of the truth.

So striking are the pains taken to produce this effect, that I ventured the other day to take advantage of the familiarity which exists between M. Bédard and myself to mention to him that I observed a decided intention had been arrived at by himself, by the General, and by all the agents of his Government, that the French army should not quit the country; that I regretted this predetermination, which the circumstances of the case did not seem to me to justify, that although it could not be denied that the province was not in a satisfactory state, that the remedy evidently did not lie in foreign occupation, inasmuch as the evils complained of continued in spite of French troops being in the country, while others of a different order, though of an equally grave character, were called into existence by their presence; that to act as police, which was the only excuse, as no one pretended to anti-massacres; that if their army remained, it was not to make the country the theatre of some

such, and render the reconstruction of any Government still more difficult, that as long as the French troops were here, the Maronites would never be satisfied with any solution of the difficulty short of one which we all agreed to be impossible, that as it was, we saw the evil effects of the unhealthy stimulus afforded to their natural dissection, in the endeavours of the priesthood and their associates to embarrass the Government by refusing to allow any evidence to be given against those whom they had accused, and that, at all events, it had become advisable that M. de Beaufort should be sent to the country.

M. Bédard pleaded, in reply, that Fuad Pasha had utterly failed to restore confidence; that Christian natives and Europeans were equally despairing, that if the French were to go, the inhabitants of the Mixed districts would retire from their villages to Beyrout, and the wealthier citizens of Beyrout would flee to Alexandria; that everywhere he received unsatisfactory intelligence of what was going on, and that the presence of French soldiers was more especially beneficial in the reconstruction of the ruined villages of the Lebanon. To this I returned, that I had always been given to understand that the Emperor intended his troops should remain, if possible, only two months in the country, that great pains had been taken to persuade the people of England of the sincerity of this intention, but that when they heard that house-roofing was to be made a pretext for a prolonged occupation, I feared that the more prejudiced and less penetrating portion of our population would consider such propositions as illusory. At the same time, I was ready to admit that among a great portion of the native Christian population considerable misgivings still existed, that Fuad Pasha had failed to restore confidence, but that this was to be accounted for by his want of money, and the malign influence by which his own liberal inclinations were counteracted from Constantinople, that it was quite natural we each should consider the question of occupation from different points of view, though he must now know me too well to suspect I was actuated by any paltry feeling of jealousy; that we both had submitted our respective views to our Governments, and that it was at home rather than here that the question must be eventually decided.

I would remark, however, in reference to this important subject, that there can be no doubt the French are determined to stay.

General de Beaufort talked to me of the "démence" of those who wished the occupation to cease, and almost all his officers hold the same language. It becomes a question, then, as to the ultimate projects they may have in view. It is impossible to believe that so violent an inclination to remain in the country should be compatible with the intention of lying inactive at Beyrout during the ensuing summer. The prospect of some sort of arms must be in contemplation. Under these circumstances it can only be the occupation of Damascus or an expedition to the Hauran.

If either of these things be attempted by the French alone there will ensue a suspension of Turkish authority all over the country. All concert between Fuad Pasha and the General will be at an end every consideration will be

sacrificed to that of acquiring renown, and it is even possible a contingency may occur which will result in the necessity of vindicating the honour of the French flag by further reinforcements, and operations tantamount to a conquest of the country.

On the other hand it is certain, if they choose to do so, our allies can evoke such a demonstration of power among the Christian populations of Mount Lebanon as will effectually colour all their declarations. The only method to counteract this influence would be by placing Fuad Pasha in possession of the means to indemnify the inhabitants for their late losses. Unfortunately the Porte has delayed this important operation. The Treasury is so empty that even Colonel Burnaby and M. Ferrette have been obliged to suspend their labours, and the Government is deprived of the only really potent instrument of conciliation.

Under these circumstances it becomes difficult to discover a remedy for our embarrasments. If Fuad Pasha became a free agent, if funds were placed at his disposal, if the French Government could be induced to abandon its desire not of acquiring the country (of that I think there is no danger or intention), but of making it the theatre of some military exploit, and labour with England to compose the agitation of its inhabitants, things would gradually settle down in a satisfactory manner, and Syria would acquire the blessings of peace and good government, but to leave General de Beaufort and his army untrammelled by any definite instructions, to act nominally in concert, but practically in an independent, or rather in a hostile sense to Fuad Pasha, would result in increasing instead of in remedying the general disorganization of society.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 377

(No. 61)
My Lord,

Beirut, January 18, 1861.

IN my despatch No. 60 of to-day's date I had the honour to state that I considered the presence of the French troops in the country very detrimental to the prestige of the Sultan's authority.

I had hardly concluded my despatch when an express from Nazareth arrived with a remarkable confirmation of the truth of this remark.

As your Lordship will remember I have already had the honour of stating that I had found myself obliged to request his Excellency Fuad Pasha to interfere on behalf of certain persecuted Protestants of Galilee; and that in consequence a man named Michael Gehan, the author of the outrage complained of, had been put in prison by his Excellency's order.

It would now appear, from a statement I have just received from Mr. Tannin, Interpreter to Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate at Jerusalem, who has been sent by Mr. Finn to investigate the affair, that the Latin Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, at the head of fifty or sixty men, has rescued the culprit Gehan, under pretence of enabling him to appeal to the French Commissioner at Beyrout.

I do not think a more apposite illustration could occur of the evils I have alluded to.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship extracts from Mr. Tannin's despatch and from a letter addressed by Mr. Zeller to Major Fraser upon the same subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 377.

Mr. Tannin to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract)

Jerusalem, January 14, 1861.

THIS afternoon the Mufti informed me that the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent had come to the Serai with fifty or sixty men of his congregation, and

had demanded the immediate release of Michael Gehan. The Mufti alleged that he had not been able to resist their demand, as he had only a few policemen at his disposal, and as he was afraid the Latins would raise an insurrection. He affirmed, however, the Latins had taken Michael Gehan out of prison without his knowledge and consent.

Inclosure 2 in No. 377.

Mr. Zeller to Major Fraser.

(Extract)

Nazareth, January 14, 1861

THE conduct of the Latins, with a Franciscan monk at their head, who took Michael Gehan out of prison, in Nazareth (in spite of the order of Fuad Pasha), in the presence of Mr. Finn's agent, shows clearly that the Latins rely on finding some strong defender of their lawless proceedings with the Turkish Government.

I hear that a monk from here, an agent of the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem is going with Michael Gehan to Beyrout to represent the matter to the French Commissioner.

No. 378

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell. — Received January 31.

(No. 62)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 18, 1861.

YESTERDAY my French colleague was good enough to inform me that he received a private letter from M. Thouvenot, conveying a general approval of the Articles contained in the Memorandum I have already had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, but that he was instructed to make certain reserves in favour of the privileges of the Lebanon.

As the preservation of anomalous privileges in the Lebanon would, I fear be incompatible with a satisfactory settlement for the whole province, I shall do my best to induce my colleague to modify his views in this regard, and I trust Her Majesty's Government may be able to persuade M. Thouvenot to content

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 379

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received January 31)

(No. 171)

My Lord,

Paris, January 30, 1861

I WAS so unwell when I addressed your Lordship my despatch No. 160 of the 17th inst. that I could not have been more explicit. I have now been led me to submit to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government the suggestion that some latitude should be allowed me to consent to a limited occupation of the occupation of Syria. Permit me, therefore, to add a few lines of explanation now.

As I said yesterday, I have not the least doubt that, with common firmness on the part of the Porte, we can compel the faithful execution by the French Government of the Convention of the 5th of September, subject only to such impediments as the season of the year may place in the way of the embarkation of troops on an exposed coast.

Your Lordship will naturally ask why, such being my conviction, and with the knowledge that Her Majesty's Government attach to the departure of the French troops from Syria, I should take upon myself to suggest any delay, however short, in the complete fulfilment of the stipulations of the Convention. My answer shall be as concise as I can make it.

It seems to me that, in all political questions, the future as well as the present should be taken into consideration. Now I cannot conceal from myself and therefore it is my duty to state it to Her Majesty's Government, that to insist upon the literal execution of the Convention of the 5th of September may have consequences very serious for the Porte, and will add to the irritation against Great Britain which, at this moment, is too evident in France.

When I say, serious consequences for the Porte, I mean that the Emperor will not forget the humiliation to which he will conceive himself to be exposed by the resolution of the Porte summarily to dispense with the further assistance of his troops. This feeling of humiliation will add to the apathy, not to say the contempt, with which the Emperor already regards the Ottoman Empire, and will dispose him to connive at, if not to originate himself, attacks upon the authority and independence of the Sultan.

The irritation with regard to Great Britain is, if I may so express myself, a popular rather than an Imperial feeling. It arises, at this moment, from many opposite causes. It is religious it is commercial, it is political. The position of the Pope is ascribed by the Clerical party to British counsels, the Commercial Treaty is regarded by the Protectionists as a menace to British interests, the failure of the Treaty of Zurich, the departure of the French squadron from Genoa, and other matters connected with the Italian question, are attributed to British influence. Loud, then, are the protestations against the sacrifice of the Syrian Christians to the exigencies of British Statesmen, for it is surmised that the Porte would not stir in this matter except at the instigation of Her Majesty's Government.

Her Majesty's Government may say that they cannot help the perversion of the feelings of the people, and that they are not to be controlled by the ebullition of the excitable feelings of any other nation; and I am not prepared to say that, if the interests of Great Britain alone were at stake, I should have thought it worth while to make these observations to your Lordship. But the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire is a matter of great importance to the interests of Great Britain, and I am sure that Her Majesty's Government will be anxious to maintain it.

It is difficult to make any one who does not live in this atmosphere under the influence of the feelings of the people, to understand the feelings of the people, which are constantly changing, and which are constantly changing.

of Syria, that he had no anxiety to leave his troops a moment longer in the country. What, then, has caused the present change? No doubt the appeals made to the Emperor, both by the Commander of the French troops, and by the Commander of the Ottoman troops, neither likes to set in direct contravention of the advice of the latter, nor to withdraw his troops from Syria. The Emperor is represented as withdrawing from the Maronites that protection which it has been the honour of the French flag to afford to them, and his conduct in Syria is stigmatised as a betrayal of his conduct at Rome. Then follow the accusations of subversion of British policy, and denunciations of British selfishness. One perhaps of purpose than is the Emperor (in little matters) would disregard these attentions, but it is in his character to temporise until forced to decision.

The question then arises, When shall constraint be employed in the case under consideration? I presume that if Her Majesty's Government could themselves that not a French soldier would remain in Syria on the 1st of October, they would prefer that quiet solution of the Syrian question to a more violent one—the result of a discussion which, however carefully conducted,

hardly fail of leaving unpleasant reminiscences behind, and might be attended with other consequences to which I have adverted above, a discussion, too, in which France can count with certainty on the support of Russia and Prussia.

But how are Her Majesty's Government to be satisfied that such will be the result of their moderation? Why may not the same reasons for continued occupation be advanced as were advanced in the Convention of the 5th of September?

In the first place, I cannot but think that such precautions may be taken, in the Conference which M. Thouvenel wishes to convoke, as must put an end to all further equivocation on the part of the French Government; in the next, it is to be supposed that by that time, with a little diligence on the part of the Commission, a legal administration will have been instituted in the Lebanon, when all excuse for further occupation will cease.

It is possible that, before the meeting of the Conference, the French Government may show themselves to be more disposed than they seem now to an immediate evacuation; and all I desire, therefore, is, that Her Majesty's Government should do me the honour to take my remarks into their serious consideration, with a view of deciding whether they will give me contingent instructions.

I need not assure your Lordship that I have no wish to aid the French Government in repudiating engagements to which I, as the Representative of Her Majesty's Government, was a contracting party. Your Lordship may trust me to enforce them at once, if it is your will that they should be enforced, as you may trust me to use with discretion any latitude which you may be pleased to give me, in consideration of the statement which I have thought it my duty thus to make.

I must not forget, in conclusion, to call your Lordship's attention to the facility with which excuses, real or imaginary, may be made of the state of the weather to account for the non-embarkation of the troops, even should the French Government be held to their positive engagements. This is, perhaps, an additional reason for consenting to some delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 383.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 66)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 1, 1861.

SINCE I informed your Lordship of the approbation of Her Majesty's Government of your plan for the pacification of Syria, obstacles of a serious kind have been thrown up to prevent its final adoption. The Sultan's Ministers, looking upon it as an infringement of the sovereignty of the Porte, and the establishment of a foreign influence, have declared that Turkey will not consent to it.

M. Thouvenel, on the other hand, anxious to preserve the semi-independence of the Ottoman Empire, as it was settled in 1842 and 1843, declares that France will consider the maintenance of those arrangements an indispensable condition of the future organization.

Both Powers wish the labours of the Commission to be confined to the Lebanon.

Such being the difficulties, and the speedy evacuation of Syria by European troops being very desirable, I have to instruct you—

1st. To preserve the Christian Kaimakamship as settled by the arrangements of 1842-45.

2ndly. To confine the plan of the Commissioners to the government of the Lebanon.

3rdly. To ask from the Porte the immediate contribution of a sum not less than 200,000L for the restoration of Christian villages in the Mountain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Adis Pasha to M. Musurus—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, February 2)

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Constantinople, le 22 Janvier, 1860.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer, ci-joint, les Articles qui forment la base de l'organisation future de la Syrie.

La Sublime Porte n'hésite pas à déclarer qu'avec un système de cette nature, elle sera parfaitement en état de rétablir et de maintenir l'ordre et la tranquillité dans toute la Syrie.

Nous espérons que cette résolution, qui ne tardera pas à recevoir son exécution, rencontrera l'approbation unanime de toutes les Puissances.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que la responsabilité d'accomplir une tâche si difficile ne peut s'assumer que par une liberté d'action proportionnée à la grandeur du devoir. Cet important point sera, nous n'en doutons pas, apprécié avec bienveillance et accord par les Puissances. La Sublime Porte a une solution satisfaisante de cette malheureuse question.

En communiquant à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique la décision dont il s'agit, vous voudrez bien assurer son Excellence que la Sublime Porte, pénétrée de la gravité des obligations qui lui incombent, et intéressée au suprême degré à voir la tranquillité régner dans une partie si importante de l'Empire, négligera rien pour établir sur des bases solides et durables le système qu'elle vient d'adopter.

Vous êtes autorisé, M. l'Ambassadeur, à remettre copie de cette dépêche, ainsi que de son annexe, à M. le Ministre vous en témoigne le dévouement.

Je vous prie, &c
(Signé) A.M.

Incluse in No. 381

Articles containing the Basis for the future Government of Syria.

1. Introduction

1. L'EFFECTIF de l'armée Impériale d'Arabie sera porté au maximum réglementaire, c'est-à-dire, au chiffre de vingt-six mille hommes, et y sera maintenu.

2. Les revenus, autres que ceux des douanes des provinces comprises dans la circonscription de la dite armée, seront affectés à son entretien; dans le cas où ces revenus ne seraient pas suffisants, on aurait recours aux revenus de même nature des autres provinces.

3. Le mode de compléter l'effectif de la dite armée, et le choix de conscrits destinés à cet effet, seront l'objet d'une discussion à part.

4. Un corps mobile de cavalerie, chargé d'empêcher les tribus nomades de dévaster le pays, sera organisé sur le pied de troupes régulières.

5. Le Commandant-en-chef de la dite armée, qui aura aussi le commandement du dit Corps Mobile, sera chargé du maintien de la sécurité publique dans toute la circonscription de l'armée, et en aura la responsabilité.

6. Les agents de la Police des villes et des bourgs seront également sous la juridiction du Muehbir de l'armée, ainsi employés sous les ordres des Gouverneurs-Généraux. Ces agents seront recrutés des Musulmans et des Chrétiens.

7. Les provinces de Damas et de Hama seront gouvernées chacune séparément par un Gouverneur-Général d'un caractère éprouvé et capable.

8. Il sera formé dans chacune de ces deux provinces un Grand Conseil Mixte composé de membres appartenant aux différentes communautés existantes, et ayant des attributions clairement définies.

9. Dans chacune de ces deux provinces il sera également formé une Cour Criminelle Mixte, et composée de membres capables et compétents.

10. Les Conseils des Sandjaks seront assimilés à ceux des provinces quant à leur forme et à leur organisation.

11. Chaque année, à une époque déterminée et fixe, on choisira dans tous

les Sandjaks de la province une personne parmi les Musulmans et une de chaque communauté chrétienne, et les deux délégués, sous la présidence du Sultan, lesquels seront envoyés au chef-lieu de la province. Là ils devront être réunis au Grand Conseil de la province, qui formera, sous la présidence du Gouverneur-Général, une Commission chargée d'exposer et d'étudier les besoins du pays par rapport à l'agriculture, au commerce, aux finances, à l'enseignement, à l'administration, et à tout ce qui concerne l'intérêt de ses commettants, soit dans l'intérêt général de la province. La Commission de ce Conseil ne devra pas dépasser le terme de deux mois. Ceux des habitants d'un Sandjak appartenant à une communauté quelconque, et dont le nombre n'atteindra pas le chiffre de mille âmes, n'auront pas le droit d'envoyer de Délégué au dit Conseil.

12. Le Gouverneur-Général de la province sera autorisé à prendre, dans l'Article précédent, un haut dignitaire de la Sublime Porte sera envoyé en Syrie comme Inspecteur-Général.

13. Le Commandant-Général de la force armée sera autorisé à prendre d'urgence, et d'accord avec le Gouverneur Civil, toutes les mesures militaires de l'ordre et la sécurité des habitants exigeraient.

14. L'Excellence Fund Pasha restera provisoirement jusqu'à l'établissement de ces Conseils et à la mise à exécution des mesures ci-dessus énumérées.

No. 382

Memorandum of the Negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Syria upon the subject of the future of Syria.

ON the 5th July, 1860, Lord Cowley received a note from M. Thouverel, Minister of the Christian populations in Syria.

On Lord Cowley calling upon M. Thouverel, the latter having communicated the various reports which he had received from Syria, varying in date from the 15th to the 21st of June, 1860, expatiated at great length, and with much warmth upon the evident inability of the Turkish authorities to maintain order in Syria, the impossibility of leaving matters in their present state, and urged that the arrangements of 1845 ought not to remain a dead letter, but authorised the interference of Europe.

M. Thouverel suggested that a Commission from the Five Powers should be sent into the disturbed districts, and if it were found that the Porte was unable to furnish the force necessary to restore order, might not the Sultan be invited to ask for troops from the Viceroy of Egypt?

Lord Cowley expressed doubts as to the propriety of such a proposal, although he was convinced that they would be most ready to join with the Imperial Government in taking measures to insure an efficient protection of the Christian inhabitants of the Lebanon, and a better administration of the Government of Syria. He trusted that the reinforcements which had been sent from Constantinople would be found sufficient to restore order and tranquillity.

On the receipt of the above news from Lord Cowley, Her Majesty's Government were at first inclined to send a Commission to Syria, but not to ask the assistance of the Viceroy of Egypt, who was aiming at independence. Her Majesty's Government would direct a squadron to be sent to the coast of Syria for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects. Instructions accordingly were sent to the Admiralty, July 6.

About the 15th of July M. Thouverel transmitted a despatch to the Courts of France, in which he stated that the Government of Syria had received the news received by the French

Earl Cowley,
No. 916, Confidential.
July 17, 1860.

Government from Damascus, both the Emperor and M. Thouvenel declared that the state of affairs in Syria required a more active intervention on the part of Europe. In answer to a question from Lord Cowley, M. Thouvenel stated that he would propose no plan, as in the actual state of affairs in Europe any coming from France would be suspected, but he intimated the opinion that foreign troops might be sent to Syria and disembarked at different points along the coast of the disturbed districts.

Lord J. Russell,
No. 708, July 17,
1860.

On the 17th of July Her Majesty's Government instructed Sir Henry Bulwer by telegraph to support the proposal about to be made to the Porte by the French Government of a Commission to be sent to the Lebanon.

Lord Russell,
No. 708, July 18,
1860.

On the 18th of July Her Majesty's Government informed Lord Cowley that they would not object to the landing of French or Austrian troops in Syria, if necessary, according to the terms of a Convention to be agreed upon between the Porte and the Allied Powers.

Lord Cowley,
No. 987, July 19,
1860.

On receiving this intelligence M. Thouvenel addressed a telegram simultaneously to the Governments of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and the Netherlands, mentioning the communications which had passed between Paris and London, and asking the assent of those Governments to the conclusion of a Convention by the respective Representatives at Constantinople.

Lord Cowley,
No. 987, July 19,
1860.

Should the answer returned prove favourable, a corps of French troops directed on Syria.

co-operate with him; the providing for the sending of an European force (which M. Thouvenel conceived should consist of 10,000 men), the understanding between the Commander of that force and the Commander of the Turkish forces in Syria, &c. &c.

Lord Russell,
No. 790, July 20,
1860.

The exact objects of the expedition, and the period when it should be withdrawn, to be left to a further understanding between the Porte and the Powers parties to the Convention.

Her Majesty's Government having received from Count Persigny, on July 22, a project of the proposed Convention alluded to above, informed Lord Cowley that although the exceptional circumstances which had occurred might justify the proposed expedition, yet if the news of the next ten days or fortnight should justify the hope that the massacres had stopped and would not be renewed the expedition should not be sent.

Her Majesty's Government also considered that a final term should be inserted in the Convention for the evacuation of Syria by foreign troops, and that six months might be fixed for the occupation.

Her Majesty's Government declared that they sanctioned the expedition to difficulties of a grave character. That on those accounts it was desirable that the intervention should only be undertaken when the necessity was clearly proved, and that it should cease as soon as that necessity should no longer exist.

On the 23rd of July, M. Thouvenel informed Lord Cowley that he had learnt through M. de Persigny that Her Majesty's Government showed great disinclination to agree any longer to the expedition of a French force to Syria, and

they proved too plainly the suspicions which Her Majesty's Government entertained of the dealings of France. M. Thouvenel also declared that should even the massacres have ceased, which he did not believe, and peace have been concluded, he could not agree with Her Majesty's Government that this should render all further intervention unnecessary, and that he was convinced that order would not be permanently established or justice done except under the pressure of a foreign force. France, he added, would be perfectly justified in asking and enforcing reparation for the plunder of the French Consul's house at Damascus, and for the sack of the Latin convents in the Lebanon which had been since the time of St. Louis under the protection of France. M. Thouvenel said further that France had no wish to act single-handed, but he could not conceive it possible that Her Majesty's Government would advocate a policy of abstention ("une politique d'abstention") in the face of such grave events.

On the 24th of July, Lord Cowley informed Her Majesty's Government

that the French Government had received news from Damascus up to the instant, and that the massacres continued. M. Thouvenel had submitted the meeting of the Representatives of the Porte and the Five Powers for the following day to consider the Articles of the proposed Convention with a view of sending troops immediately.

From a conversation Lord Cowley had with M. Thouvenel on the 24th of July, he did not think that the latter would refuse to insert a clause in the Convention limiting the number of troops to be employed, and fixing the period of occupation.

The answers which M. Thouvenel received at this time from Vienna and Berlin to his proposal of sending troops to Syria were both affirmative of the project, and calculated to encourage the French in their projected armed intervention in Syria.

On the 25th July M. Thouvenel informed Lord Cowley that the amount of force the Emperor proposed sending to Syria was 8,000 men, and that His Majesty thought the expedition would have achieved its object in a couple of months' time.

On the 25th July Her Majesty's Government instructed Lord Cowley to attend the Conference convoked by M. Thouvenel on the 26th July, and to strictly to the following conditions—

1. That Fud Pacha should ask for intervention.
2. The Convention between the Porte and the Five Powers to be signed as soon as possible.
3. A term not exceeding six months to be fixed for occupation by foreign troops.

To ask, besides, for a Protocol similar to that of 1840.

At the first Conference, held at the French Foreign Office on the 26th of July, M. Thouvenel communicated his Project of Convention, which, he said, he was desirous should be concluded between the Powers and the Porte and which would permit of the employment of European troops to aid in restoring order in Syria.

A discussion of little importance ensued, and the Conference ended by a copy of the Project of Convention being furnished to each Plenipotentiary for their examination, and submission to their respective Governments.

On Lord Cowley's informing M. Thouvenel that Her Majesty's Government it was advisable that a Protocol should be signed by the Great Powers, as to that signed on the 17th of September, 1840, M. Thouvenel at once adopted the idea, and on the 26th of July gave Lord Cowley a Project of Protocol, based upon the views of Her Majesty's Government, and in which he also recorded the declaration wished for by Her Majesty's Government, that the occupation of Syria by European troops should cease after the lapse of six months.

Her Majesty's Government having had M. Thouvenel's Project of Convention under their consideration, informed Lord Cowley on the 28th of July their views upon the subject, and of the amendments they wished introduced.

The main points appeared to Her Majesty's Government to be the necessity of obtaining the assent of the Porte, explicitly given to the intervention of foreign troops in one of the Provinces of the Sultan, and the equal necessity of a term (six months) being fixed, at the end of which such foreign intervention should cease. These provisions, to which every publicity should be given, were necessary for the justification of Her Majesty's Government in the eyes of the English nation.

The amendments proposed by the English Government and for the object to preserve the authority of the Sultan, and to keep future stipulations for future contingencies.

At a second Conference held on the 30th of July an amended Project of Convention was adopted by the Plenipotentiaries. Lord Cowley refused, however, to affix his initials to the Project until it should have received the sanction of Her Majesty.

During the second Conference M. Thouvenel observed that, should it be found necessary to augment the army of occupation, he hoped that the other Powers would be found ready to furnish their contingents, as he was most anxious that the expedition should not be viewed in the light of a French

Lord Cowley,
No. 958, July 20,
1860.

Lord Cowley,
No. 1000,
1860.

J. Russell,
No. 708, July 20,
1860.

Lord J. Russell,
No. 740, July 20,
1860.

Lord Cowley,
No. 978, July 20,
1860.

Lord Cowley,
No. 981, Confidential.
July 20, 1860.

Lord J. Russell,
No. 747, July 20,
1860.

Lord Cowley,
No. 1,002, July 30,
1860.

Lord Cowley,
No. 1,003, July 31,
1860.

Earl Cowley
No. 1,000, July 31,
1860

expedition, but that it should be considered that the French Government was, as it were, delegated by Europe to undertake it in the first instance.

M. Thouvenel also took occasion to say, that although, in the opinion of the Imperial Government, six months would more than suffice for the restoration of tranquillity in Syria, and that the troops of occupation might well be brought away within that time, yet that circumstances might arise over which the French Government could have no control, such as illness among the troops, or continued bad weather on a very exposed coast, which might physically prevent the fulfilment of Article V. Unforeseen events even might occur to render a prolongation of the occupation necessary.

In answer to which Lord Cowley observed that, with regard to the first two contingencies, nobody could be expected to do that which was impossible, and that with respect to the third, there was always the possibility of summoning a fresh Conference.

On the 1st of August M. Thouvenel informed Lord Cowley that, in consequence of accounts received of fresh massacres in Syria, and of an application made by Fud Pasha for reinforcements and money, he was most anxious for the departure of the expedition.

To facilitate which M. Thouvenel intended to propose to Her Majesty's Government the signature of a Protocol instead of the Convention, the Plenipotentiaries not having yet received their respective full powers.

Lord Cowley advised the adoption of this course, and, in accordance with these views, two Protocols were signed on the 3rd of August, at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, by the Representatives of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Rumania, and Turkey: the one sanctioning the French expedition to Syria, the other declaring all interested motives on the part of the allies of the Porte in undertaking the expedition.

Her Majesty's Government entirely approved Lord Cowley's conduct during the Conference on the affairs of Syria.

The first French troops destined for Syria left Marseilles by the mail steamer on the 5th of August. With an average passage of six days they would have arrived at their destination about the 12th of August. During a conference with Lord Cowley on the 7th of August M. Thouvenel informed his Excellency that the Emperor's last words to General Beaufort on his departure for Syria were, that he should be much disappointed if the expedition were not in France within three months, and on this occasion M. Thouvenel responded to an observation made by Lord Cowley, namely, that the institution of the Commission to be sent to Syria would facilitate the return of the expedition, for that as soon as tranquillity should have been restored, and the moral effect which the French Government hoped from the presence of European troops in Syria, the troops and leaving further proceedings in the hands of the Commissioners.

M. Thouvenel said that such was also his opinion. He considered that the withdrawal of their troops, for that he looked to no other than a moral effect as a safeguard for the future from the presence of the expedition which had been sent.

The Convention sanctioning and regulating the French expedition to Syria was signed September 5, 1860.

No. 383.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 69.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 2, 1861.

I HAVE informed Lord Dufferin that in consequence of the objections made by the Porte and by France to the adoption of his Lordship's plan for settling Syria, and in order to expedite the withdrawal of European troops from that country, he is first to preserve the Christian Kamakamship as settled by the Ottoman Government, and thirdly, to ask from the Porte not

immediate contribution of a sum not less 200,000*l.* for the restoration of Christian villages in the Mountain.

I am, &c
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 384

Mr Fane to Lord J. Russell—(Received February 4.)

(No. 73.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 29, 1861

THE French Ambassador submitted to Count Rechberg on Friday last a communication on the part of his Government, suggesting the expediency of calling a meeting of the Conference at Paris to take into further consideration the affairs of Syria.

I saw Count Rechberg the same day and learnt from his Excellency that he had told M. de Moustier that he would submit to the Emperor the proposal of the French Government, but that he might at once state that the Imperial Cabinet would act with regard to the suggested meeting of the Conference on the principle which they had laid down on the occasion of the Conference being convened to deliberate on the affairs of Syria in the autumn, namely, that they could support no proposal respecting the occupation of that province by foreign troops, which was not sanctioned by the Government of the Sultan.

Count Rechberg further observed that a Conference for considering the expediency of prolonging the foreign occupation of Syria could not be held if the Porte should refuse to take part in it, since the other Powers could not convene to deliberate upon a question on which no valid decision could be taken without the concurrence of the Ottoman Government.

I have, &c
(Signed) JULIAN FANE

No. 385

Mr Lowther to Lord J. Russell—(Received February 4.)

No. 60

My Lord,

Berlin, February 2, 1861

IN obedience to your Lordship's instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 28, I read to Baron Schlenker yesterday Mr Fane's despatch No. 63 of the 12th ultimo, reporting the instance in which Count Rechberg had received the communication of your Lordship's despatch to Mr. Fane No. 34 of the 16th ultimo on the affairs of Syria. Baron Schlenker made no remarks on this despatch beyond stating, when I had finished, what he had already said on a former occasion, that if one of the parties to the Convention by which the troops had at first been sent to Syria, objected to their stay there, now that the time stipulated for that stay had expired, the evacuation should take place.

He said the Government of the Sultan was taking on itself a very great responsibility, but I replied, "You see that on all sides they assert the presence of the troops is an impediment to them."

His Excellency asked me if I was aware what answer your Lordship had made to M. Thouvenel's communication relative to summoning a Conference of the Representatives of the Powers on the affairs of Syria. I replied in the words of your Lordship's despatch No. 108 to Lord Cowley, that I believed Her Majesty's Government were quite prepared, either in Conference or otherwise, to inquire of the Sultan's Ministers whether the Porte was ready to become responsible for the present tranquillity of Syria, and had provided sufficient means for that purpose.

I have, &c
(Signed) W. LOWTHER.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 143.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 4, 1861.

ENCLOSE a copy of a despatch from Mr. Fane,* stating that Count Rechberg had answered an application of the French Government respecting a meeting of Conference on the affairs of Syria by declaring explicitly that the Imperial Government would support no proposal respecting the occupation of that province by foreign troops which was not sanctioned by the Government of the Sultan.

The Turkish Ambassador at Her Majesty's Court has informed me that the Turkish Government will not object to go into a Conference if it is desired by the Powers of Europe, but that Turkey will not consent to a renewal of the Convention of the 5th of September.

As Her Majesty's Government entirely agree with that of Austria on the subject of the occupation of Syria, it is worth while for M. Thouvenel to reflect whether any advantage is to be obtained by summoning the Conference. Her Majesty's Government will not object to direct your Excellency to attend the Conference if the other Powers agree to it, but they cannot consent to any renewal of the Convention of the 5th of September, unless the proposal has the entire and willing assent of the Sublime Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 387

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell -- (Received February 5.)

No. 140

My Lord,

Paris, February 4, 1861.

BEFORE receiving yesterday your Lordship's Separate despatch of the 27th ultimo I had, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the same date, communicated to Prince Metternich your despatch No. 108 of the 24th ultimo, respecting the continued military occupation of Syria, and I professed my readiness to concert with his Excellency the conduct which we should pursue in the event of a Conference being assembled.

The Prince said that he was without any instructions upon the subject from his Government, that he did not know in what way the invitation of France to re-assemble the Conference had been received by Count Rechberg; but he added that M. Thouvenel had told him, on the authority of M. de Moustier, that Count Rechberg was of opinion that the occupation should be continued. He had informed Count Rechberg of this by telegram, and solicited instructions as to the language which he was to hold.

I expressed surprise at this statement, observing that M. de Moustier must have been mistaken, inasmuch as Mr. Fane had communicated to Count Rechberg the views of Her Majesty's Government, with regard to the evacuation of Syria, as far back as the middle of January, and Count Rechberg had stated to Mr. Fane that he shared those views. What they were the Prince could best understand by a perusal of your Lordship's despatch embodying them. I then gave him to read your Lordship's despatch No. 14 of the 16th ultimo to Mr. Fane, and Mr. Fane's reply No. 63 of the 24th ultimo.

I cannot, for the moment, carry into effect your Lordship's desire to communicate with the Turkish Ambassador, as Veliy Effendi, who has taken leave of the Emperor and M. Thouvenel, and has placed the affairs of the Embassy in the hands of the Chargé d'Affaires, who is an old hangar-on and a complete dependent on the French Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. -- (Received February 5.)

(No. 190. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 4, 1861.

IN the conversation which I have had with Prince Metternich on the affairs of Syria, and which is alluded to in my preceding despatch, the Prince did not venture his own opinion that it would be impolitic to insist on the immediate withdrawal of the French troops from Syria.

His Excellency's objections seemed based on the desirableness of not giving umbrage to France, and he said that he thought some middle course might be taken in the first instance, such as requiring the concentration of the French troops on the coast, with the understanding that if tranquillity continues to prevail in the interior they should be shortly re-embarked for France.

I remarked that nothing would be easier than for French Agents to excite fresh disturbances, and that it would be unwise to connect the stay of the troops with any such contingency. The Turks, I said, were the proper preservers of order within the Sultan's dominions, and I had no doubt, after the lesson which had been administered to them, that they would take care that

Prince Metternich, without disputing this principle or the obligation imposed by the prudence of the Porte taking so strong a step.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 389.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. -- (Received February 5.)

N
M

Paris, February 4, 1861.

WHEN I saw M. Thouvenel the day before yesterday, I inquired of his Excellency whether he had received any answer from Constantinople to his proposal of re-assembling the Conference on Syrian affairs; his Excellency replied in the negative.

He then alluded to the Circular of the Porte of the 22nd ultimo, enclosing a project for the future government of Syria. His Excellency observed, that as he had only just received it, he should reserve his opinion upon it, but he did not mention whatever was made of the government of the Lebanon. He said, further, that the notion of keeping an army of 20,000 men in Syria was simply preposterous, and that the Porte knew it could never be realized, nor indeed did he consider so large a force to be a

With respect to the government of the Lebanon, I said that it was to be regretted that the Porte should not have explained itself, though from a communication which had been made to Her Majesty's Government, there seemed to be no doubt that the arrangements of 1842 and 1843 were to be maintained, at all events until some other project, if there was any in contemplation, should have received the assent of the European Commission sitting at Beyrout; and, indeed, an earnest of this was to be found in the nomination which had already taken place of a Christian Kaimakam.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he did not intend to cast doubts on the intentions of the Porte, but to express regret that they should not have been communicated loyally.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 5.)

(No. 198.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 5, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL informs me that the Porte has consented to the reassembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, and that Vefyk Effendi will be desired to remain in Paris to represent Turkey on this occasion. Instructions for the regulation of his conduct are to be sent to him forthwith.

I will endeavour to see Vefyk Effendi without loss of time, but I fear that it will be difficult in presence of the consent of the Porte, and of the statement about to be made to the Legislative Bodies, to which reference is made in my despatch, to induce M. Thouvenel to desist from convoking the Conference as suggested in your Lordship's despatch No. 143 of yesterday's date.

Indeed, I venture to think that it is better that the Conference should meet. My experience of the Porte always leads me to apprehend that, left to deal alone with any other Power, her resistance to that Power will be ad; and I should not be the least surprised to find, in the event of the Conference not assembling, some direct arrangement arrived at between France and the Porte for the prolongation of the occupation of Syria. On the other hand, should the Turkish Government resolutely hold out, the concentrated ire of France will fall upon the Porte. Her Majesty's Government may, however, deem these to be lesser evils than the possibility of the renewal of the Convention of the 5th of September for a limited period, which will certainly be put forward by others, and may eventually be conceded by the Porte in Conference. But I am more disposed to think that a little conciliatory firmness on the part of the Porte's Representative, backed by the authority of the Representatives of Great Britain and Austria, will ensure the early departure of the French troops from Syria. It is, however,

that the Turkish Representative should be in a position to make some declaration with regard to the future government of the Mountain, and that that declaration should confirm all the rights and privileges heretofore enjoyed by the Christians.

Another advantage in a Conference is, that whatever opinions may be given by the different Representatives on the advisableness of prolonging the occupation, the right of the Porte to insist on its cessation must be recognised by all.

On the whole, then, whether I look to the object which Her Majesty's Government have in view, the evacuation of Syria, or to effecting that object in the way least likely to compromise the future relations of the Porte with France, I lean towards a discussion in Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 198.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 6, 1861

despatch No. 198 of the 5th instant.

in the Conference

I have to acquaint your Excellency that, on their part, Her Majesty's Government have no objection to the meeting of the Conference, and you will state to M. Thouvenel that you are authorized to attend it on the part of Her Majesty.

Your Excellency is so fully acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the affairs of Syria, and more particularly as to the

reasons which enter into the consideration of the present state of the affairs of Syria, and the views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the affairs of Syria, and more particularly as to the

(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(No. 63.)

My Lord,

Beirut, January 27, 1861

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 1 to No. 392

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, January 24, 1861

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the seventeenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 31st December last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 to No. 392

Protocol of the Seventeenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beirut December 31, 1860

LE Lundi, trente-un Décembre, mil huit cent soixante, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth, sous la présidence de Foud Pacha, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie.

La séance s'engage entre MM. les Commissaires sur les questions examinées dans la précédente séance à laquelle son Excellence Foud Pacha avait été empêché d'assister par suite du mauvais état de sa santé. Son rétablissement va lui permettre de se rendre immédiatement à Mokkara, où les Druses qui viennent d'être arrêtés seront jugés. Son Excellence a fait procéder à de nombreuses arrestations non seulement parmi les Druses, mais aussi parmi les Musulmans Sunnites et les Métualia. On a relâché tous ceux qui n'étaient pas compris dans les listes de dénonciations fournies, pour les notables Chrétiens, et cette mesure, tout en rétablissant la confiance et en empêchant qu'une sorte de panique ne se répandît dans le pays, aura encore l'avantage de faciliter d'autres arrestations. La Commission sait comment ces listes ont été dressées, et quel nombre de dénonciations elles contiennent. Son Excellence entre dans de nouveaux détails à cet égard, et confirme ceux qui ont déjà été données par Abro Effendi dans la précédente séance. Une première liste générale, contenant 4,600 noms, avait été dressée. Foud Pacha, en regard au système de pénalité qu'il a résolu d'adopter, conformément au vœu de la

Commission, a cru devoir demander aux Evêques une liste des principaux coupables. Les Evêques ont alors dressé trois listes d'accusations, graduées selon le degré apparent de la culpabilité. La première de ces listes contient encore 1,200 noms d'individus accusés comme organisateurs, chefs de bandes, ou auteurs de massacres. Les listes suivantes, aux termes de l'arrangement intervenu entre le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, sont sous également passibles de la peine de mort. Avant de procéder aux exécutions, Foad Pacha exprime l'intention où il est de communiquer à la Commission la liste des condamnés et le texte des sentences.

M. le Commissaire Britannique fait part à ses collègues des renseignements qui lui ont été fournis récemment, et d'après lesquels une centaine de Druses environ auraient été assassinés par des Chrétiens depuis l'apaisement de la guerre civile. Cette circonstance, selon Lord Dufferin, mériterait d'être prise en considération pour déterminer le chiffre de ceux d'entre les Druses qui devront subir la peine capitale.

M. Novikow fait observer que ce sont là des assassinats isolés, commis d'individus à individus, et qu'il y en a eu du même genre commis par les Druses contre les Chrétiens. Foad Pacha répond qu'il y a eu aussi des réclamations de la part des Chrétiens au sujet d'assassinats isolés commis par les Druses ; mais on ne sait pas si ces assassinats ont été commis pendant ou après les événements de la Montagne.

M. le Commissaire Prussien rappelle à cet égard qu'il a présenté, il y a deux mois, à Foad Pacha une liste d'une trentaine d'assassinats, commis par des Druses contre des Chrétiens. M. Bédard s'engage à donner également le nom des Chrétiens qui ont été victimes d'assassinats isolés depuis l'arrivée du Commandant de la Sublime Porte en Syrie. Il avait cette occasion pour demander à Foad Pacha quand et comment il compte procéder à la mesure du

dans tous les pays de Montagne et qu'en général là où la justice est lente et le sang bouillonnant, les particuliers sont naturellement portés à se faire justice eux-mêmes. M. Bédard insiste sur la nécessité de combattre cette tendance naturelle par une justice prompte et par le désarmement. Il cite à cet égard l'exemple de la Corse où, par l'intervention active du pouvoir judiciaire et un désarmement rigoureux, le Gouvernement Français est arrivé à changer presque complètement les habitudes de la population.

Foad Pacha répond qu'en Syrie la mesure du désarmement général dépend de la réorganisation que le Gouvernement Impérial veut introduire dans tout l'Empire. Cette mesure suppose, indépendamment d'une force armée régulière, l'institution d'une bonne gendarmerie, la suppression du corps des Bachs-Bozouks, et la création de lignes d'observation sur les confins du désert, car on ne peut désarmer un groupe de population sans désarmer les populations voisines, ni désarmer celles-ci en les laissant exposées aux brigandages des tribus errantes. Il y a là un enchevêtrement qui rend l'exécution de la mesure très difficile. Dans certains contrées de la Palestine le laboureur conduit sa charrue le fusil sur l'épaule. Comment désarmer cet homme sans lui offrir en compensation la garantie d'une police bien faite et d'un pouvoir public bien organisé ? Il en est de même dans toute la Syrie.

L'attention de MM. les Commissaires se porte ensuite sur la situation des familles Chrétiennes créées à Damas et alimentées provisoirement par les secours de l'autorité. Lord Dufferin signale de regrettables irrégularités dans la distribution de ces secours, irrégularités dont Foad Pacha croit devoir faire retomber la responsabilité sur les Comités Chrétiens chargés de la distribution. Son Excellence déclare qu'elle avait déjà recommandé au nouveau Gouverneur de Damas, Emin Pacha, un contrôle aussi sévère que possible des opérations confiées à ces Comités.

M. Bédard présente une liste de onze Musulmans qui se sont notablement conduits pendant les événements, et qui mériteraient d'être récompensés par le Sultan. Cette liste est appuyée par tous les autres Commissaires, qui se réservent toutefois de signaler à Foad Pacha, s'il y a lieu, les noms d'autres personnes qui se seraient également distinguées. M. le Commissaire Français croit devoir appeler au contraire les regards trop lents du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale sur des individus dont la participation à ces mêmes événements est évidente, et qui sont jusqu'à ce jour restés impunis, notamment tous

les Mouktars, ou chefs de quartiers, qui sont demeurés en fonctions et qui ont fait une fortune scandaleuse, en exploitant les Musulmans contre lesquels ils devaient sévir.

Son Excellence Foad Pacha promet d'avoir égard à cette double recommandation, appuyée unanimement par tous les membres de la Commission.

M. le Commissaire Français renouvelle l'interpellation qu'il a adressée dans la dernière séance à Foad Pacha par l'intermédiaire d'Abro Eferdi, relativement aux sentences rendues par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth contre les officiers Ottomans et les Cheiks Druses. M. Bédard s'attache à bien préciser l'objet de cette interpellation. En ce qui concerne la repression des coupables, le rôle de la Commission et celui du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ne pourraient être confondus. La Commission doit provoquer le châtiement des coupables, et si le tribunal propose d'appliquer des peines de second ordre à des hommes dont la

non, ce n'est pas à la Commission qu'il appartient de rechercher elle-même qu'elles sont les circonstances atténuantes qui ont été prises en considération, c'est au Commandant Ottoman qu'incombe le soin de les faire connaître. Le texte des sentences ne rentre pas dans cet égard d'éclaircissements suffisants. Il n'y est fait mention d'aucun fait qui puisse diminuer la responsabilité des officiers Ottomans, elle demeure donc pleine et entière aux yeux de la Commission, qui jusqu'à ce que les preuves à décharge lui soient fournies, se trouve dans l'impossibilité d'exprimer, relativement aux sentences qui lui ont été communiquées, l'avis que Foad Pacha a bien voulu solliciter de sa part.

Son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman répond que le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth a été par lui-même à même de prononcer ces sentences dans une pleine et entière liberté. Foad Pacha s'est abstenu de peser en quelque façon que ce fut sur les décisions de ce Tribunal. Il leur donnera force exécutoire par l'apposition de sa signature, si elles sont conformes à l'intérêt public et à la justice, après avoir toutefois consulté la Commission. Sans bien entendu vouloir prendre la défense d'hommes qu'il a fait poursuivre comme criminels, il lui a paru que la différence des peines appliquées aux Cheiks Druses et aux

Officiers Ottomans avait été, dans la pensée du Tribunal, fondée sur une différence dans le degré de culpabilité et sur le texte même des lois. Aux termes du Code Pénal on ne peut frapper de mort que les auteurs ou les provocateurs de l'assassinat. Or les officiers Ottomans jugés à Beyrouth ne sont ni les auteurs ni les provocateurs des massacres. Ce sont des fonctionnaires qui ont commis une très grave, celle de ne pas travailler assez activement au maintien de l'ordre. Ils n'ont pas rempli leurs devoirs. Ils ont péché notamment par impuissance et par inertie. Voilà pourquoi ils sont punis non point de la peine capitale réservée aux auteurs et aux provocateurs, mais de la détention à perpétuité dans une forteresse.

M. Bédard objecte que le Mochir Ahmed Pacha n'était ni provocateur ni auteur dans les massacres de Damas, et que cependant il a été justement puni de mort, à quoi le Commissaire Ottoman objecte qu'Ahmed Pacha est resté dans une inaction complète, tandis que Kourchid Pacha a au moins essayé. Il n'est pas resté dans son palais, il a fait quelques efforts, maladroits à la vérité, on ne peut donc le considérer comme complice. Il mérite une peine très sévère, non la mort pourtant.

M. de Rehfues ne voit qu'une différence dans la conduite d'Ahmed Pacha et dans celle de Kourchid Pacha : c'est que l'un n'a rien fait, tandis que l'autre a seulement fait semblant d'agir. Il n'y a point là de circonstances très

M. Novikow, pour éclairer sa conscience, aurait besoin de savoir dans quelle mesure les délégués de l'autorité ont pu ne pas se rendre compte de la déplorable des mesures qu'ils avaient prises. Il est particulièrement difficile d'expliquer comment Tahir Pacha, qui prétend avoir donné au Commandant de Damas l'ordre formel de maintenir la sécurité de la ville, a pu quelques jours après devenir lui-même la principale cause des massacres.

M. de Rehfues exprime le regret que l'autorité ne se soit pas mise en mesure de saisir chez Tahir Pacha les preuves des communications qui existaient entre lui et les Cheiks Druses.

Lord Dufferin rappelle que 5,000 individus ont été assassinés dans la Montagne en un très court espace de temps. Un événement si épouvantable ne saurait se produire inopinément. Quelqu'un en est responsable. Seulement il

peut être difficile, sans un examen approfondi des pièces, du procès, de reconnaître à qui appartient cette responsabilité. Lord Dufferin pense que les Commissaires feraient bien de profiter de l'absence de Fuad Pacha pour se livrer à l'étude des documents qui leur ont été communiqués; après quoi ils transmettraient à son Excellence une note contenant l'expression de leur opinion collective.

Fuad Pacha trouve en conséquence que les officiers Ottomans dont ils s'agit ont assez sévèrement punis par la détention à perpétuité dans une forteresse, la présence de jugements qui leur appliquent la peine immédiatement inférieure à la peine de mort, il se rend d'ailleurs compte des questions qui viennent de lui être posées par la Commission. Dans le cours de ce procès, dit-il, on n'a point recherché en faveur des officiers des circonstances atténuantes. La peine que le Tribunal propose de leur infliger est la plus élevée de toutes celles que la loi autorise, et avant de leur en infliger une plus rigoureuse encore, Fuad Pacha s'adresse à la Commission qu'il se trouverait dans la nécessité d'en référer à Constantinople.

MM. les Commissaires de France et de Russie se déclarent prêts à appuyer la motion de Lord Dufferin, et constatent de nouveau que la Commission, après avoir reconnu à plusieurs reprises que la plus grande part de responsabilité dans les événements pesait sur les fonctionnaires Ottomans, ne peut émettre à cet égard d'opinion, sans avoir la preuve bien positive qu'elle s'était trompée.

M. de Weckbecker observe qu'il ne peut outrepasser le mandat qu'il a reçu de son Gouvernement et que, d'après les instructions qui lui ont été envoyées, il ne se croit pas autorisé à s'ingérer dans les jugements prononcés par les Tribunaux Ottomans. Il peut et doit provoquer la punition des coupables, mais non pas réclamer une aggravation de peines. Selon lui, si ce Tribunal absout un coupable, la Commission n'a le droit de demander la révision de la sentence, mais si le Tribunal, après avoir reconnu la culpabilité, prononce le plus haut degré même de la peine désignée par la loi, comme c'est précisément le cas dans les cinq sentences dont il s'agit, il lui semble que la Commission doit se contenter de

Cependant M. de Weckbecker, tout en ne reconnaissant à la Commission de son fait partie aucune compétence judiciaire, croit qu'elle peut demander de plus amples explications sur les motifs de ces jugements. Dans ces explications la Commission trouvera sans doute de nouvelles lumières sur l'origine et les causes des événements dont elle doit chercher à prévenir le retour, en pré-

qui lui a été confiée. En conséquence M. le Commissaire d'Autriche adhère à la proposition de Lord Dufferin.

Les trois Commissaires de France, de Russie, et de Prusse croient devoir réserver expressément pour la Commission Internationale le droit d'exercer dans toute leur étendue les pouvoirs qui lui ont été conférés. Elle doit provoquer la répression, mais ces expressions veulent dire que non seulement la Commission doit provoquer la punition des coupables, mais qu'elle a le droit aussi d'en provoquer la juste punition. On ne saurait séparer en pareille matière le degré de la peine elle-même car alors il suffirait que les principaux criminels fussent condamnés à huit jours d'arrêt, pour que le procès étant suivi de condamnation, la Commission n'ait pas le droit d'élever la voix. Une telle conséquence prouve jusqu'à l'évidence que l'interprétation particulière et inattendue donnée à l'instruction collective par M. le Commissaire d'Autriche, ne saurait être admise par ses collègues.

M. de Weckbecker ayant toutefois cru pouvoir accépter la motion de Lord Dufferin et chacun des membres de la Commission s'y étant rallié, il est entendu que MM. les Commissaires, après un examen attentif des pièces du procès, ont communiqué à Fuad Pacha, par la remise d'une note collective, leur opinion sur les sentences rendues contre les Chéikhs Druses et les officiers Ottomans par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 392

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrouth, January 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the eighteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 9th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBURY L.

Inclosure 4 in No. 392

Protocol of the Eighteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth January 9, 1861.

LE neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Elendi, étant réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures et demie. Il est donné lecture du procès-verbal de la vingt-deuxième

après quelques légères modifications

demande au Délégué de Fuad Pacha des expli-

fait qui vient de se produire dans la Montagne. Après

quelques scènes de désordre qui avaient eu lieu à Abadié, ce village, compris dans la Caïnaccine Chrétienne, a été occupé par un détachement de troupes Ottomanes, envoyées de Beyrouth par Ahmed Pacha. M. Beclard s'étonne qu'une telle mesure, attentatoire aux privilèges de la Montagne, ait été prise sans que les Commissaires en aient même été prévenus. Il ne doute pas que Youssouf Bey Karam n'ait en son pouvoir tous les moyens nécessaires pour rétablir l'ordre. Il tendrait donc à savoir pourquoi des troupes Ottomanes ont été envoyées à Abadié, si elles y sont encore, et jusqu'à quand elles y resteront. Il réclame sur ces divers points les explications catégoriques dont il a besoin.

Abro Elendi promet de transmettre à son Excellence Fuad Pacha l'interpellation de M. Beclard. Il donne, en attendant, quelques détails sur les circonstances qui ont provoqué la mesure dont il s'agit. Sur un avis parvenu à l'Autorité que deux Chrétiens venaient d'être assassinés, celle-ci ordonna une enquête qui constata qu'un seul était légèrement blessé par un coup de pierre. Quant à l'envoi d'un détachement de troupes à Abadié il avait été provoqué par les inquiétudes manifestées par le Caïnaccin lui-même au sujet d'intrigues et d'un rassemblement de plus de 1,000 Druses, réunis dans les environs de ce village. Le Délégué Ottoman ajoute que le Caïnaccin avait envoyé des zaptiés pour opérer la rentrée des fonds arriérés de l'impôt. Ceux-ci, rendus à Abadié, ont commis des extorsions au détriment des Druses, en les obligeant à lui fournir différents objets que Youssouf Bey, informé de fait, n'a pas tardé à faire restituer en partie. Mais dans l'intervalle les Druses, soit à bout de patience soit pour se soustraire au paiement d'un impôt qui devait les gêner beaucoup dans ce moment, se dispersèrent dans la vallée voisine, ne retournant dans leurs demeures que pendant la nuit. Alors les habitants Chrétiens reprirent l'incertitude, en s'armant eux-mêmes et en reprenant le bruit de cet attentat. Fuad Pacha, informé de cette nouvelle immédiatement avant son départ, ordonna au Gouverneur-Libéral d'aller visiter ce village. Rendu sur les lieux, Ahmed Pacha rassembla les habitants, Chrétiens et Druses indistinctement, et après avoir rassuré les uns et exhorté les autres à reprendre leurs travaux, il leur donna l'assurance la plus positive que ni le Gouvernement ni le Caïnaccin ne permettraient jamais qu'une partie de la population exerçât des vexations sur l'autre. C'est pour rassurer de fait tant les Chrétiens que les Druses à cet égard qu'un détachement fut expédié à Abadié, détachement que l'Autorité retirera aussitôt que ces inquiétudes auront cessé.

M. Beclard objecte que de deux choses l'une : ou Youssouf Bey Karam est en mesure de garantir le maintien de l'ordre dans la Caïnaccine Chrétienne, et dans l'occupation d'Abadié demeure sans explication, ou il n'a en son pouvoir que des forces insuffisantes, et alors il y a vivement lieu de regretter que le Libéralisme du Sultan lui ait imposé une tâche sans le mettre en mesure de la remplir.

Lord Dufferin voudrait qu'avant de porter un jugement sur le fait de l'occu-

pation, on sût précisément à quoi s'en tenir sur les événements qui s'étaient accomplis à Abadié. Il paraît que Foad Pacha, ayant envoyé dans ce village, comme partout ailleurs, un agent chargé de se livrer à des perquisitions pour à propos de réclamer non seulement la restitution de ce qui leur avait été pris

à l'époque de l'occupation égyptienne. Youssef Bey Karam aurait alors envoyé pour procéder au recouvrement de ces créances une troupe nombreuse de cavaliers, lesquels, ayant vécu pendant plusieurs semaines aux dépens des habitants de ce village, se l'auraient quitté qu'après l'avoir complètement épuisé. Un seul d'entr'eux y était resté, et c'est celui-là qui a été si fort maltraité. Lord Dufferin est porté à croire que son trouvère dans ce double fait d'une réclamation inattendue de créances très-anciennes de la part des Chrétiens, et d'une dilapidation de la part des soldats de Youssef Karam, l'explication de ce qui vient de se passer.

M. Bédard fait observer que Youssef Karam a pu, de peines corporelles très-rigoureuses ceux d'entre ses gens qui s'étaient rendus coupables d'exactions à Abadié.

M. Novikow rappelle que, d'après les règlements existants, un seul point de la Montagne, Beladja, peut être occupé par les troupes Ottomanes. En conséquence, l'envoi d'un détachement à Abadié, s'il n'a pas eu lieu sur la demande du Camacani intérimaire et par suite d'une nécessité réelle, constitue une contravention à des règlements garantis par les Puissances, et qui ne peuvent être modifiés sans leur consentement.

Abro Efendi répond qu'il n'est nullement dans l'intention de l'autorité de porter une atteinte quelconque à ces règlements, mais qu'il est dans son devoir de maintenir les populations, partout où il est besoin, par un déploiement de force militaire, et de consolider l'autorité du Camacani. En ce qui concerne l'objection de M. Bédard que le Gouvernement n'accordait pas une force militaire à Youssef Bey, Abro Efendi réplique que le Gouvernement lui a donné une force supérieure à celle dont tous les Camacanis Chrétiens ont

M. de Rehfues appelle l'attention de la Commission sur la manière dont la mesure de l'arrestation des Druzes s'est opérée. Un grand nombre de ceux qui avaient été dénoncés n'ont pas été arrêtés, et les principaux ne sont échappés à prix d'argent. On cite le nom d'officiers qui se sont prêtés à ces coupables intrigues.

Abro Efendi proteste énergiquement contre la possibilité d'un tel fait.

M. Bédard partage toutes les craintes de M. de Rehfues à cet égard. Il aurait fallu, selon lui, prévenir le mouvement général de panique qui s'est produit parmi les Druzes, et s'opposer à leur fuite, ainsi que le Général Bonafant l'a fait si efficacement sur un point.

M. Novikow constate que 300 Druzes, inscrits sur les listes, ont pu échapper.

Abro Efendi répond que, dans cette masse d'arrestations, il est possible qu'il y ait des individus qui soient parvenus à s'échapper, grâce à l'avertissement qui leur avait été donné par quelques Chrétiens eux-mêmes.

Lord Dufferin ne croit pas que l'on puisse en pareille matière se fier aux

sans difficulté, et il est naturel que ce soient les plus coupables qui aient pris l'initiative des premiers. M. le Commissaire britannique saisit cette occasion pour appeler la sollicitude de ses collègues sur l'état de la nation Druse, état qui selon lui n'est plus supportable, et la menace d'une prochaine dissolution.

M. le Commissaire Français regrette que les lenteurs mises à l'exécution des mesures de répression et d'indemnité, déterminent toutement chez les Druzes un malaise qui ne peut servir ni de satisfaction à la justice, ni de réparation aux Chrétiens. Il remet encore une fois le vœu que l'on procède avec rigueur au châtiment exemplaire des principaux coupables, avec promptitude à l'accomplissement de la question d'indemnité, et que, ces deux opérations une fois accomplies et la procédure fermée, il y ait entre les Druzes et les Maronites une égalité parfaite.

M. Novikow fait remarquer que les deux opérations de la répression et de la réparation ont entre elles une grande affinité, et qu'il serait urgent de les faire marcher de front.

Abro Efendi répond que le refus des Chrétiens de venir déposer devant le Tribunal de Mokhtara, et fournir les preuves de la culpabilité ou au moins de l'identité des individus arrêtés sur leur dénonciation, n'est pas de nature à activer le résultat définitif des mesures prises par son Excellence Foad Pacha.

Lord Dufferin a la conviction intime que ce refus, dicté aux Chrétiens par leurs Evêques, a été calculé dans l'intention de provoquer de la part de Foad Pacha la condamnation en bloc des 1,200 individus désignés par eux dans une première liste comme coupables au premier chef.

M. Novikow répond à Lord Dufferin que les Evêques, à l'intermédiaire desquels on a fait appel pour recueillir les dénonciations et les transmettre, ont fait cette transmission accomplie, se sont trouvés obligés en conscience de ne pas aller plus loin. M. Bédard croit savoir que non seulement ils n'ont pas détourné leurs coreligionnaires de se rendre à l'appel ou de Foad Pacha, mais que plusieurs d'entr'eux les y ont même fortement engagés. Si les Chrétiens s'y sont refusés, c'est que le Tribunal de Mokhtara leur a sans doute inspiré moins de confiance que celui de Beyrouth, et qu'ayant des doutes sur l'issue de cette procédure, ils ont voulu éviter de s'y compromettre.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que le nombre restreint des voix d'après le principe adopté doivent être prononcées, permet à Foad Pacha de contenter des dépositions de ceux d'entre les Chrétiens qui ont répondu à son appel.

M. de Wockbocker pense que ce n'est ni dans un sentiment de crainte, ni dans l'hypothèse d'une influence exercée par les Evêques, que l'on peut trouver l'explication de la conduite des Chrétiens dans cette circonstance, mais dans un sentiment particulier aux peuples de ce pays qui ne comprennent encore rien aux formalités de la justice publique. C'est la première fois qu'elle fonctionne devant eux, et qu'on procède ainsi à la répression.

M. le Commissaire Français interpelle Abro Efendi relativement à l'un des premiers actes accomplis par le nouveau Gouverneur de Damas. Enun Pacha aussitôt son arrivée, a dissous le Conseil Provincial, et provoqué le renouvellement de cette assemblée par un corps électoral qu'il a institué ad hoc. Le résultat de cette opération a été d'exclure du Conseil des hommes honorables que Foad Pacha y avait conservés, et notamment Salih Agha Mohayem, homme considérable par sa position et son caractère, et qui, pendant les événements, a recueilli chez lui un grand nombre de Chrétiens. Cette exclusion ne peut qu'encourager les tendances déplorables de la population Musulmane.

recommande la
Damas, en égard à sa conduite louable vis-à-vis des

M. Novikow remarque qu'en dehors même du fait de l'élection, la Commission a parfaitement le droit de signaler le fâcheux effet que l'exclusion de Mohayem aura produit sur l'esprit de la population.

M. Bédard pour son compte admet que qu'aucune restriction puisse être apportée à l'exercice des droits dont la Commission est investie. Jusqu'à ce que la Syrie soit réorganisée, Foad Pacha est armé de pouvoirs sans limites, et la Commission de son côté a sur tous les actes de l'autorité, pendant cette période transitoire, un droit de censure dont M. le Commissaire de France croit voir user dans cette circonstance.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et trois-quarts.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 5 in No. 392.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrout, January 27, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's perusal, myself, respecting the course to be pursued towards the Druse prisoners at Mokhtarah.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 392.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

(Extract.)

Mokhtarah, January 17, 1861

THE Christian Deputies are leaving Mokhtarah to-day in some haste. I called them together the day before yesterday, and in a lengthy speech

did not pretend to have the intention of putting to death any such number as that demanded in their lists, the most moderate of which contained 1,200 names.

Names have been placed on that list, he would now ask them to arrange another, of about 200 names of the Druses they conceived to have been most guilty in connection with the late massacres. Whether they were now prisoners or yet in flight, arranged and numbered according to their degree of guilt, from the highest and so on downwards. He wished them, however, to understand

they were not able to comply with this invitation. That the previous list having been prepared by the whole people, it would be incompetent for them to draw up another of less extent, and which would invalidate the first, without evidence against individuals without calling on the whole population to furnish it.

The Pasha, finding he could come to no practical result with them

is now engaged in classifying the accused according to their degrees of guilt, and, as far as he can, has now made up his mind, his plan now is to try the more important cases by the aid of special sworn depositions. In his possession, the testimony of Druses already given on oath during the trials. Several of those kinds of evidence being already concentrated against the same individuals.

He will also seek to arm himself of any direct evidence which may involve him again in the difficulty of having to meet another exaggerated demand for vengeance.

When he sees what condemnations can be or on sufficient evidence. With the above particulars, I am anxious you should receive simultaneously with the arrival of the Deputies at Beyrout, if possible. I beg you, therefore, to pardon

Inclosure 7 in No. 392

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin

Mokhtarah, January 19, 1861.

My Lord.

IN discussing with Foad Pasha last evening the basis upon which it would be competent for the Court to record sentence of death against any of the Druse prisoners now under examination here, I felt it necessary to object to the wide scope his Excellency claimed for the optional award of this penalty. I took occasion to remark that I had understood the intention of the European Commission to be that capital punishment should be limited to cases of cold-blooded murder alone, an opinion in which I am confirmed by reference to your Lordship's communication of January 1, addressed to me.

To my objection his Excellency replied that this was by no means the intention of the Commission, on the contrary, it had been decided that individuals coming under any of the following categories should be amenable to capital punishment, viz.:-

1. Those engaged as authors or excitors in connection with the late massacres.
2. Those acting as Chiefs of bands engaged in murdering, burning, or plundering; and
3. Those guilty of cold-blooded murder with their own hands.

His Excellency further stated that your Lordship had certainly laid upon the table a proposition that murder should be the only crime for which sentence of death should be passed, that two eye-witnesses should be required and that the number of executions should be inferior to those of Damascus, but that these limitations had not been decided upon by the Commission.

I asked his Excellency to permit me to peruse the Protocol of proceedings on that occasion, but as no copy has been brought to Mokhtarah, I should be obliged if your Lordship would furnish me with one, or with such other information as may seem necessary for my guidance.

I have in the meantime requested his Excellency to abstain from recording sentence of death against any prisoner who shall not have been found guilty of cold blooded murder.

I have, &c
(Signed) A. J. FRASER

Inclosure 8 in No. 392

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord.

Mokhtarah, January 23, 1861

THE labours of the Extraordinary Commission having now been brought to a close, a report of these has been presented to his Excellency Foad Pasha comprising, among other documents, a list of nearly 300 persons who have been more or less compromised in the late outbreak.

In consequence of the refusal of the Christians to bear testimony against individuals his Excellency has found much difficulty in establishing distinctly the guilt of any one among the prisoners. And the evidence has necessarily been of a presumptive character.

Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the number of Druse men, women, and children, amounting to 176 persons who have been murdered by the Christians, besides 85 wounded since the occupation of the Mountain by the French troops, their loss of life during the outbreak amounting to 1,300 men, together with the miserable condition to which they have been reduced by the pillage of their villages, his Excellency considers that the execution of a comparatively small number, in addition to those already condemned at Beyrout, will suffice to give a necessary example for the future and to meet the demands of a discriminating justice.

His Excellency proposes, therefore, to transmit at once to Beyrout the Report of the Extraordinary Commission, together with his own recommendation thereupon, in the hope that the European Commissioners may be able to

His Excellency is further most desirous that the decision of the Commission be re-transmitted speedily, it being hardly possible to continue to hold his position in a petty mountain village with 800 prisoners on hand, who, from the impossibility of finding proper accommodation for such numbers, ~~and~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ severity of the weather, are undergoing severe suffering, of which some have even died; while the keeping up supplies over mountain paths for the prisoners, and for the troops who guard them, is, in such weather, difficult in the extreme.

My desire to send these lines by the present express will, I hope, plead my apology for the absence of details, and for the very hurried form of this communication.

I have, &c
(Signed) **A. J. FRASER**

Inclosure 2 in No. 392

Lord Dufferin to Major Fraser.

recognition had become all the
reportation as our invec ignominie due dated
er it becaes that the Christians had
nation.
bt as possible upon so important a subject, it
who come under any of the three following
ment —
ria part personnellement aux massacres,
rige les assassins et les incendiaires
per la voix publique comme ayant commis le
qui aggravent leur culpabil.

Armed with three recommendations, his Excellency summoned the Bishops of the various sects, and having communicated to them at large the view of the Commission, requested them to consult with the leading men of the several communities, and present him with the names of those who might be considered deserving of capital punishment.

The result of this invitation was a list of 4,600 persons, whom these ecclesiastics wished, in cold blood, to consign to death. It is, indeed, pretended that they were upon this occasion the mere mouth-pieces of the Christian notables; but any one acquainted with the influence exercised by the prelates of the sects in this country must smile at the introduction of such a flimsy pretext.

In the face, then, of no obvious determination on the part of the Marmite lenders to procure the wholesale destruction of their enemies, it became incumbent on those whose aim it was to secure the accomplishment of an impartial, though rigorous, justice to guard against the blind vindictiveness of the Christian prosecutors by devising limitations still stricter than those which had already proved so ineffectual to restrain the unscrupulous denunciations of the priesthood. My own uneasiness on the subject was further enhanced by the fact that, notwithstanding all Fund Pasha's remonstrances against such unreasonable and

It was under these circumstances that I submitted to the Commission the four propositions to which you refer. Though we did not come to any vote upon the subject, the proposals, after some desultory discussion, were generally accepted, and an express affirmation was unanimously given on the vote which restricted the capital punishment in the Mountains to a lower number than that of the criminals hanged at Danvers.

In confirmation of this statement I inclose you a private letter on the subject from M. Hecard, the substance of which you will perhaps be good enough to communicate confidentially to the Executive Fair Trade.

With regard, however, to the course now to be pursued, I am ready to admit that the fact of the Christians having refused to come into Court, or to enter into any details relative to the comparative guilt of those whom they have denounced, or to afford any evidence to show on what grounds these accusations have been founded, considerably alters the case, and entitles us to insist on the last-mentioned limitation being adhered to.

Common. Under any
of expediency, no desire
of public opinion, ought to
execution unless the evidence

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

P.S.—In reference to this subject I beg to inclose you an extract from a despatch of Lord Elgin's with reference to the assassinations lately committed in China.

You will perceive that, even under such terrible provocation, his Lordship never loses sight of the necessity of having evidence to justify the condemnation of murderers, however atrocious may be their crimes.

Enclosure 10 in No. 392

The Earl of Elgin to Lord J. Russell

Pravda, October 25, 1960.

10-10-57 2:15 PM 1 not have conceded, and

I must add that, throwing the responsibility for the acts of Government in this way on individuals, resembles too closely the Chinese form of conducting war, to approve itself altogether to my judgment.

Inclosure 11 in No. 392.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Beirut, January 27, 1861.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, extract from a despatch which I have received from Major Fraser dated the 19th instant, and marked Secret and Confidential, reporting the substance of a conversation which he had held with his Excellency Fuad Pasha respecting a prolonged foreign occupation.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 12 in No. 392.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

Mohkiorah, January 19, 1861.

(Extract.)

IN a private conversation with Fuad Pasha this evening on the affairs of the Moten, and on the possibility of my having shortly to bring again under his notice the dangerous condition to which Nazareth had been reduced by maladministration and intrigue, his Excellency remarked that no one could be more sensible than he in how many directions healthy and vigorous action was necessary on the part of the Government; but while he continued to be hampered by a prolongation of the occupation, it was quite impossible for him to give attention to the general business of the Government. He felt obliged to hold himself in readiness to counteract, before it could become serious, each new excitement or more hidden scheme, and only defeated one to find half-a-dozen

I have
learned in

the government of this
Pasha should suppose
such a task), I had

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No. 392a

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 2.)

(No. 70.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, January 23, 1861.

I INCLOSE a copy of the Turkish project for the government of Syria As I have but just received it I have not time to discuss its merits.

But it differs in some degree from what I first understood it would be from the verbal explanations given to me, and appears more confused and less comprehensive.

I will endeavour by Saturday's post to write something more satisfactory on the subject. In regard to the indemnity, I certainly thought that if the Porte were able to take this obligation upon itself, at once pay a portion and give Fuad orders to raise the rest in the least oppressive manner, that this course would have been the most desirable; for the plan proposed, as far as I understand it, is liable to objections both on the score of practicability and justice. But it is most essential that there should, at all events, be no delay in this matter, and I have, therefore, pressed the Porte either to propose at once some satisfactory plan of its own, sending the money which it first promised to send by this steamer, or to give Fuad Pasha full powers to act as he may think the case requires. I confess I still think myself that it is most hard to make the most respectable part of the Musulman population at Damascus pay for the whole mischief that was perpetrated chiefly by the Druses from the Hauran. I the rabble of the town, and which ought to have been prevented by the Imperial Government. Moreover, though I have little doubt but that the indemnity to be paid is but an inadequate compensation for the injury sustained, I do not know whether all of it can be paid by the parties on whom it is assessed without the complete ruin of those parties.

I think that by this post Fuad will receive full powers to do whatever he thinks proper; but several Councils have been lately held upon this subject, and I have not heard the result of that which was held last night.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 392a.

Articles containing the Bases for the Future Government of Syria

[See Inclosure in No. 361.]

No. 392b.

Ash Pasha to M. Murus.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Murus, February 6.)

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

Le 20 Janvier, 1861.

MON expédition d'aujourd'hui vous apprendra les bases que la Sublime Porte vient d'adopter sur l'organisation future de la Syrie. Je joins ici, pour votre information, le projet de Lord Dufferin, projet dont la simple lecture vous mettra à même d'en juger le mérite et la portée. Mon intention n'est pas de discuter un à un tous les Articles du plan du Commissaire Britannique. Le principe qui semble l'avoir dicté, ne pouvant pas être admis par la Sublime Porte, il serait tout-à-fait inutile de s'étendre sur les détails. Tout ce que j'ai donc à vous dire, c'est que le plan en question ne tend à rien moins qu'à ériger une nouvelle Principauté, quasi indépendante, soumise à la direction d'une Commission Européenne, et à laisser la Syrie de la domination Ottomanne.

Vous concevrez facilement, mon cher Ambassadeur, combien le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale serait désolé, si par malheur le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Britannique, après avoir pris connaissance de cet état de choses, démontrait qu'une telle combinaison créerait et à l'ensemble de l'Empire et à la Syrie elle-même, ne revenait pas sur sa première impression; le principe de l'indépendance de la Syrie, que j'ai dit être le principe de l'indépendance de la Syrie, est un principe que je puis le dire, est efficace.

ment défendu par l'Angleterre, recevait une nouvelle atteinte dans une de ses plus importantes parties.

Sans doute, les malheurs qui ont frappé les populations du Mont Liban et de Damas sont immenses. Le cœur paternel de notre auguste Souverain a été le premier à s'affliger des horreurs dont ces pays ont été le théâtre.

La Grande Bretagne a en aussi, il n'y a pas longtemps, des désastres pareils à déplorer et à represser dans ses possessions de l'Inde Orientale. Personne n'a songé à accuser l'Administration Anglaise de négligence ou d'incapacité. Comme nous, elle a été surprise par les événements, et comme nous, elle a rempli son devoir en infligeant des punitions sévères aux auteurs des forfaits commis.

Si quelques uns de nos Agents ont pu manquer à leur devoir, le Gouvernement a prouvé qu'il n'entendait pas tolérer de pareils manquements : et il leur a fait payer leur punition.

Le Gouvernement Impérial eût mérité la réprobation du monde civilisé, l'Europe eût été en droit et en devoir de penser à substituer un autre état de choses, si la répression n'eût pas été aussi prompte que possible, si par suite de la triste expérience que nous venons de faire, nous n'étions pas préparés un mode d'administration capable d'empêcher le renouvellement des crimes passés et à garantir la sécurité et la prospérité future des habitants de la Syrie.

Je ne cache pas qu'il y ait un Gouvernement qui ne veuille et qui ne fasse tout ce qui est dans les limites du possible pour maintenir la tranquillité dans son intérieur, et pour faire jouir ses sujets de toute sorte de sécurité. C'est le premier des devoirs de tout État régulier. La Sublime Porte apprécie l'importance de ce devoir, et elle s'efforce à le remplir fidèlement. Mais ce but ne peut être atteint qu'à condition d'avoir le libre exercice des droits sans lesquels toute autorité devient illusoire. Ainsi, avec l'introduction du nouveau système que nous avons arrêté, avec la pleine jouissance de cette liberté d'action indéfectible et indispensable à l'indépendance de chaque Gouvernement, la Sublime Porte n'hésiterait pas à déclarer, en face du monde entier, sa conviction intime de pouvoir, par l'aide de Dieu, maintenir l'ordre et la paix dans toute la Syrie ; tandis qu'avec le mode proposé par Lord Dufferin, il serait plus qu'incapable à la Sublime Porte d'assumer la moindre responsabilité à cet égard.

Nous savons que le désir de l'Angleterre et des autres Grandes Puissances n'est point d'amener un démembrement. Elles ne cherchent que le moyen d'élever une digue contre de nouvelles dévastations du torrent insurrectionnel. Nous ne demandons, et nous ne pouvons demander, rien plus autre chose. Puisque c'est ainsi, pourquoi souleverait-on des difficultés pour l'adoption des

offrent toutes les garanties désirables ? Et pourquoi persisterait-on à préférer un plan dont la première conséquence serait de soustraire la Syrie à la souveraineté du Sultan ? Non, nous sommes convaincus que Lord John Russell, après avoir pris connaissance de notre projet, voudra bien en reconnaître la parfaite sagesse, et qu'il ne refusera pas d'accéder à nos observations sur les inconvénients de l'opinion de son Commissaire une attention bienveillante et

Vous devez vous rappeler, mon cher Ambassadeur, que nous n'avons jamais reconnu la compétence de la Commission Européenne dans l'organisation de la Syrie proprement dite.

Nous avons toujours et formellement déclaré qu'en matière administrative, les délibérations de la Commission ne devaient porter que sur les modifications à introduire dans l'organisation du Mont Liban. Non-seulement notre déclaration réitérée n'a rencontré aucune objection, mais on nous a constamment répondu qu'il ne s'agissait que de réviser le système établi en 1845. Nous pouvons invoquer à ce sujet le témoignage de MM. les Représentants à Constantinople, aussi bien que le texte des instructions identiques données à la Commission.

L'n résumé, mon cher Ambassadeur, c'est un devoir impérieux et solennel que je remplis aujourd'hui, en vous invitant au nom de la Sublime Porte à soumettre à l'appréciation éclairée de son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Étrangères les raisons vitales qui nous obligent à ne pouvoir adhérer à aucun prix à la proposition de Lord Dufferin, et à persister dans notre résolution, dont, comme je vous l'ai dit en commençant, mon office en date de ce jour vous donnera les détails.

Veuillez &c.
HENRY L. BULWER

No. 393.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(No. 83.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, January 30, 1861

REFERRING to your Lordship's No. 31 of January 17, I thought it better to make to his Highness Aali Pasha the inclosed communication respecting the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Inclosure in No. 393.

Sir H. Bulwer to Aali Pasha

Highness,

Constantinople, January 22, 1861

WE have had one or two conversations lately on the subject of the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, and I think it as well that your Highness should know as clearly as possible the language which Her Majesty's Government holds to me on this subject.

It says: You are not to urge the Porte to insist on the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria if the Porte itself considers that for the peace of the country those troops ought to remain, and that without them it could not be answerable for the lives and property of the inhabitants. But if the Ottoman Government thinks a foreign force is not required, and that the Ottoman Government deems that without such force it can fulfil the duties of a Government in Syria, and be answerable for the security and tranquillity of the country, then it should state so at once, and clearly.

As for Her Majesty's Government, the assurances of Lord Dufferin certainly tend to create in it a belief that the French army is no longer necessary, and, if the Porte is also of this opinion, Her Majesty's Government will support the view it takes upon this subject. But it is to be honestly and frankly understood that Her Majesty's Government does not, directly nor indirectly, impose, nor attempt to impose, any policy on the Porte which the Porte itself is not predisposed to follow, believing it conscientiously the best for the interests of the Sultan, and the peace of his dominions.

I have informed Her Majesty's Government that you had already informed me that the Porte, acting in this case on its own unbiased convictions, had determined to require the execution of the Treaty of the 5th of September, and the evacuation of Syria; and, as far as I can ascertain the sentiments of all the members of the Sultan's Government, there is but one feeling on the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

No. 394.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 8.)

(No. 84.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, January 30, 1861.

ON receiving Lord Dufferin's despatches relative to the conduct of Fuad Pasha respecting the Druses, I brought the matter at once before the Porte, and Aali Pasha agreeing with me, wrote to his Excellency the Turkish Commissioner enjoining him to act with justice and circumspection, and not to extend the punishment which those who were criminal amongst the Druse tribe deserved, to an unjust and indiscriminate persecution of the whole Druse people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — Received February 7.

(No. 206.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 7, 1861.

M. THOUVENEL has received a despatch from M. Bédard dated the 17th ultimo, in which he gives an account of a meeting of the Syrian Commission to receive a report made by Fual Pasha of the result of the trial of the Druses, about 300 in number, taken at Mokhtarah.

It appears that Fual Pasha had informed the Commission that the sentence of death had been awarded to about twenty of them, and that he desired to know whether the Commission would be satisfied with that number, that the Commission had replied unanimously that that number would not be sufficient, and had insisted on the execution of any Druse implicated in any of the massacres which had occurred in any of the Christian villages.

M. Thouvenel thinks that this savoured too much of unnecessary vengeance, and he has therefore written to M. Bédard to say that it is not a holocaust which is wanted, but the execution of one or two of the ringleaders of the Druses with a view of inspiring a wholesome terror among the rest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 396

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received February 8.)

(No. 207.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 7, 1861.

I HAVE informed M. Thouvenel that the Porte having consented to the reassembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, your Lordship had authorized me to inquire at what period he proposed to convene a meeting. His Excellency said he would convene one as soon as Vefyh Pasha should be in possession of his instructions. His Excellency added that as yet he had received no answer from St. Petersburg to his proposal to reassemble the Conference, but, as he could not doubt that it would be agreed to by Prince Gortschakoff, he was apprehensive that the delay was occasioned by his desire to couple with that agreement the renewal of the Russian demand of last year, that the whole question of the treatment of Christians in Turkey should be brought under the notice of the Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 397

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 169.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 8, 1861

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 206 of the 7th instant, reporting a communication made to you by M. Thouvenel of the substance of a despatch from the French Commissioner in Syria, containing an account of a meeting of the Commission to receive Fual Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have to state to your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Thouvenel in opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear amongst the rest and to satisfy the ends of justice.

Mr. Bulwer has been instructed to inform Lord Dufferin that Her Majesty's Government concur in M. Thouvenel's opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 170.)

Sir

Foreign Office, February 8, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, reporting what M. Thouvenel had stated to him on the subject of M. Bédard's Report of a meeting of the Syrian Commission to receive Fual Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have informed Earl Cowley that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Thouvenel in opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear amongst the rest, and to satisfy the ends of justice; and I have also informed Earl Cowley that you have been instructed to acquaint Lord Dufferin with the sentiments of Her Majesty's Government on this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 399

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell. — (Received February 9.)

(No. 209.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 8, 1861

IN my despatch No. 207 of yesterday's date I mentioned to your Lordship the apprehensions entertained by M. Thouvenel lest the Russian Government should desire to take advantage of the reassembling of the Conference on Syrian affairs, to provoke a discussion upon the general state of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and to propose resolutions for the adoption of the assembled Representatives.

I would beg your Lordship to consider and to inform me what course you would wish me to take under such circumstances; I ask your Lord's instructions for the following reason.

It will be in your Lordship's recollection that an attempt of this kind was made when the Conference was first assembled in July last. My despatch No. 1,006 of the 31st of that month gives an account of this attempt; and your Lordship will, no doubt, remember that I was obliged to hint, in as courteous terms as possible, that I should leave the Conference if it was persisted in when, after a reference to St. Petersburg, it was abandoned. But I heard afterwards that the Russian Government was not satisfied with my hint, and that it was considered that he ought to have shown greater energy in carrying out the instructions with which he had been furnished.

These tactics may be repeated now with more perseverance, and it is well that I should call your Lordship's attention to this possibility. Perhaps the best way of defeating them, should the intention to resort to them be manifested, will be to apprise M. Thouvenel that Her Majesty's Government will not authorize me to attend the Conference, unless it be clearly understood that no other question is to be treated therein than those connected with the affairs of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 400

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 169.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 9, 1861

THE accounts received from Her Majesty's Commissioner in Syria do not announce any change in the opinion entertained by the Commissioner that

the French troops ought to be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention.

Your Excellency will express this opinion to the Conference as the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. If, however, the Turkish Ambassador has instructions to agree to a prolonged occupation, you will inform Her Majesty's Government of that circumstance. If he has not such instructions, you will not in any way endeavour to persuade him to yield to the desire for a prolonged occupation.

That desire, as expressed by General Beaufort and by the organs of the French press, is founded on an opinion that the Turks are unfit to govern Syria. But the question naturally arises, if Turkish authority is unfit to rule in Syria now, why should it be fit at the end of two months, or of six months?

Again, if it is unfit to rule in Syria, why in Bulgaria or in Bosnia? It is obvious, from what M. Thouvenel says, that this last question will be raised by the Representative of Russia.

Nay more. If it is once admitted that, apart from the horrible events which occasioned the foreign occupation of Syria, the Turks cannot be trusted with the government of Christians, the wide application of this dogma asserted by the Russian Government must be admitted.

Your Excellency is therefore desired to confine yourself to the question of the occupation of Syria, and to express your opinion on it to the Conference, and to you, to oppose its renewal.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 401

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 11.)

(No. 23)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 7, 1861.

I AVAILED myself of an interview which I had with Count Rechberg the day after the arrival of the last messenger, to inform his Excellency of the answer which your Lordship had returned to M. Thouvenel's proposal to summon the Conference of the Representatives of the Powers for the purpose of discussing the question of the occupation of Syria, and I read to him the copy of your Lordship's despatch to Earl Cowley No. 108 of the 24th ultimo.

Count Rechberg thanked me for this communication, and said emphatically that he approved of every word of this despatch. He did not mention having received any further communications from Paris, but it may be presumed that he is not favourably impressed with the intelligence which has reached him from other quarters on this subject, for he said that England and Austria were the only two Powers that appeared to be agreed on the Syrian question. He added, the answer from Prussia was drawn up so as to leave it uncertain what she will do.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 402

Mr. Lowther to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 11.)

(No. 74. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, February 9, 1861.

I TOOK an opportunity of asking the Austrian Minister here, Count Karolyi, what he was aware what the opinions of his Government were as to the question of a Conference on the affairs of Syria.

Count Karolyi mentioned the communication of your Lordship's despatch on that subject by Mr. Fane to Count Rechberg, and he read to me a despatch from Count Rechberg, in which he stated that he agreed with the opinions

expressed by your Lordship, and that the Austrian Cabinet would be in favour of the Conference provided the other Powers parties to the Convention were of the same opinion.

I am not mistaken, the despatch Count Karolyi read to me was addressed to Count Apponyi. No mention was made of Count Rechberg's being of opinion that the occupation should be continued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. LOWTHER

No. 403

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 69.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 11, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* reporting what the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had said on communicating to him the substance of M. Bédard's report of the meeting of the Syrian Commission to receive Fuad Pasha's Report of the result of the trial of the Druses taken at Mokhtarah.

I have informed Earl Cowley that Her Majesty's Government concur with M. Bédard's opinion that the execution of one or two of the most criminal of the ringleaders of the Druses will be sufficient to inspire a wholesome fear at the rest and to satisfy the ends of justice.

I have likewise communicated these sentiments of Her Majesty's Government to Sir H. Bulwer, and have instructed his Excellency to inform you of them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 404.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 84.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 11, 1861.

I RECEIVED, in your Excellency's despatch No. 70, the plan for the pacification of Syria proposed by the Porte, and the circular which accompanied it.

Her Majesty's Government understand that the Lebanon is not comprised in this plan, because the question of the Government of the Mountain is left to the European Commissioners.

Her Majesty's Government lament that no immediate advance of money to enable the Syrian Christians to rebuild their houses and return to their former occupations, is contained in the Turkish plan.

Your Excellency will instruct Lord Dufferin to remain at his post until the Commissioners shall have made their report.

You will have learnt by my telegram of the 2nd instant that Her Majesty's Government concur with the Turkish Government in thinking that the proposals of the Commission should be confined to the Government of the Lebanon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 405

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(No. 215. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 11, 1861.

I HAVE at last had some conversation with Vefyk Efendi on the subject of the reassembling of the Conference on the affairs of Syria. He informed me

that he had sufficient instructions to enable him to take part in the Conference, and that he had so stated to M. Thouvenel.

On my asking the nature of these instructions Vefyk Efendi said that he was to request the evacuation of Syria, and to state that it was absolutely necessary, for the re-establishment of the Porte's authority in that province, that the foreign troops should be withdrawn. He should listen, he added, in the first Conference, to any remarks which might be made to him; and probably should have to refer for further instructions to Constantinople.

I observed that he must be aware that the French Government were desirous of prolonging the occupation, and I asked him whether his Government were disposed to acquiesce in this desire. Vefyk Efendi's reply left no doubt upon my mind that the Porte is prepared to extend the period of occupation for a limited period.

I inquired whether the Porte, in consenting to a prolongation of the occupation, intended to take any precautions, with a view of preventing a renewal of the demand when the second period should have expired, and Vefyk Efendi replied that he was satisfied that the troops would be withdrawn before the end of April.

I presume, from what I have recounted, that the French Government have been in direct communication with the Porte upon this subject, and this notion is confirmed by other information which has reached me. Indeed, M. Thouvenel, in the course of a conversation which I had with him this afternoon, said that he had reason to believe that the Porte would not press for the immediate departure of the troops.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 406.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(No. 216.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 11, 1861.

THE Russian Government has notified its assent to the re-assembling of the Conference on Syrian Affairs, and, M. Thouvenel believes, without any intention to profit by the occasion to bring forward any general resolutions in favour of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

I informed his Excellency that I could not attend a Conference which had any other object than the execution of the Convention of the 5th of September, and that I begged that this might be clearly understood.

M. Thouvenel said that he should be quite ready to oppose any attempt that might be made to involve the Conference in other questions, but he repeated that he had no reason to believe that any such attempt was meditated.

It is probable that the Conference will meet on Saturday, the 16th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 407

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 12.)

(No. 217)

My Lord,

Paris, February 11, 1861.

IN my despatch No. 205 of the 7th instant I called your Lordship's attention to the common opinion which pervaded the public mind in France as to the part which the British Government had taken with respect to the occupation of Syria.

The idea that Her Majesty's Government had been using their influence with the Porte to induce the latter to insist on the withdrawal of the French troops has gained so much ground that I thought it advisable to speak to M. Thouvenel on the subject, and to state to him that, although Her Majesty's Government entertained a very decided opinion upon the expediency of the

evacuation of Syria—an opinion which they had frankly communicated to the French Government—they had not sought in any way to impose that opinion upon the Porte; on the contrary, they had abstained from offering any advice to the Porte as to the course which it should pursue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 408.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 88.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 12, 1861

I HAVE to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve of the note which you addressed on the 30th ultimo to Aali Pasha respecting the withdrawal of the French troops from Syria, of which a copy was inclosed in your despatch to me No. 83 of the 30th of January.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 409.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 173.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 13, 1861

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 215, Confidential, of the 11th instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you have had with Vefyk Efendi as to the course which he is prepared to take in the approaching Conference.

If Vefyk Efendi takes the line in Conference which he has sketched out to your Excellency, you will take every guarantee that can be obtained for securing the evacuation of Syria before the end of April. The prolongation of the period of occupation should be regulated by a Convention duly signed and ratified.

The number of troops should not exceed the number of European troops actually in Syria in the month of January last.

I have to instruct your Excellency to inform Prince Metternich of the line which you are instructed to take in Conference.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 410.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 223.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 12, 1861

WITH reference to my despatch No. 216 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to state that Prince Gortchakoff in his despatch agreeing to the proposal of a fresh Conference on Syrian affairs, says that for his part he must decline to accept the responsibility of the consequences which, in his opinion, must follow the departure of the European troops of occupation before the reorganisation of the Government of the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 93.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 14, 1861

HER Majesty's Government will instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris to declare in the Conference that Her Majesty will be prepared to station a squadron on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer.

You may inform the Minister of the Sultan of this intention, and state likewise that it is proposed to renew the discretionary power given to the Admiral of that squadron to land Marines in the case of urgent danger of massacre of British subjects or of the Christian population.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 412

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

No. 169.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 14, 1861.

YOUR Excellency is authorized to declare, in the Conference, that Her Majesty will be prepared to station a squadron on the coast of Syria from the 1st of May of this year till the end of the summer.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople upon this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 413.

Lord J. Russell to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty

My Lords,

Foreign Office, February 15, 1861.

I HAVE received the Queen's commands to signify to your Lordships Her Majesty's pleasure in relation to the proposed stationing of a squadron on the coast of Syria.

I have further to state to your Lordships that a discretionary power should be given to the Admiral of that squadron to land Marines in the case of urgent danger of massacre of British subjects or of the Christian population.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 414.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16)

(No. 64.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, February 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No 414

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, January 29, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of a list of the Druse men, women, and children that have been murdered by the Christians since the Mountain has been the seat of a joint military occupation.

It is melancholy to think that the intention of Europe should have become the signal for the renewal of those very barbarities we have come to put an end to, and this reflection assumes a graver character when we perceive that in addition to the 136 men who have fallen victims to the spirit of retaliation which not unnaturally animates the Maronites, nearly 50 innocent women and 15 children have been either butchered or brutally ill-treated.

As your Excellency is aware, the moment that the news of the first of these assassinations reached my ears, I wrote a despatch to Fud Pasha, which I also communicated to the French General, urging upon his Excellency the

same time I remonstrated most vehemently with my French colleague against the apparent indifference manifested by his countrymen to acts of barbarity perpetrated under the shadow of the French flag.

In reply, I was assured that steps had been taken to put an end to the same, and that there was no danger of any repetition of such crimes. I confess, however, I could never learn that any single individual had been dealt with as he deserved. Since then, vague reports have still kept reaching me, from time to time, of isolated murders committed here and there by the Christians in the Mixed districts. And at repeated intervals I have renewed, both to his Excellency and to M. Declard, my previous representations.

It was not, however, until Major Fraser accompanied Fud Pasha to Makh-tash that we became acquainted with the real extent to which these atrocities had been practised, and that it was known for the first time how many women and children had fallen victims.

Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, I wrote a despatch to Major Fraser, copy of which I have the honour to transmit, requesting him to state in the most summary manner the authors of at least some of the more atrocious crimes marked in the list he sent me, or, in the event of his Excellency showing any disinclination to act with vigour, to require him to give an explanation in writing of the refusal.

Fud Pasha at once acceded to the request which had been made, and sent persons in pursuit of those most notoriously obnoxious to punishment; and before long I hope to be able to report to your Excellency that they have been duly dealt with.

I cannot, however, conclude this despatch without remarking how unfortunate it is that the misconduct of the Christians should thus confuse the justice of their cause, and compel us to include members of their own faith in the list of those we are called upon to punish.

Had a single culprit been hanged on the day the French army marched to D. Kanar, not another murder would have disgraced the Christian name.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 414.

List of the Druses who have been Killed and Wounded since the Military Occupation of Mount Lebanon.

[illegible]

11. *Id.* in No. 414.

Let $\ell = \ell_1 \cup \ell_2 \cup \ell_3$ be the M -orbit $\ell \in \Sigma$.

[illegible]

8. The Turkish Government has been unwilling to bring to justice those who have been responsible for the 1994 genocide. It has refused to accept the findings of the UN Commission of Inquiry and the UN Human Rights Commission. It has refused to allow the UN Human Rights Commission to hold public hearings and to allow the UN Human Rights Commission to hold public hearings. It has refused to allow the UN Human Rights Commission to hold public hearings.

DUFFEY AND CLANEBOY

INCLOSURE 4 is No. 414.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

22

Reynold, February 1, 1861

AS your Excellency will have already learnt from my previous despatches, as well as from Major Fraser's Reports, Fuad Pasha has been occupied during the last few days in the establishment of a Tribunal on the Mountain for the trial of those Druses designated as the principal actors in the massacres at Hama, Hama, Hama, and Bere-el-Kumar.

Previously to his Excellency's arrival, upwards of 700 persons had been captured in accordance with the requisitions furnished by the Christian Hierarchy, and were awaiting the opening of the assize. To every one's astonishment, however, when the Christian notables were invited to come forward and furnish the Military Tribunal with such indication as would justify the conviction of the persons they had accused, the Turkish authorities were met by a flat refusal, on their part, to supply any evidence whatever.

Subsequent inquiry has satisfied me that this extraordinary conduct was dictated to the nobles by their Bishops, with the twofold object of embarrassing the Government, and of preventing the Court from drawing such a distinction between the degrees of individual culpability as would admit of the condemnation of a lesser number than the extravagant total demanded. Having been, for some time past, aware of the unscrupulous methods resorted to by the leaders of the Maronite party to procure the destruction of a far greater number of their Druse enemies than the exigencies of the severest justice could require, and having very little confidence either in the intelligence or the conscientiousness of a military tribunal composed of Turkish officers, when it was a case in which only Druses interested were concerned, I had urged the Commission to restrict the competence of the Court-martial within the narrowest limits, and in addition to the other precautions adopted at my suggestion, it was especially admitted by all my colleagues that the number of executions in the Mountain ought not to exceed that which had been thought an adequate punishment for the still more heinous crimes of the citizens of Danawoon.

When, however, it became apparent that the obstinate silence of the Christians who appeared for the prosecution was likely not only to defeat their own avowed objects, but even the ends of justice, I thought it advisable to

restrictions which had been devised to meet an opposite contingency, but to do
 as they pleased. I was not, however, able to obtain any further information
 from him. Mr. A. was, however, very friendly and gave me a
 evidence could be obtained against the Druses who had slaughtered and pillaged
 in that locality, and I recommended his Excellency Fuzul Pasha, after he should
 have condemned the principal assassins to death, to retain in prison 100 of the
 most compromised of the remainder as hostages for the good conduct of their
 brethren in the Maron.

Last Thursday the Commission was assembled at the request of his Excellency's delegate, Abou Etendi, for the purpose of receiving the final report of the Turkish Commissioner's proceedings.

As I shall have the honour of forwarding by the next mail a printed copy of the Minute communicated to us upon that occasion, as well as a Protocol of the Conference which ensued between the Commissioners, I will content myself for the present with simply stating that his Excellency informed us that in spite of every exertion to procure satisfactory evidence against the accused, he had only succeeded in obtaining testimony sufficient to procure the capital conviction of twenty individuals: at the same time, however, he begged to forward a list of 270 persons which he had divided, according to the gravity of the crime against each, into two categories, of which the first contained fifty-seven individuals, of whose greater or less complicity in late events, though there was no proof yet there was a fair presumption while the second and larger one

As to the remaining 400 prisoners, there was not a tittle of evidence against them. It was therefore for the Commission to decide what was to be done.

whether in the first place the execution of twenty persons would satisfy the ends of justice, or, if not, whether it would be possible to transfer to the list of those consigned to death any of the names that appeared in the first of the two other reasons.

As to the remaining prisoners against whom no testimony was forthcoming, there was no other course open to him but to propose they should be released. Small pox had broken out in the place where they were confined; several had already died, it was impossible any longer, in consequence of the snow, to supply so large a number of persons with food, and the severity of the weather would soon necessitate the withdrawal of the garrison that guarded them.

A long and warm discussion then ensued between the Commissioners, the French and Prussian Representatives evincing a desire to insist upon a considerable addition being made to the list of those designated for capital punishment, a proposal to which M. Novikow also seemed disposed, though more reluctantly, to accede, while the Austrian Commissioner declared himself more than satisfied with what was already done. As for myself, I

stated to declare that the only difficulty I felt upon the subject arose from the utter want of evidence. Had the question arisen in regard to a large number of persons whose participation in the massacres had been proved beyond all doubt,

I should have no hesitation in admitting that 40, 50, 60, nay, 100 of them might be put to death, without doing any extraordinary violence to the dictates of humanity; but that, on the other hand, my mind revolted against the idea of swelling the number of those condemned to die by the addition of names chosen at hazard from a list of persons whose criminality was attested by indications so unsatisfactory as scarcely to justify a presumption of their guilt. I was ready to admit that the number, 20, seemed but inadequate to represent the retribution which justice might demand from the Druses for the slaughter of hundreds of their fellow-creatures, but it was the perverse conduct of the Christians themselves that had defeated the ends of justice. Moreover,

to be remembered that the Druse nation had been already most cruelly punished for their crimes; that the sufferings they were now undergoing in the Mountain were excessive; their villages had been pillaged, their harvests despoiled, their property confiscated; most of their Chiefs were in prison or in exile, while by the brutal murder not only of upwards of 100 Druse men, but of more than two score of Druse women and innocent children, the Christians had almost forfeited their claims to any further demand for blood. Although, therefore, I was prepared to admit, in reply to the categorical question proposed to me by M. Beclard, that, from a political point of view, it might be desirable to have increased the number of those who were to undergo capital punishment, no considerations of that nature would justify us in forcing the tribunal to do violence to their consciences by condemning to death persons who could not be proved to have in any way participated in the massacres.

These observations, I am in hopes, somewhat modified the previous views of M. Beclard. M. Novikow proposed that in order to escape from the dilemma to which we found ourselves, his Excellency should be invited to sentence to a lesser penalty those whom it was found impossible to condemn to death. This idea seemed to meet with general acceptance, and it was completely in accordance with the opinion I had already expressed to His Excellency. I had no difficulty in accepting it, provided it should only be applied to those against whom there was really some tangible proof, as it was impossible to condemn a man because a man was a priest, because he belonged to a powerful family, because he was vaguely accused by an anonymous enemy, because he possessed "an unprepossessing exterior"—for such were the puerile counts on which a large number were arraigned—that therefore he could be considered complicit.

After some discussion it was agreed that this view of the case should be accepted, and that at the same time that the Commission communicated to His Excellency their opinion that it would have been desirable to have increased the number of capital executions, they were also prepared, in consideration of the difficulties of the situation, to cancel the determination to which they had arrived at a previous meeting, and admit the application of a lesser penalty in all cases where the degree to which the prisoner was implicated, or the extent to which his complicity could be proved, did not admit of the passing of a severer

A further understanding was unanimously come to by the Commissioners that under no circumstances should the number of those appointed to die be increased, and that all prisoners against whom no testimony was forthcoming might be immediately released.

I think upon the whole your Excellency will see no reason to be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Commission on this occasion. Notwithstanding that much may be said to excuse the conduct of the Druses, it still remains a fact that they slaughtered in cold blood upwards of 3,000 unarmed men and children. Let the moral guilt attaching to their excesses be extenuated as much as possible, but let such an impression be made as will prevent the repetition of similar atrocities would be adequate to the occasion.

Now there can be little doubt but that with their brutal outpourings of blood for blood the execution of only some twenty or five-and-twenty individuals would be regarded by the Christians as a delusive display of severity on the part of the Government, and even by the Druses themselves as no serious indication of the displeasure with which their crimes are regarded by Christendom and by their rulers, while each nation would be confirmed in the fatal conviction that so long from the intervention of Europe being likely to give birth to a new era, there remains a probability that the policy which countenanced late events is still likely to inspire the Councils of those who are to conduct the future administration of the country.

Such a result at the present crisis would be very unfortunate. The reputation of Turkish authority is at too low an ebb to admit of any further strain upon its credit, and although by a very delicate adjustment of the abstract merits of the case, it might be reasonably argued that the punishment of twenty persons would be sufficient punishment for their crimes, the process of reasoning that leads to such a conclusion would be too refined and complicated for the apprehension of those with whom we have to deal.

Such considerations are enhanced by the fact that, in agreeing to keep down the execution in the Mountain below the number of those at Damascus, the Commission has shown a greater moderation than I at one time expected. When the subject was first mooted amongst us, M. Beclard talked of hanging upwards of 200 persons, M. de Richemont's lowest figure was 150; and even M. de Novikow thought he evinced great clemency when he recommended that we should keep ourselves within "les centaines." The unanimity of opinion which now seems to prevail amongst us on this painful subject is very fortunate, for I am most anxious that His Excellency, in dealing with the Druses, should act in concert with the Commission. Had more sanguinary counsels prevailed, I should have felt it

difficult of all opposition, to persist in maintaining my opinion; and if His Excellency had preferred my recommendation to that of the majority, the result would have been productive of many inconveniences.

I cannot conclude this despatch without communicating confidentially to your Excellency my astonishment at finding how little the elemental rules for the administration of justice are understood by my colleagues. As far as I have observed, they seem to me quite unused to the investigations connected with legal proceedings, and to possess but a very inadequate knowledge of the mode in which the sifting of evidence, the cross-examination of witnesses, and the other practices of a tribunal are conducted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 414

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrouth, February 1, 1861

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th ultimo, respecting the murders committed on unarmed Druses since the military occupation of the Mountain, I have now the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have just received from Major Fraser, informing me that, in compliance with my request, as conveyed in my despatch to that officer

of the 15th ultimo, his Excellency Fud Pasha has taken active measures to endeavour to bring to justice some of the guilty parties.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 414.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Beyrout, January 31, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive at Mokhtarah your Lordship's despatch of 23rd January, in which I am requested to call the attention of Fud Pasha to the necessity for at once bringing to justice the authors of the cruel murders of Druse men, women, and children, of which I had transmitted a list to your Lordship, all of which had been perpetrated by Christians since the occupation of Mount Lebanon by French and Ottoman troops.

The Pasha, whom I furnished with a duplicate list, together with the names of such supposed assassins as I had been able to procure, showed every readiness to meet your Lordship's views, and immediately dispatched an officer in search of the culprits whose names had then been obtained, with orders to make strict inquiries into the details of all murders which had recently occurred, or might occur during the continuance of his present service, with a view to the immediate arrest of the perpetrators.

His Excellency has since received information that the officer in question is upon the traces of the criminals, and there is good reason to believe that at least some of these will shortly be in the hands of the authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

No. 415

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16.)

(No. 65.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, February 1, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 61 of the 15th ultimo I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch which I have received from Major Fraser, reporting the further steps taken by his Excellency Fud Pasha to inquire into the late persecution of Protestants at Nazareth.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 415.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Mokhtarah, January 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to state that I have again brought under the notice of Fud Pasha the continued misconduct of the Mudir and Cadi of Nazareth, together with the forcible release of the prisoner Michael Gehan as detailed in letters addressed to me under date January 10th and 14th by the Rev. Mr. Zeller of Nazareth.

His Excellency, on my previous demand, communicated to your Lordship in my letter of the 15th instant, had ordered the suspension from their offices of the Mudir and Cadi in question, both of whom he had directed to be sent to Acre, pending a formal inquiry into the whole history of the disorderly

With a view, however, to secure a searching and impartial investigation his

Excellency has now agreed to send to Nazareth an officer of discretion, one of his own Aides-de-camp, for the purpose of conducting this examination, with instructions to transmit directly to his Excellency, and with the least possible delay, the result of his inquiries.

regarding Michael Gehan, the Pasha is desirous of being informed whether this man is an Ottoman or a protected subject; and also whether he is now to be found at Beyrout, to which place Mr. Zeller's letter of the 14th instant says he was about to proceed to lay his case before the French Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. J. FRASER.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have been informed by Fud Pasha that the Mudir of Nazareth has been finally dismissed from his post by Achmet Pasha of Beyrout, in consequence of other grave charges against him.

No. 416

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16.)

(No. 66. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, February 1, 1861.

WITH reference to the two assertions made by M. Thourouel to Lord Cowley, as reported in his Excellency's despatch to your Lordship No. 63 of the 11th ultimo, to the effect that at the unofficial conference held by the Syrian Commission at Beyrout on the 17th of December, all the Representatives except myself, declared themselves disposed to consider the prolongation of the military occupation of the country, beyond the term fixed by the Convention of Paris, a probable necessity; and that the absence of the Turkish Commissioner from the Conference in question was his own doing, and in consequence of his having declined to attend,—I have the honour to state that his Excellency has been misinformed.

Subsequent conversations with my Austrian and Prussian colleagues have confirmed me in the certainty that the account I forwarded to your Lordship of what took place at the conference in question is correct, and the inclosed extract from a despatch written by my Austrian colleague to his Government on the evening of the day on which the meeting took place, will enable your Lordship to perceive that, if anything, I have understated what fell from M. de Wackelsdorfer and M. de Helldorf.

It is true, at one moment, when the difference in our opinion on the necessity of the occupation had become very apparent, it was proposed by the Austrian and Prussian colleagues that we should embody our collective opinions in a resolution which would convey the notion of an apparent unanimity without compromising our individual convictions, by passing a resolution to the effect that the military intervention of Europe ought to cease when the work of repression—that is, the execution of the guilty—shall have been accomplished; but he took care to add, in explanation of the sense he himself attached to his resolution, "This will have been done, long before the time arrives for the withdrawal of the French troops."

In reply, however, I expressly objected, that such a mode of dealing with M. Beclard's question entailed the very ambiguity it was desirable we should avoid.

It was not a question of coming to an unanimous agreement, by inventing a mode of expression which would admit of opposite interpretations, but of conveying to M. Beclard, for the information of his Government, our individual impressions. "It is evident," I said, "we disagree. M. Beclard thinks the troops ought to remain, you are quite of an opposite way of thinking, so am I. M. Novikow supports M. Beclard's view, and our Prussian colleague seems to consider that it is premature to pronounce a conclusive decision on the subject, and he inclines more to the opinion of the French and Russian colleagues. This expression of opinion is all that we can do, and it is undesirable to search for phrases in order to give it an individual form."

After such a conversation, it is difficult to conceive that any misapprehension should ensue, yet it is evident that something or other, on the part of my Austrian colleague, has led M. Beclard unwittingly to convey to his Government an erroneous description of what took place.

As to M. Thouvenel's second assertion, relative to Fuad Pasha's refusal to attend the Conference, it is not so easily accounted for. His Excellency has slightest question of his doing so; on the contrary, they originated in a pro-

tageously employ the time Fuad Pasha must be absent in the Mountains, in discussing confidentially with each other the subject of the reorganization of the Lebanon, and I question whether even his Excellency is aware of our holding such a meeting.

To state, therefore, that the Turkish Commissioner was absent from the meeting in question by his own fault, and after he had refused to come, must be the consequence of some singular misapprehension of the facts of the case.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 416

M. de Weckbecker to Count Rechberg

Extrait

Le 17 Décembre, 1860, les Commissaires, à l'exception de mon Excellence Fuad Pasha, se sont réunis sur l'invitation de M. Beclard dans une Conférence chez Lord Dufferin.

Le Commissaire Français nous posa la question, si nous croyions nécessaire que les troupes auxiliaires étrangères prolongeassent leur séjour en Syrie au-delà du terme stipulé par la Convention du 5 Septembre. Il nous engagea de débiter sur ce point, d'échanger nos idées là-dessus, et de nous forcer, s'il est possible, une opinion unanime sur cet objet. Invité par mes collègues d'énoncer la première mon opinion, je me suis expliqué de la manière suivante:

"A l'égard de la Convention stipulée entre les Cinq Grandes Puissances et Sa Majesté le Sultan les troupes étrangères ont été envoyées en Syrie pour y co-opérer au rétablissement de la tranquillité. Ce but me paraît être atteint, car nous voyons que l'autorité du Gouvernement Ottoman est affermie, et que, vu la manière dont Fuad Pasha dirige l'administration et vu le nombre des troupes Ottomanes qui se trouvent dans la province, un retour des tristes événements dont la Syrie a été dernièrement le théâtre n'est plus à craindre. Je ne saurais toutefois méconnaître la forte impression que la présence des troupes étrangères a produite sur la population Musulmane à Damas et l'effet salutaire qu'elle a eu chez les Druses dans la Montagne. Une prolongation de leur présence ne pourrait guère augmenter l'effet produit, et comme la Syrie ne peut pas rester pour toujours occupée par des troupes étrangères, je suis de l'opinion que la durée du terme stipulé n'a pas besoin d'être outrepassée. Du reste j'espère, autant que possible, que la Commission finira ses travaux avant la fin de ce terme, et qu'elle tombera d'accord d'un projet de réorganisation. Pendant ce temps la présence des troupes étrangères ne saurait qu'être utile pour stimuler les autorités locales."

La Commission

No. 417

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 16.)

(No. 232.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a note from M. Thouvenel, asking me to attend a meeting of the Conference on Syrian affairs on Monday next the 18th instant, and a copy of my reply thereto.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure 1 in No. 417.

M. Thouvenel to Earl Cowley

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 13 Février, 1861

AYANT reçu l'adhésion de l'Autriche, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, à la proposition d'une Conférence, et instruit par votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique y adhère également, j'ai l'honneur de vous inviter à assister à la réunion des Plénipotentiaires le Lundi, le 18 de ce mois, à 11 heures, au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

J ai, &c.
THOUVENEL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 417.

Earl Cowley to M. Thouvenel

M. le Ministre,

Paris, February 13, 1861.

Il m'a l'honneur de m'écrire par votre Excellence, que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a accepté la proposition d'une Conférence, et qu'il a l'honneur de vous inviter à assister à la réunion des Plénipotentiaires le Lundi, le 18 de ce mois, à 11 heures, au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

I am sorry that the Conference has been convoked for the sole purpose of taking into consideration the Convention of the 5th of September last, and being informed by your Excellency that the Porte has no objection to its re-assembling for this purpose—these being the conditions on which I am authorized to take part in it—I have the honour to intimate my readiness to meet yourself, and my colleagues of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, on the day and hour specified by your Excellency.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 418

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 39. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 14, 1861

WITH reference to Earl Cowley's despatch No. 189 of the 4th instant, in which Her Majesty's Ambassador reports that Prince Metternich appeared to have been told by M. Thouvenel on the authority of the Marquis de Moustier, that Count Rechberg was of opinion that the French occupation in Syria should be continued, I have asked Count Rechberg how it was possible that the French Government could have received so erroneous an impression of his Excellency's opinions on this point.

He replied that he knew not what M. de Moustier had written to his Government, nor had he seen the French Ambassador for some days, but that it would seem that M. Thouvenel was not always very scrupulous in stating what he believed to be the opinion of other Governments on the questions of the day. In the present case M. Thouvenel knew Prince Metternich was without instructions, but the Prince was far too prudent to commit himself in his reply to the

French Minister, and had therefore applied for instructions which had been at once sent to him. Count Rechberg added that about the same time something of a similar kind occurred at St. Petersburg. General Kisséleff reported that Austria adopted the French view of the Syrian question, and Count Thun, on hearing this from Prince Gortchakoff, inquired of Count Rechberg the truth of the story, which he doubted, as it was in contradiction to the instructions which he just received from Vienna.

"This is the way," said Count Rechberg, "that business is sometimes done in Paris, and," he added, "they have been at work at Berlin also," for the telegraph had just brought a report from thence that Austria and Prussia were agreed with Russia and France on the question of renewing the Convention.

Of M de Moustier it may be fair to say that he possibly informed his Government, as the result of his conversation with Count Rechberg on the proposal to reassemble the Conference, that the Austrian Government agreed to the proposal, on the principle that it could be convoked, for the discussion of a question of deep interest to the Powers, whilst M. Thouvenel appears to have interpreted this communication in a sense it was never meant to convey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD

No. 419.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 18.)

(No. 41.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 14, 1861.

WHEN I was with Count Rechberg yesterday, I inquired if he had sent to Prince Metternich, the instructions for that Ambassador's guidance at the Conference. He said that they were gone, and that a copy of them had been forwarded to Count Apponyi, and the French expression which he used to explain their nature, was that they were "très larges."

I read to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch No. 130 of the 30th ultimo, and he thanked me for this communication, and said that he was pleased to find that nothing whatever had occurred to produce any modification in the opinion which he had originally given respecting the reassembling of the Conference to discuss the question of the Convention of the 5th of September, which, he observed, had at the same time been most accurately reported by Mr. Fane.

Count Rechberg added that some voluminous reports from Beyrout had arrived, but that he had not yet had time to read them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 420

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 18.)

No. 243.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 17, 1861

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note received yesterday evening from M. Thouvenel, deferring the Conference on Syrian affairs from Monday to Tuesday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 420

M. Thouvenel to Earl Cowley.

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 16 Février, 1861.

LE Conseil des Ministres devant se réunir dans la matinée de Lundi, je me suis obligé de remettre à Mardi deux heures la réunion de la Conférence. Je

me suis plu à espérer que vos convenances personnelles vous permettront de vous rendre à cette nouvelle convocation.

Agreez, &c.
(Signed) THOUVENEL.

No. 421.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

No. 203.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 19, 1861.

YOUR Excellency will have received from me by telegraph the instructions by which Her Majesty's Government desired that your conduct should be guided in the Conference on Syrian affairs appointed to be held to-day.

You will have seen by those instructions that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the presence of the French troops in Syria, instead of securing the peace of the country, serves to encourage the Maronites to attack the Druses, and to retaliate, by the murder of Druse men, women, and children, the wrongs inflicted on the Maronites at the commencement of the outbreak in the course of last summer.

But Her Majesty's Government, as you will have seen, anticipating the possibility of the Turkish Plenipotentiary being willing to consent to the prolongation of the stay of French troops in Syria until the end of April, were content in that case, and on the clearly expressed ground that the season of the year was unfavourable for the re-embarkation of the troops on an exposed coast, to agree in the concession made by the Porte's Representative, although desiring that the occupation of the country during this extended period should be restricted to the sea-coast.

The great object of Her Majesty's Government is, as I explained to your Excellency, to prevent the continuance of the state of things which, from Lord Dufferin's reports, now prevails in Syria, and to save the Druse population from becoming victims to the atrocities which the Maronites are too ready to exercise against them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 422

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 20.)

(No. 67.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, February 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 422

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, February 3, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the nineteenth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 19th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Report of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, January 19, 1861.

LE Samedi, dix-neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à deux heures. Les procès-verbaux des deux séances précédentes sont lus et adoptés avec quelques modifications.

Abro Efendi, revenant sur les questions examinées dans la précédente séance, expose ce qui suit :—

Les renseignements qu'il a pu recueillir, depuis la séance du 9 Janvier, le mettent en mesure de développer la pensée du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman sur les divers incidents qui ont marqué cette séance.

Il commence par revenir sur la conservation qui a eu lieu dans la précédente séance, avant son ouverture, au sujet du licenciement des garnisons de Hachéva, Harbeva, Dairich-Kamar, et Damaa. Cette mesure n'a pas, dit-il, dès le début de la Mission du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, manqué d'occuper son attention, quoiqu'il ait été dans le cas de le déclarer précédemment, les Chefs seuls étaient coupables, et que les officiers subalternes et les simples soldats ne fussent pas individuellement responsables des actes des officiers supérieurs, auxquels ils étaient tenus d'obéir. Aussi les bataillons qui avaient fait partie de ces garnisons ont-ils été dissous, et s'ils n'ont pas pu être immédiatement renvoyés de la Syrie, c'est qu'il a fallu les remplacer par de nouvelles troupes, et réorganiser cette partie de l'armée d'Arabie, dans un moment opportun, et en sorte que le licenciement n'ait ni soulevé la force dont dispose le Plénipotentiaire, et qui lui a été jusqu'ici indispensable pour s'occuper de la question fort importante de la pacification du pays qui, dès son arrivée, a occupé plus particulièrement son attention. Mais aujourd'hui au moment de réaliser cette pensée étant arrivée, l'Empire est en correspondance avec le Ministère de la Guerre pour la mise à exécution de la mesure en question.

Quant à la présence d'un détachement de troupes Ottomannes à Abadié qu'on a considérée comme contraire au rétablissement du Mont Liban, la Commission doit savoir que ce village se trouve dans le district Mixte de la Camaccanie Chrétienne, et qu'il ne peut dans les circonstances actuelles échapper, pas plus que les villages de

Abro Efendi cite à cette occasion la présence d'un détachement de troupes Ottomannes dans tous

troupes à Abadié, étant arrivées sans cet envoi, qu'aurait pensé la Commission, et n'aurait-elle pas fait peser la grave responsabilité qui en serait dérivée sur l'autorité locale ? Ainsi c'est dans ce seul but que la mesure a été prise, et provoquée même par l'avis de Youssef Bey Karuni qui s'était empressé de signaler dans ses propres lettres des intrigues et des rassemblements des Druses. Abro Efendi croit avoir dit dans la précédente séance que le détachement de troupes en question retardé d'Abadié dès que les inquiétudes qui se sont produites de part

Aujourd'hui que ces inquiétudes ont disparu sous sa responsabilité

des troubles qu'il saura sans doute prévenir, en

le locale pour requérir une force supplémentaire, Abro Efendi déclare que l'autorité Ottomane, aussi qu'elle en a déjà

d'une force, n'est-elle même son détachement de troupes, mais il ne

un seul le droit de cette autorité à exercer dans les cir-

connaissances que nous traversons, la partie de la Montagne ou la tranquillité lui paraissent être compromises. Ce droit ne saurait souffrir aucune contestation du moment où elle est responsable du maintien du bon ordre. Appuyé sur ce droit,

le Délégué Ottoman conclut que la Mission Plénipotentiaire ne se croit pas dans l'obligation de demander l'avis de la Commission, toutes les fois qu'il faut agir dans le sens de la conservation de la tranquillité dans le pays.

Abro Efendi revient ensuite sur l'accusation qui a été portée que, lors des dernières arrestations des Druses, 500 coupables ont pu échapper. Tout le monde connaît, dit-il, la promptitude avec laquelle des masses de Druses ont été saisis sans coup férir par les troupes du Sultan. En une seule journée, c'est-à-dire le 23 Décembre, 949 individus, appartenant à la première et à la deuxième catégorie, ont été arrêtés dans deux cercles dans l'intervalle de quelques heures. La Commission connaît aussi l'entente qui a eu lieu dans cette circonstance entre

d'observation depuis Kab-Elas jusqu'à Djoubheun. Le Délégué Ottoman fait remarquer que personne ne saurait prétendre qu'aucune Druse requise par la justice n'ait échappé à l'action militaire, et que les arrestations en masse, difficiles dans une ville, sont infiniment plus difficiles sur une Montagne comme le Liban. Il renouvelle donc ses protestations contre ce qui a été dit de la conduite tenue par les autorités Ottomannes dans cette affaire, et le seul fait qu'il croit devoir constater, c'est que des Druses en fuite sept ont été arrêtés par la ligne d'observation du Général, 80 par celle des troupes Ottomannes établies au-delà de Djoubheun, et 20 par les détachements placés du côté du Hauman.

D'après les dernières nouvelles qu'Abro Efendi a reçues de Mokhtarah, la situation dans ce village est celle-ci. Les Chrétiens font preuve d'un mauvais vouloir qui paraît puiser sa source dans une arrière-pensée. Ils s'obstinent à refuser leurs dépositions, en se bornant à déclarer seulement qu'il n'y a pas de Druse qui ne soit coupable, et qu'ils n'ont d'autres dénonciations à faire que celles qui sont portées par le fait même de la confiscation des listes présentées. Citées à différentes reprises devant le Tribunal de la Montagne, ils se sont abstenus de faire des déclarations ou d'indiquer des témoins, soutenant que tout ce qu'ils avaient à dire était borné aux listes. Les exhortations du Plénipotentiaire pour les amener à déclarer la marche de la justice ont été inutiles. Les notables ont demandé l'autorisation de quitter Mokhtarah, et à l'heure qu'il est, ils doivent être de retour à Beyrout. En présence de ce mauvais vouloir des Chrétiens, il ne reste qu'à établir les différentes catégories des coupables Druses, en prenant pour base les données générales des listes, et les renseignements que le Tribunal de Mokhtarah pourra fournir ou posséder. Le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, loin de reculer devant une tâche si difficile, ne rentrera à Beyrout qu'après avoir accompli sa mission. Un compte-rendu de ces travaux parviendra au Délégué Ottoman. En attendant, il y a, parmi les prisonniers de Mokhtarah, dix-huit individus compris dans la liste des Chefs Druses de Beyrout, six individus condamnés déjà par contumace par le Tribunal Extraordinaire de cette ville ; et plus de 250 qui figurent sur la liste des notables, comme instigateurs, chefs de

En terminant, Abro Efendi exprime à la Commission le vif plaisir avec lequel le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan donnera, au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale, une marque de satisfaction à chacun de ceux des Musulmans de Damas qui ont bien mérité du pays et de l'humanité, et qui ont été déjà signalés à son attention. Quant à Salih Aglu Mouharem, le Gouverneur Général de Damas n'a rien écrit jusqu'ici à l'égard de ce vieillard, qui vient d'être, encore une fois, très vivement recommandé à la bienveillance toute particulière d'Emm Pacha.

Il semble résulter des termes de cette communication que le retrait des troupes d'Abadié n'a été ordonné que parce que leur présence n'y était plus jugée nécessaire. M. Heclaer ne peut admettre, pour son compte, une telle interprétation des faits. Selon lui, les troupes ont été retirées, parce que leur présence à Abadié était illégale, et en conséquence des protestations qui s'élevaient élevées dans le sein même de la Commission à la précédente séance. M. le Commissaire Français verrait plus d'un inconvénient à ce que le caractère de la mesure dont il se déclare d'ailleurs pleinement satisfait, fût dénaturé.

M. Novikow observe que les circonstances invoquées par Abro Efendi, comme justification retrospective de l'envoi des troupes Ottomannes à Abadié ne sauraient remplir l'objet qu'il s'est proposé. Le village d'Abadié fait, il est vrai, partie des districts Mixtes, mais il est situé dans un des districts Mixtes de la Camaccanie Chrétienne où le pouvoir établi par les règlements n'a pas cessé de fonctionner. On ne peut donc le considérer comme étant soumis aux mêmes conditions que les districts Mixtes de la Camaccanie Druse, laquelle est, par suite

Le Commandant des troupes ottomanes, administrée par des autorités Ottomanes. En outre, pour que l'occupation du village d'Abadie fût légale, il aurait fallu : 1. Que Youssef Bey Karam en fût positivement la demande; 2. Que la nécessité de l'occupation fût bien établie. Or, cette demande n'a pas été faite, et Ahmed Pacha, s'étant rendu à Abadie avant l'occupation, avait pu juger par lui-même que l'intervention des troupes Ottomanes dont il reconnaît aujourd'hui l'inutilité était loin d'être nécessaire.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que la question de légalité a été suffisamment examinée dans la précédente séance, et que l'occupation du village d'Abadie ayant cessé, toute discussion relative à cet incident demeure sans objet.

Lord Dufferin est plus que personne d'avis que la rappel des troupes Ottomanes ayant eu lieu, la discussion n'a plus d'intérêt pratique. Mais en principe, il lui semble très juste de considérer tous les districts Mixtes comme soumis aux mêmes conditions, car, dans tous ces districts, les chances de collision sont exactement les mêmes. Ahmed Pacha a pu ennuire que les mouvements qui s'étaient produits à Abadie ne dégénéraient en lutte sanglante, et pour ne pas encourir le reproche fait à son prédécesseur il a dû intervenir avec promptitude. La retraite des troupes doit satisfaire aujourd'hui toutes les exigences, mais en principe, M. le Commissaire Britannique ne saurait admettre de son côté que, là où des troupes étrangères peuvent résider à titre d'auxiliaires, celles du Souverain, qui constituent la garantie principale du maintien de l'ordre, n'aient pas un droit au moins égal d'occupation.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche partage l'opinion de Lord Dufferin sur la légalité de la présence des troupes Ottomanes partout où il pourrait y avoir des troupes Françaises; mais il regrette que, dans la circonstance dont il s'agit, on n'ait pas fait appel en même temps aux troupes de la Turquie et à celles du corps expéditionnaire.

M. le Commissaire Français repousse l'analogie que Lord Dufferin voudrait établir entre la présence des troupes Ottomanes et celle des troupes Françaises. La présence des troupes Françaises dans les districts Mixtes est une violation de ces mêmes privilèges. Il fait observer que l'envoi de détachements Français sur certains points des districts Mixtes de la Cusacanie Chrétienne, tels que Zuhle et Hamann, a été motivé par le besoin urgent de porter secours aux habitants, et que, bien loin de provoquer la protestation des autorités et la démission du Cusacane, leur présence a été bien reçue par la population.

M. Novikow remarque que l'occupation des districts Chrétiens par les troupes Françaises a eu, dès le principe, un caractère plutôt philanthropique et charitable que militaire. Les soldats étaient employés à la reconstruction des maisons. Leur envoi d'ailleurs dans le Melon et à Zuhle avait eu la sanction expresse et collective de la Commission, qui, ayant à se faire représenter par des légats dans les Comités de reconstruction des villages Chrétiens, a choisi ces légats parmi les officiers du corps expéditionnaire.

Sans vouloir rentrer dans la discussion relative à la présence des troupes Françaises en Syrie, dont le caractère est explicitement réglé par une Convention internationale, Abro Efendi soutient que, tant que la responsabilité du maintien de l'ordre dans le Liban incombe à l'autorité Ottomane, cette autorité a le droit incontestable d'envoyer des troupes partout où la tranquillité semble compromise.

M. le Commissaire Français donne lecture d'une lettre de M. le Général Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionnaire au sujet des habitants de Djezzir.

Il semble urgent de faire droit à la requête que les habitants de Djezzir viennent d'adresser simultanément à tous les membres de la Commission.

M. de Rehfues appuie la requête des habitants de Djezzir. Aucun secours ne leur ayant été donné, leur misère, dit-il, est extrême, et la mort a fait parfois, dans ces derniers temps, encore plus de victimes que les massacres.

M. Novikow envoie le vœu qu'un détachement du corps expéditionnaire soit envoyé dans le Djezzir, et mis à même de venir en aide à la reconstruction des villages.

Abro Efendi fait observer que la nature des plaintes, formulées par les habitants de Djezzir, n'est pas précisée, mais il promet de recommander à Fuad Pacha l'envoi dans ce village d'un de ses Aides-de-camp pour faire une enquête sur la véritable situation des plaignants.

M. de Rehfues communique à la Commission les renseignements qui lui ont été

fournis par le Commandant de la station navale Française, touchant la situation de la ville et des environs de Tripoli.

MM. les Commissaires reconnaissent d'un commun accord la nécessité de mesures propres à rétablir la sécurité dans ce pays. Ils signalent particulièrement à l'attention du Gouvernement un certain Ali Bey, ancien Mudir de Merdj, Aïoun, qui, par sa conduite et son langage, jette la population Chrétienne de son district dans une alarme continuelle.

Le Président expose les renseignements et observations qui viennent d'être faites touchant la situation de Tripoli et de Merdj Aïoun.

La séance est levée à cinq heures.

(Suivent les signatures.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 422

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bute.

Sir,

Beyrouth, February 3, 1901.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of the Protocol of the twentieth sitting of the Syrian Commission, held on the 24th ultimo.

I have &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 422

Protocol of the Twentieth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth, January 24, 1901.

Le vingt-quatre Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires, à l'exception de Fuad Pacha, représenté par Abro Efendi, étant réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Lord Dufferin, Vice-Président, la séance est ouverte à midi.

Abro Efendi expose que les ordres pressants qu'il a reçus de Fuad Pacha dans la matinée l'ont obligé de proposer à la Commission de se réunir aujourd'hui même pour recevoir communication du résultat des opérations du Tribunal de Moktara. Les instructions du Délégué du Plein-pouvoir Ottoman lui enjoignent en outre de demander à la Commission, séance tenante, un avis concluant sur la résolution finale que son Excellence veut la nécessité de prendre dans un bref délai, afin que la répression n'éprouve plus de retard. Le Délégué Ottoman donne ensuite lecture de la dépêche qu'il a reçue de Fuad Pacha dont le contenu est le suivant :

Président : (1), le texte du Rapport émané du Tribunal de Moktara; (2), une liste de 290 coupables de première catégorie, divisée en trois classes dont la première comprend 20 accusés que le Tribunal propose condamner à la peine de mort, la seconde 57 accusés, et la troisième 210, sur le sort desquels il n'est pas encore prononcé.

Fuad Pacha, dans la lettre dont il a été donné lecture, fait appel aux lumières de la Commission pour savoir quelle serait la limite la plus convenable à apporter à la répression. Il rappelle que Lord Dufferin a proposé, dans une précédente séance, que le chiffre des condamnations à mort prononcées contre les Druses soit inférieur à celui des condamnations du même genre prononcées contre les Druzes. Si cette proposition est agréée par la Commission, Fuad Pacha pense que le chiffre de 20 condamnations, déjà prononcées par le Tribunal de Moktara, et de 23 par le Tribunal de Beyrouth, total 43, sera probablement considéré par la Commission comme suffisant. Toutefois il sollicite de la part de la Commission à ce sujet l'expression d'un avis catégorique.

M. le Commissaire Britannique s'empresse de remarquer qu'en faisant la susdite proposition, il n'avait en vue que les condamnations sur haïres du

Tribunal de Moktra. Celles qui ont été déjà proposées ou prononcées par contumace par le Tribunal de Bevrout contre les Chouks Druses, ne devaient pas dans sa pensée entrer en ligne de compte dans la proportion à établir entre les condamnations de Damas et celles de la Mont .

Après lecture du cahier contenant la liste des 290 accusés et de l'exposé sommaire des charges qui pèsent sur eux, MM. les Commissaires expriment chacun tour à tour leur opinion touchant la question qui leur est soumise.

M. de Weerbecker remarque que la culpabilité du plus grand nombre des 290 accusés de Mikata est loin d'être prouvée rigoureusement, mais qu'il y a de fortes présomptions qu'ils sont tous coupables. Dans l'impossibilité où il semble que l'on soit de les punir tous, M. le Commissaire d'Autriche pense que 30 à 40 condamnations à mort seraient un exemple suffisant.

M. le Comte sauro de Frédes déclare qu'il lui en coûte beaucoup d'avoir à émettre une opinion en pareille matière, et surtout dans les circonstances présentes. Selon lui, la Commission avait fait tout ce qu'il était en son pouvoir de faire, en établissant, il y a déjà plus de deux mois, que les jugements des plus coupables d'entre les Druses aient sommité, et que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman devait se donner à penser de mort les organes de la massacre, les Chéfs et bandes, et les assassins les plus sanguinaires. En établissant ces trois catégories de coupables, tous également passibles de la peine capitale, la Commission avait, par ce seul fait et dans une pensée d'humanité, restreint dans de justes limites le châtiment mérité, il faut bien le dire, par la presque totalité des Druses. M. Neelard, pour son compte, avait consenti volontiers à borner ainsi l'œuvre de la justice, mais il ne lui eût convenu, sous aucun rapport, de partager la responsabilité qui incombait tout entière au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, soit en laissant exactement le chiffre des condamnations à mort, soit en entrant dans le détail des opérations confiées au Tribunal de Mokkara. Son Excellence l'und

Finalement, Fudh Pachà de procéder immédiatement aux arrestations, de ne point donner à ses principaux complices le temps de fuir dans le Haïran, de ne point attendre le témoignage des victimes, en leur inspirant confiance par des mesures de réparation sans cesse ajournées. L'avis de la Commission, ainsi demandé et suivi, eût en effet prévenu des difficultés devant lesquelles Fudh Pachà se trouve arrêté. Toutefois M. le Commissaire de France répondra, dans la mesure de son pouvoir et selon sa conscience, à l'appel qui lui est adressé, ainsi qu'à tous ses collègues. Il a remarqué que, dans la liste des 298 accusés de Mokhtar, beaucoup d'entre ces individus avaient avoué leur crime. Ceux-là sans exception, selon M. le Commissaire de France, doivent être condamnés, ainsi que ceux contre lesquels posent les plus graves accusations, de telle façon pourtant que le chiffre des condamnations à mort prononcées à Mokhtar ne dépasse pas celui des 80 condamnations prononcées à Damaz.

M. de Rechter ne croit pas que la Commission doive partager en rien la responsabilité qui pèse sur le l'empotentaire du Sultan. La Commission a toujours tenue la marche, c'était à Fond Pacha qu'il appartenait de la suivre. M. le Comissaire de l'Empire verrait de l'inconvénient

tion sans l'œuvre de la justice serait évidemment pour eux un partage de culpabilité. Il leur faudrait pouvoir en thèse générale exprimer l'opinion que les individus qui sont coupables d'avoir assassiné des femmes, des prêtres, ou enfants, méritent la mort.

M. Novikow, après avoir fait remarquer que la demande posée par Fiod Fachu se réduit à une simple question de chiffre, rappelle que la Commission a déjà précédemment entériné la fixation de ce genre. Elle ne peut pas davantage substituer son action à celle des Tribunaux pour déterminer le degré de la popularité des préférences dont la liste vient de lui être communiquée. Elle

M. le Commissaire Rasse renouvelle donc à son tour toutes les réserves déjà

la Commission l'abandon du principe de l'unité de peine qu'elle avait elle-même posé dans la dixième séance, avant qu'il ne fut question de proportionner le chiffre des condamnations de la Montagne à celui des condamnations capitales prononcées à Damas. Alors il n'était question que des principaux coupables, tous également passibles de la peine capitale. Aujourd'hui la Commission est appelée à se prononcer sur le compte de 250 individus qui, pour la plupart, ne sont que des seconds auteurs.

M. le Commissaire Britannique ne croit pas que l'on doive attacher une grande importance au chiffre des condamnations. Ce qui importe avant tout, c'est qu'un innocent ne soit pas puni comme s'il était coupable, c'est que le crime soit prouvé. Lord Dufferin ne saurait admettre en un Dring soit condamné si l'on n'a pas la preuve ou la certitude de sa culpabilité. Dans la liste qui vient d'être lue, il n'est pas dit que la culpabilité ait été affirmée par cela seul.

Z. 16, ou bien parce qu'ils sont dénués de tout caractère d'exceptionnel. Une justice rendue en de tels dispositifs serait tout bonnement ridicule et odieuse, et provoquerait l'indignation du monde civilisé. Lord Dufferin a consenti à ce que la procédure d'application de la loi fut expéditive, cela est vrai; mais il n'a pas entendu par là que ce Tribunal se départirait des règles observées même par les cours les plus renommées de l'Europe. En conséquence, M. le Commissaire Britannique soutient que la Commission ne prit aucune résolution susceptible d'engager le Métopolitain Ottoman à punir d'une peine quelconque un individu dont la culpabilité ne serait pas démontrée par des preuves morales ou matérielles bien concluantes.

Abou Elendi déclare que le Pénitencier Ottoman ne recule point devant la responsabilité qui lui incombe, et qu'il ne désire faire partager à ses collègues que dans la mesure des lumières qu'ils pourront lui fournir pour éclairer sa marche. Il consulte en outre que les débats qui viennent de suivre en communiquant aboutissent à aucune opinion arrêtée qui puisse être utile au Pénitencier.

Ce que le Divan Ottoman rétorque instamment, c'est un aveu.

En conséquence de cette demande et après en avoir de nouveau délibéré,

Qu'au point de vue politique, le nombre de vingt condamnations à mort, proposées par le Tribunal de Mokara, n'est pas suffisant.

Tout en adhérant à l'expression de cette pensée collective, Lord Dufferin se trouve de décharger sa responsabilité au point de vue judiciaire, et il déclare que dans sa pensée la Commission ne peut, en vue d'un résultat politique, inviter les juges à faire passer dans la première catégorie de coupables des individus dont la culpabilité ne serait pas prouvée.

Il est reconnu ensuite unanimement par la Commission.

Qu'il y aurait lieu d'appliquer une peine inférieure, telle que celle de la déportation, à ceux d'entre les 200 individus compris dans la liste de Mokarna qui n'aurait pas été condamnés à la peine de mort, et dont la culpabilité serait reconnue par le Tribunal.

Abou Elendi promet de transmettre cet avis collectif au Plénipotentiaire du Sultan, et ajoute qu'aucune charge sérieuse ne pèsant sur les 409 accusés de la deuxième catégorie, ils vont être immédiatement mis en liberté.

Adro Elendi, ayant reçu l'ordre de diriger sur Mokara les Chefs Druses dont le procès a eu lieu à Beirout, demande à la Commission si elle se trouve en mesure d'émettre un avis collectif sur les sentences du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beirout. Pour empêcher la simultanéité des exécutions, il faudra, dit-il, que ces détenus soient envoyés à la Montagne.

La Commission ayant répondu qu'elle ne se trouve pas encore en mesure d'émettre un avis sur les dossiers, dont la traduction n'est pas achevée, et s'étant ainsi opposée à l'éloignement des prisonniers Druses de Beyrouth, le Délégué Ottoman s'empresse de faire remarquer qu'en présence de cette objection le Pimpotentiaire devra surseoir aux exécutions, si le principe de la simultanéité des exécutions est maintenu.

Des opinions diverses ayant été échangées à ce sujet, la Commission croit

devoir laisser au Plénipotentiaire Ottoman la latitude de procéder immédiatement aux exécutions des condamnés de Moktara, ou d'y surseoir pour les ordonner simultanément avec celles des condamnés de Beyrouth.

M. Novikow appelle l'attention de la Commission sur le Hauran, où la répression, commencée par le Tribunal de Moktara, aurait causé une certaine effervescence. D'après les renseignements qui lui sont parvenus, un Sheik Druse, nommé Abou Abdi, parent mais ennemi d'Ismail Atrach, aurait promis de veiller à la sécurité des Chrétiens du Hauran, à la condition d'être muni d'un sauf-conduit pour aller à Damas. Cet individu est recommandé par Faris Amir et par les Chrétiens eux-mêmes. A ce propos M. Novikow émet de nouveau le vœu que des mesures efficaces et sérieuses soient prises contre le Hauran.

Abro Efendi promet de signaler à l'attention du Haut Commissaire l'individu cité par M. Novikow, et d'informer d'ailleurs son Excellence, dès ce soir, de la latitude qui lui est laissée relativement au suris des exécutions. Le Délégué Ottoman ajoute que ce suris lui paraît inévitable, vu la fermentation des esprits dans la Montagne, et l'inconvénient qu'il y aurait à procéder en deux fois aux

La séance est levée à cinq heures et demie

(Suivent les signatures)

Annex.

Fuad Pasha to Abro Efendi.

Monsieur,

Mokhtarak, le 24 Janvier, 1861.

A MON arrivée à Mokhtarak, le Tribunal Extraordinaire que j'avais institué d'office, avait déjà commencé ses travaux, en procédant aux interrogatoires des Druses et autres détenus, au nombre d'environ 800, écroués dans les prisons de ce chef lieu.

La plupart des accusés s'étant renfermés obstinément dans une complète négation des faits qu'on leur imputait, et ne voulant avouer leur présence durant les événements que dans des endroits où ils étaient allés se battre sans fournir d'autres données sur leurs crimes, l'interrogatoire auquel ils ont été soumis n'a pu amener aucun résultat sérieux. Pour éclairer plus positivement la conscience des juges, et recueillir des renseignements précis et détaillés qui devaient amener une distinction entre les coupables et établir différentes catégories de sentences à rendre, je convoquai les membres Chrétiens des Conseils des Districts et le Tribunal, que la liste qu'ils m'avaient remise à Beyrouth présentait sous un caractère trop général, en ne portant les dénonciations qu'en masse, et en n'en fournissant pas suffisamment contre chaque individu. Lorsque le Tribunal leur demanda de formuler leurs dénonciations sur chaque accusé, ils s'abstinrent de

même de satisfaire la conscience des juges. En conséquence j'ai renouvelé à ces derniers l'invitation que je leur avais faite avant mon départ de Beyrouth de venir à Mokhtarak. Après quelques jours d'hésitation qui ont retardé la marche du grand procès de la Montagne, ils arrivèrent ici. Avant leur comparution devant le Tribunal, je les ai reçus moi-même, et je les ai engagés dans les termes les plus encourageants à faire leurs dépositions, en formulant des dénonciations et en fournissant les renseignements qu'ils pourraient avoir sur les crimes des détenus qui figuraient dans la liste qu'ils m'avaient présentée. Ils me répondirent qu'ils avaient déjà fait leurs dénonciations en masse dans la liste susmentionnée, qu'ils n'avaient aucune réclamation à faire contre les particuliers, mais bien contre la masse des Druses; qu'ils se bornaient à soumettre à la justice le contenu de cette liste, et qu'ils refusaient de fournir d'autres explications. Interrogés par le Tribunal sur le même sujet et invités à lui donner au moins la susdite liste, ils lui firent le même langage et évitèrent par des réponses évasives à satisfaire aux demandes du Tribunal qui, voulant éviter tout malentendu, se vit obligé de leur adresser des questions par écrit, auxquelles ils ont répondu de la même manière. Ci-joint vous trouverez copie de ces lettres et réponses.

Dans l'espoir de leur faire entendre raison, je les ai réunies de nouveau chez moi, et j'ai tâché de leur donner l'assurance qu'il n'avaient à craindre, en faisant ces déclarations, de s'attribuer quelque responsabilité vis-à-vis de ceux qui avaient quelques réclamations à faire, puisque nous ne les consultons pas à titre de représentants de la population, mais comme de simples particuliers dignes de confiance et capables de formuler des renseignements sur les accusés dont ils avaient présenté la liste, et que nous n'admettons pas de partis civils dans ces procès, attendu que la société était offensée par les crimes des Druses, et que le Gouvernement Impérial se constituait lui-même partie réclamante. Je leur ai également déclaré que la liste susmentionnée ne présentant pas des données suffisantes sur les crimes des accusés, il était difficile d'apprécier d'une manière équitable les degrés de culpabilité, et partant le degré de condamnation encourue par chaque individu; que les dénonciations en masse étant portées contre un nombre très-considérable d'individus, elles ne pouvaient pas être entièrement prises en considération, et que ce serait dépasser les bornes de la justice que de frapper d'une même peine les chefs et les subordonnés. Les têtes qui doivent tomber, leur ai-je dit, sont celles des hommes qui, par leur position sociale, ont exercé une funeste influence sur la masse, ou qui, par le nombre et l'atrocité de leurs crimes, ont blessé le plus l'humanité; que de cette manière le nombre des condamnations serait limité à un chiffre que la conscience publique du monde civilisé pût admettre, et que dépasser cette limite serait rendre la justice aussi cruelle que le crime même. Je leur ai aussi expliqué que les condamnations dont nous frapperons les Druses seront d'une nature qui pourra leur servir d'exemple salutaire, mais qu'elles ne doivent et ne peuvent être faites dans un but d'extermination, et que les Chrétiens abandonnant toute idée de vengeance individuelle, doivent se pénétrer de ce sentiment, que dans les punitions nous ne cherchons que le bien de la société.

Malgré ces explications, ils persistèrent dans leur refus, ils proposèrent seulement de recueillir des renseignements et les dénonciations individuelles des Chrétiens contre les Druses, si on leur donnait le temps matériel pour les obtenir. Cette proposition n'a pu être prise en considération, parce qu'elle changeait la forme de procès que j'avais adoptée d'accord avec la Commission Européenne, et menaçait de retarder à l'infini les jugements que nous voulons rendre aussi sommairement que possible. N'ayant rien pu obtenir par la persuasion, et ayant à peu près perdu une semaine en pourparlers sans résultat, je leur ai accordé, sur leur demande, la permission de se retourner chez eux, pour ne pas être taxé de les retenir malgré eux ici pour obtenir des déclarations forcées.

Le Tribunal Extraordinaire, n'ayant donc pu avoir d'autres bases pour se guider dans ses jugements que la liste présentée par les notables Chrétiens assermentés, suivant l'assurance que nous a donnée le clergé, ainsi que les déclarations que les Druses ont faites par devant le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth et quelques autres données, a dû se servir de ces trois éléments d'indication pour obtenir les degrés de culpabilité. Il a d'abord classé les détenus en deux catégories générales. La première porte tous ceux qui, d'après les déclarations des Chrétiens, ont été impliqués dans les crimes. La seconde renferme les noms des détenus qui sont accusés seulement par la liste des Chrétiens, ou arrêtés en dehors de ces listes, sans qu'il y ait d'autres preuves ou indications sur leur culpabilité.

Le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Mokhtarak m'a remis avec son rapport un Tableau, indiquant pour chaque individu de la première catégorie son nom, le lieu de son domicile, s'il est notable, ainsi que l'accusation portée sur la liste des Chrétiens, l'instruction sommaire de son procès et l'opinion du Tribunal sur sa culpabilité. Pour faciliter la recherche des plus coupables, après avoir placé au premier rang des numéros les noms des individus qui, non seulement par leur position, mais aussi par la force des indications, se trouvent sous une grande prévention, il en forme encore trois classes. D'après ces indications la première contient 20 individus, la deuxième 57, et la troisième 210; la seconde est plus coupable que la troisième.

Voilà le résultat quoique imparfait, mais consciencieux des travaux de notre Tribunal Extraordinaire qui, entouré de tant de difficultés, n'a pu obtenir des renseignements pouvant donner des témoignages plus à charge et décharger la justice. L'instruction qui lui a été donnée de mener sommairement les procès, le refus des Chrétiens de faire des dépositions, la dénégation absolue des crimes

par les accusés, et l'impossibilité d'admettre leurs co-religionnaires comme témoins à décharge, ont rendu la tâche de ce Tribunal aussi difficile

On peut désigner par son travail les individus qui doivent subir la peine capitale, et un nombre est fixé et à tous les inculpés qui se trouvent dans la première catégorie ne doivent pas la subir. Je sais d'avance qu'il répugne à tout le monde de dire qu'il faut exécuter un tel nombre d'individus. On a semblé croire que la justice elle-même pouvait en indiquer le chiffre; mais la nature de la chose même nous force, malgré nous, à prendre une décision pour mettre fin à une situation dont la prolongation est et serait pernicieuse à ceux au nom desquels nous voulons faire justice, et à ceux qui se trouvent sous le coup d'une accusation générale. Il faut donc se prononcer sur la condamnation d'une partie de ceux qui se trouvent, par l'ordre de leur degré de culpabilité, au premier rang des accusés. Si une motion faite au sein de la Commission Européenne par M. le Comte de Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha était adoptée, le chiffre des exécutions devrait être inférieur à celles de Damas. Comme indépendamment des individus qui ont été fusillés à Damas, le nombre des exécutés appartenant à la classe civile est de 53 individus, dans la provision que cette proportion serait acceptée par la Commission, un nombre entre 40 et 50 serait le chiffre de ceux que la justice doit frapper de la plus grande sévérité. Onze Druses jugés à Beyrouth dont les procès-verbaux rogatoires ont été communiqués à la Commission, ainsi que 6 autres condamnés dont les procès-verbaux rogatoires n'ont pu encore lui être soumis, forment un total de 17 personnes. En y ajoutant 6 individus condamnés par contumace qui sont tombés entre les mains de la justice, ce nombre se trouve réduit aujourd'hui à 27 par suite des 6 arrestations susmentionnées. En ajoutant à ce nombre les 20 individus qui sont indiqués dans la première classe de la première catégorie, le chiffre des condamnés s'élève à 47 individus.

La Commission Impériale ne voulant se montrer ni faible ni cruelle dans l'exécution de sa tâche, a cru devoir recourir à l'appui bienveillant de la Commission pour s'éclairer par ses lumières. Elle prendra en considération ses observations pour diminuer ou pour augmenter le nombre de condamnés à mort, ses remarques sur leur culpabilité. Si l'énormité de leurs crimes exige une trop grande sévérité, de l'autre plus de 150 Druses accusés par

civile, comme ils le soutiennent, doivent entrer dans la balance de la justice. Aussitôt que j'aurai l'avis de la Commission, je sanctionnerai les rapports des tribunaux, et les condamnés de la Montagne, ainsi que ceux qui se trouvent à Beyrouth, seront dirigés pour subir leurs condamnations dans les différentes localités, théâtre de leurs crimes, ou dans les villages auxquels ils appartiennent, pour que leur triste fin serve d'exemple salutaire aux autres.

C'est immédiatement après ces exécutions que l'amnistie, ou pour mieux dire la cessation des poursuites judiciaires, sera promulguée, suivant l'entente qui a eu lieu au sein de la Commission, pour les parties du pays dans lesquelles la justice a eu cours.

Si la Commission ne se trouve pas satisfaite du degré d'éclaircissement que le Tribunal a obtenu et qu'elle désire voir une instruction plus détaillée, il faut charger les détenus qui sont de la seconde catégorie, et diriger ceux de la première à Beyrouth pour les juger individuellement. La détention prolongée de 400 individus dans une localité comme Mokhtarah nous paraît de toute impossibilité sans tous les rapports.

En vous envoyant le Tableau de la première catégorie avec une liste de tous ceux qui seront condamnés à la peine capitale, ainsi que la liste générale de la deuxième catégorie et le Rapport du Tribunal, je vous prie de les communiquer immédiatement à la Commission, en lui donnant en même temps lecture de la présente, et de me faire savoir sans retard le résultat de ses délibérations.

Agree &c
S. D. CAD

Inclosure 5 in No. 422.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir

Beyrouth, February 11, 1861.

IN confirmation of an opinion I have already ventured to express to your Excellency, to the effect that the Christian population of the Lebanon are almost, I am quite sure, ignorant of the fact that a Christian of the name of Khazin, who, as your Excellency will perceive by a short notice appended to its foot by Mr Vice-Consul Rogers, has been lately murdered in the most brutal manner by his Christian co-religionists of the Kesrouan.

The very fact that so terrible a crime should be attempted to be hushed up sufficiently indicates the state of society which prevails.

I also take this opportunity of forwarding to your Excellency the substance of some remarks of Bishop Butros, which have been also noted down, for my information, by Mr. Rogers, illustrating the lawless condition of every part of the Lebanon.

I have, &c
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 422

Substance of the Petition from the Mother of Milhem Khazin to Lord Dufferin, dated January 14, 1861.

YOUR Lordship is aware that the property of our family has been pillaged yet I am more unfortunate than others in that my husband has been killed, and I, with my orphan children, am left without any means of subsistence.

I petitioned Fuad Pasha, who, about five months ago, ordered me 200 piastres per month, but I have only received one payment.

Being in great distress, and having no one to apply to save God Almighty and your Lordship, I pray that you will assist us in any way that you may deem expedient.

N.B.—The petitioner has property in many villages of the Kesrouan, but is now in the hands of the Christians. I was there informed, in answer to his inquiries, that his Excellency Fuad Pasha had issued orders for the restoration of his family to their homes and their rights.

The Patriarch gave him an order for the recovery of some of his dues in the village of Ashkut. On his approach to that village, the people of Ashkut, upwards of 100 in number, seized and tortured him. They strangled him, and dragged him on the ground by a rope round his neck. They placed him in an oil-press, and pounded him till his bones were broken. The people of Gafata came, and carried the mutilated body to their village, where it was buried.

Moreover, stated that the Patriarch has placed an anathema on all who give evidence upon this subject, or in any way favourable to the Christians; but some people of Deir-el-Kamar, Zablch, and Beyrouth, happened to be present, and are willing to give their evidence.

This statement was made to me by a member of the family, and confirmed by others.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Inclosure 7 in No. 422.

Vice-Consul Rogers to Lord Dufferin.

My Lord,

Beyrouth, January 23, 1861

I HAVE the honour to state that last evening I had the pleasure of meeting Bishop Butros, of Jezain, at the house of Youssef Bek Keram.

I found the Bishop an exceedingly intelligent person, and I was much interested in the observations he made. He stated that, in his opinion, the lament to and cause of all the misfortunes with which this country has of late been afflicted, is the non-punishment of crime. He stated that, exclusive of the blood shed in open civil warfare, between the years 1841 and 1858, or in other words during the space of seventeen years, 780 individual murders have been committed in Mount Lebanon; and that probably since the year 1858 upwards of 300 more have occurred, thus forming a total of about 1,100 in the space of nineteen years, not one of which has been avenged by law.

The Bishop further stated that the great evil amongst the native Christians is, the want of education amongst the women. He declared that the Druses, as a body, are far more enlightened and civilized than the Christians, and that this arises from the simple fact that their women are educated, they being admitted into the religious assemblies, when even the uninitiated of the men would not be allowed to attend.

The Druse children thus imbibe a certain amount of culture from their mothers.

Considering that these facts might be interesting to your Lordship, I have taken the liberty of submitting them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. T. ROGERS

No. 42

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell — (Received February 20.)

No. 641

My Lord,

Beirut, February 10, 1861.

FOR the last ten days the Commissioners have been occupied in discussing among themselves some of the various combinations which have been proposed for the future administration of the Lebanon, in connection with a larger scheme for the re-organization of the province, upon which it has been agreed we shall engage as soon as the more pressing subject of the Mountain shall have been disposed of.

I need not weary your Lordship with a description of the various conversations I have had separately with each of my colleagues, or with all of them together. It will be sufficient if I state that the language which has been lately held by the French Commissioner has given me reason to believe that he is no longer disposed to join with me in the equitable plan for the settlement of the Mountain, and the preservation to each section of its inhabitants of an equal share in the advantages we had originally designed for them, but is determined to accept no settlement short of something that shall extend and perpetuate the domination of the Maronite element over every other neighbouring tribe and sect.

As I have already informed your Lordship, I attribute this change in M. Bédard's sentiments to instructions which he has lately received from home, and which I conceive to have been inspired by the military representatives of the Emperor's Government at present at Beirut, between whom and the French Commissioner no very cordial feeling appears to exist.

That M. Bédard's present opinions are widely different from those which a few weeks back he professed to entertain is very apparent from the fact of his endeavour to recur, as he has done of late at several of our meetings, to the dynastic principle of a Sheikah Emir, after having assured me that he was willing to assent to the administration of the Mountain to that of any other Pashah of the province, provided only the person appointed to it were a Christian, no matter of what sect or nation, as set forth in the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners for the basis of their future deliberations.

Several other indications having convinced me that, however liberal in appearance might be his proposals, my French colleague was bent on changing our project into something very different from what we had originally intended, I determined, without further delay, myself to draw up a sketch for the future government of the Lebanon on the principles I have already had the honour of submitting to your Lordship's consideration in my despatch of the 1st ultimo to Sir H. Bulwer, in the hopes that a plan conceived in a spirit of conscientious impartiality would, at all events, meet with the approbation of a

majority of my colleagues. Such, I am happy to say, has been the case; and I now forward the first ten (initialled) Articles of a Memorandum, which is to serve as the groundwork of our Report on the future re-organization of the Mountain.

Your Lordship will perceive that the first Article designates the Governor of the Lebanon as a "Christian (sujet de la Porte) dépendant du, &c.," but, as it was become necessary, after M. Bédard's manifest desire to introduce a Maronite ascendancy, to leave no doubt in the minds of our Government as to the real interpretation put upon the clause by those who agreed to it, I ventured to introduce a reserve to the effect that the individual in question must not be a native of the province. My example was followed by my colleagues of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and it has thus become the manifest opinion of four out of five of the members of the Commission that, under no circumstances should the Administration of the Mountain be entrusted to a Sheikah or to a member of the Maronite race. The Turkish Commissioner is of the same way of thinking; and so strong are the convictions of all my colleagues on the subject that the Austrian and Prussian Representatives openly declared that they would prefer a Turk to a native Christian.

The only other points that can become the subject of any serious discussion, are those connected with the composition of the Medjlis, and the circumscription of the compartments into which it may be advisable to divide the Mountain.

The Representative of France seems to be of opinion that the Government will throw as much power as possible into the hands of the Maronite majorities. As such a result would be fraught with mischief and injustice, it will be necessary to insist strongly on the administrative independence—on another—of the various nationalities which compose the population of the Lebanon, as well as to institute a system of Mixed Medjlis for the Mixed Districts, on equitable principles. Articles IV and VII seem to me already sufficiently to assert and to protect the interests of the minorities, Christian and non-Christian; and I have little doubt but that when we come to settle the actual composition of the respective Councils, the result will be equally satisfactory.

Your Lordship will perceive that M. de Rohden has added a further reserve regarding the person of the Governor of the Lebanon, to the effect that the Porte must come to an understanding with the Representatives of the Five Powers with respect to the individual they select.

This addition seems to me, if not ill-advised, at all events ill-timed, but my Prussian colleague has always desired to assign a more important part to the political Agents of the European Governments than I would wish. It seems to me that their direct interference with the government of the country is an impossible, and if possible would be a disastrous, expedient. The action of such Representatives should be confined to the exercise of a simply moral influence on the mind of the Governor-General, and it would be most unwise, in my opinion, to give to their representations, even though conveyed in a collected form, any constitutional force. It will be quite enough that they are there, with the power of communicating their views in whatever manner they may consider most effectual. The responsibility of disregarding those representations will rest on the Governor-General.

Mostly great to ensure the Governor-General paying them due attention, except on such occasions when the very fact of his having acted contrary to their desires will be a proof that he was justified in doing so.

In a few days we shall have the whole of the *procès verbal* of the trials of the Turkish Pashas and Druse Sheikhs in our hands. It is only the difficulty of getting the original Turkish translated that has so long delayed their communication to the Commission. The painful duty of pronouncing an opinion upon the inferences drawn by the Tribunal of Beirut from the proceedings recorded in these documents once concluded, the sentences will be passed, and all those implicated in the late massacres, whether in the Mountain or at Sidon, will be executed simultaneously. This sad event may be expected to take place within ten days.

Within the same period I am in hopes our Report on the Lebanon will be concluded, and the chief portion of the labours of the Commission terminated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFELIN AND CLANTON

Inclosure in No. 423

Réserves Particulières.

NON indigène de la province (réserve de Lord Dufferin).

(Signé) D. & C.

Non indigène; sur le choix duquel la Porte devra s'entendre avec les Représentants des cinq Puissances (réserve de M. Rehières).

(Signé) R.

Non indigène (réserve de M. de Weekhocker).

(Signé) W.

Non indigène (réserve de M. Novikow).

Indigène (réserve de M. Béchard).

(Signé) L. B.

Articles Collectifs.

1. UN Gouverneur Chrétien, pour toute la Montagne, dépendant du . . .

2. Abolition du régime de deux Caïnacanes, et des Mikatna.

4. Division du Liban en un certain nombre de circonscriptions administratives, renfermant, autant que possible, des éléments homogènes; c'est-à-dire, appartenant au même culte.

5. Abolition du système féodal, et des privilèges qui s'y rattachent.

6. Egalité de tous devant la loi.

7. Garanties judiciaires et administratives identiques, pour toutes les communautés habitant le Liban.

8. Séparation du pouvoir administratif et judiciaire.

9. Institution au siège du Gouvernement d'un Medjls administratif, et d'un Medjls judiciaire, formant l'un et l'autre le degré supérieur de juridiction.

10. Il y aura dans chaque circonscription un Medjls administratif, et un Medjls judiciaire, de première instance.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

N.B.—To be continued at next meeting of the Commission.

No. 424.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 205.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 21, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 254 of the 19th instant, reporting what had passed in the Conference on Syria, and to inform you that your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have been informed of the situation which you hold in that regard.

Her Majesty's Government have only to impress upon your Excellency the instruction conveyed to you by telegraph, and repeated in my despatch No. 203 of the 19th instant, not to agree to any prolongation of the French occupation beyond the 1st of May. An agreement to prolong the stay of the European troops till some undefined and undiscovered organization of the Mountain has been completed, would, probably, lead to a foreign occupation as long as that which has taken place in the Roman States.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 425.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 205.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 21, 1861.

YOU will see by Lord Dufferin's despatch No. 68 dated the 10th February, a copy of which is in your possession, that he expected that, within ten days, the execution of the Druses engaged in the massacres would take place. He was in hopes that within the same period the Report of the Commissioners on the Lebanon would be concluded, and the chief portion of the labours of the . . .

Your Excellency will see, therefore, that a prolongation of the European occupation to the 1st of May ought to be amply sufficient, in point of time, for that organization of the Mountain upon which M. Thouvenel so strongly . . .

It, however, it is meant that the wished-for organization is to be delayed till the Representatives of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia have yielded to the exclusive Maronite supremacy, ten years may elapse before that submission is obtained.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 426.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 21)

(No. 252. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 19, 1861

I WAS with M. Thouvenel yesterday afternoon, when, after some conversation on other matters, his Excellency, alluding to the Conference on Syrian affairs which is to take place to-day, asked me if I had seen Vefyk Efendi lately, adding, that M. de Lavalette had reported that the Porte was anxious that its Representative should come to an understanding with him (M. Thouvenel) and me relative to a prolonged occupation of Syria by the troops of France.

I replied, that I had not seen Vefyk Efendi for some days, but that in the last conversation which I had had with him, he had informed me that he was instructed to insist on the evacuation at the period fixed by the Convention of the 5th of September, and that if any difficulties were made he should refer again to his Government.

The French Government, I continued, was aware of the opinions of Her Majesty's Government based on the Reports of the British Commissioner in Syria, but I could at the same time assure his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government had offered no advice to the Porte, being desirous that the Sultan, as an independent Sovereign, should exercise his own free discretion as to the necessity or not of availing himself of the further presence of European assistance in Syria. I had not, therefore, in any way attempted to influence the conduct which Vefyk Efendi might think it right to pursue.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he thought that the Porte was willing to enter into a compromise, and that he conceived that the best course which Vefyk Efendi could take in the interests of his Government would be, to say that there might be difficulties in the way of the immediate evacuation of Syria on

account of the season of the year, and as the Commission assembled at Beyrouth had not yet concluded its Report, it was advisable that the Conference should adjourn for the present.

If said his Excellency, I would join him in making this recommendation to Vefyk Efendi, he had no doubt that the latter would act upon it.

I said that I should like to know what he thought would in my opinion be next to recognizing the permanent occupation of Syria. I was a day or two at the disposal of the Commission, and I thought that there might be difficulties attending the embarkation of troops on the open roadsteads of the coast of Syria; but I could never advise that the evacuation of that province should depend on the termination of the labours of the Beyrouth Commission.

The determination of any one single member of that Commission to refuse his consent to what his colleagues might think reasonable, would suffice to prolong the occupation indefinitely. Besides, I maintained that the occupation must cease, unless it were to be prolonged by a fresh Convention.

M. Thouvenel rejoined, that there was no reason why the Commission should not be shortly ready with its Report, and a new Government be installed

troops home, but that His Majesty felt that to do so in the present disorganized state of the Mountain would be to take upon himself the responsibility of any disorder that might occur after their departure; and let me not deceive myself, a fresh massacre in Syria could not be met by palliatives. It would at once the question of the continuation of the Turkish Dynasty in the East this responsibility which His Imperial Majesty would not assume for himself

Sultan would then be master of his own destiny.

Plausible as is this argument, I would not accept it as conclusive, and I observed to M. Thouvenel that it was doubtful whether the prolonged stay of foreign troops was not calculated to produce the very dangers which he expressed himself to be anxious to avoid. The longer they remained, the greater would be the pretensions of the Maronites, the deeper the exasperation of the Druses, while the Turkish authority would daily lose in prestige.

Besides, Her Majesty's Government had been informed that the Turkish Government recognized the arrangement of 1843 to be still in force in the Lebanon. It could not be said, therefore, that the country was without a Government. No doubt there must always be danger of hostile collisions in a country inhabited by so many hostile races as was Syria, but those dangers would not be less six months hence, or six years hence, than they were now.

Desirous, however, of ascertaining the bottom of M. Thouvenel's thoughts, without compromising myself, I said that I saw no practical conclusion in the course which he had suggested. Supposing the Conference to be deferred, something must be done with regard to the Convention which expired in a few weeks. What course did his Excellency propose to pursue in regard to

M. Thouvenel's answer convinced me that his sole object was to obtain a release from his present engagements, with complete latitude of action for the future; that is to say, that the only engagement which he would be willing to contract for the future, would be that the troops should be withdrawn whenever a new Government should be installed in the Lebanon.

Seeing that no further discussion would be of any avail, I said to M. Thouvenel we should hear in Conference what the Porte had to say, and I took my

I should add, however, that more than once during this conversation, his Excellency admitted that, if some fresh arrangement were not made by the Conference, the French troops must be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 21.)

(No. 253. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 19, 1861

AFTER the conversation yesterday with M. Thouvenel recounted in my preceding despatch, I called upon Prince Metternich, who had expressed a desire to see me. I informed my Austrian colleague of what had passed between the French Minister and myself, and I said that M. Thouvenel's language had left a very painful impression upon my mind of the bad faith of the French Govern-

I here showed him, as directed by your Lordship's instructions, your despatch No. 173 of the 15th instant, and I stated that I was anxious to come to some understanding with him upon the course we both should pursue in Conference, as I was glad to find that his Government concurred entirely in opinion with Her Majesty's Government.

Prince Metternich replied that no doubt the two Governments were agreed on the question of principle, and he was instructed not to oppose the Turkish Representative, if he insisted on the evacuation of Syria by foreign troops at the period fixed by the Convention. Still his Government could not positively affirm that that evacuation might not be followed by fresh disorders; that it was in the power of the French Agents to produce them, and that he must, therefore, warn the Turkish Plenipotentiary of the responsibility he would incur, were the evacuation to be enforced before the Lebanon had a Government capable of maintaining order.

The Austrian Government, moreover, the Prince continued, were, in their present critical position, obliged to consider their relations with France, and to avoid taking any step which would bring upon them the renewed enmity of the French Government.

which the Porte might be willing to accept, and indeed to endeavour to bring conflicting opinions together: complete latitude was left him in this respect.

The Prince did not conceal from me his own decided aversion to place himself in antagonism to the French Government. He said that the question of Syria was as nothing, in his estimation, to the interests of his own Government, and to those of the Porte, both of which he thought would be compromised by pushing matters to extremities. From a conversation which he had had with Vefyk Efendi, he believed that such was also the opinion of the Turkish Representative, who was ready to consent to a prolonged occupation of Syria.

It is to be observed that the French Government, in its despatches, has always stated that the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period fixed by the Convention, and that the French troops should be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention. It is to be observed that the French Government, in its despatches, has always stated that the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period fixed by the Convention, and that the French troops should be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention. It is to be observed that the French Government, in its despatches, has always stated that the evacuation of Syria should be effected at the period fixed by the Convention, and that the French troops should be withdrawn at the period fixed by the Convention.

of its being accepted.

I expressed my conviction that M. Thouvenel would not consent to any compromise of the kind, and for myself I said that I had a decided objection to admitting any connection between the object sought to be attained by the Convention of the 31st September, and the task entrusted to the Commission. I argued, moreover, either that a new Convention must be signed, or that the present must be executed.

The conversation continued for some time in this strain, Prince Metternich admitting that no reliance could be placed upon the French Government, but arguing that it was better to let them have their way in this question than to oppose them. Finally, he said that he was to see M. Thouvenel in the course of the evening, and that he would call upon me before the meeting of the Conference.

In the course of the night I received Sir H. Bulwer's telegram of yesterday informing me of the final instructions sent to the Turkish Representative, and this morning early I saw Velyk E.

It required but a few minutes to ascertain that although he would not actually originate any scheme of arrangement, he was quite prepared to accept any that might be proposed. In fact, I gleaned from him that a proposition of the following nature would meet with his consent—the occupation to be prolonged to the 1st of June, the Commission being in the meantime requested to hasten its proceedings.

Velyk Efendi was evidently not aware that I was in possession of his intentions, for on my observing to him that he was exceeding them, he showed surprise and perhaps a shade of vexation. I said that I thought he would do wisely to keep to them in the first instance, to insist on the evacuation by the 1st of May, making the uncertainty of the weather an excuse for the prolongation of the term of occupation, not to mix up the question of the Commission with the question of occupation; and above all things to require, that whatever fresh arrangement might be made, should be sanctioned by a Convention. Upon this latter point I observed there could be no doubt, for that no resolution adopted by the Plenipotentiaries in Conference could overrule a solemn engagement contracted between their Sovereigns.

Velyk Efendi said that he would follow the course which I had recommended, but he would have preferred an immediate settlement of the question at issue without much discussion. He knew, however, positively, he added, that M. Thouvenel would enter into no engagement binding him to the evacuation of Syria by the 1st of May. He was equally certain that the French Minister would accept the 1st of June, because there could be no doubt that within that period the new organization of the Lebanon would be completed.

After this conversation I had to consider what course I should take. Had there been time I should without doubt have referred to your Lordship. One thing was clear, that the Porte did not mean to insist on immediate evacuation. Of this M. Thouvenel was informed. Was he equally aware of the extension of the period of occupation to which the Turkish Representative was ready to consent? I could not tell, but probably he was.

I determined, therefore, in proposing to Prince Metternich a mode of action which, if successful, would compromise the Porte as little as possible. The Prince came to me shortly afterwards. He said that his interview with M. Thouvenel had been so satisfactory that he was resolved not to mix in the discussion at all, but to let matters take their course, that on suggesting the immediate withdrawal of half the troops of occupation, and the concentration of the remainder on the coast, M. Thouvenel had replied that all should come away, or that all should remain, and that the coast was too unhealthy for the location of troops. He had shown, moreover, a decided intention of insisting that the troops should continue in Syria until after the installation of the new Administration of the Lebanon.

I said that I had not expected any other answer from M. Thouvenel, and that, as it seemed that the occupation must be prolonged inasmuch as the Porte was prepared to consent to it, the question was, how to put an end to it with certainty at the earliest possible moment. As he (the Prince) had said that he was not only authorized but desired to aid in any compromise, I suggested that the following course should be pursued by us. The Turkish Plenipotentiary would, he had informed me, request, when the Conference met, that the Convention of the 5th of September should be carried into execution, but without the intention of persisting in his request. A discussion would arise, and I proposed, when the proper moment should arrive, to observe that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that all necessary security could be given, if the troops of occupation were withdrawn from Syria, and allied squadrons sent to the coast. The Prince might then ask at what period they could be there, and on my replying, towards the end of April or the beginning

of May, he might found a proposal that the troops should be withdrawn at that period, their departure being ensured by a fresh Convention.

Prince Metternich agreed to take this course, but he at the same time expressed his conviction that it would not satisfy M. Thouvenel.

I said that M. Thouvenel would find it difficult to resist so reasonable a proposition, and that at all events it was worth trying.

I am aware that I have somewhat exceeded my instructions in taking this course, but I trust that your Lordship, seeing the difficulties by which I am surrounded, and that I am, in fact, the only Plenipotentiary really willing to do what is right, will excuse me. I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 425.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 21.)

(No. 254.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 19, 1861

THE Conference on Syrian affairs reassembled this afternoon at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministers of the Powers assembled at 5 P.M. The Porte were present.

M. Thouvenel opened the proceedings by referring to the despatch which he had addressed to the Emperor's Representatives at the Courts of the said Powers on the 18th ultimo, and he recapitulated in a few words the substance of that despatch, with a view of eliciting the opinions of the assembled Representatives. He addressed himself, in the first instance, to the Turkish Ambassador.

Velyk Efendi said that it would be in the recollection of the Conference, that it had been his duty to object in August last to the idea then entertained of sending foreign troops to Syria, because he had been confident that their presence in that province was not required, and that the Porte could by its own resources, restore and maintain its authority; that this had proved to be the case, order having been re-established by the sole agency of the Turkish authorities, that Syria was now tranquil, and that he had consequently to require the execution of the Convention of the 5th of September, by the withdrawal of the troops of occupation, of whose conduct, however, he spoke in terms of eulogy.

Velyk Efendi, in thanking Velyk Efendi for the complimentary expressions

which he had addressed to him, said that he was in the same opinion as the Ambassador, that their presence in Syria was not required, and that the Porte could by its own resources, restore and maintain its authority. He then referred to the accounts received by the French Government went to show that this tranquillity was only upon the surface, that bitter passions were raging underneath, which it was to be feared would break out whenever the troops should be withdrawn. It was known that 7,000 Druses had retired into the recesses of the Hauran, that they were stirring afresh, while, on the other hand, not one of the Chiefs declared guilty had as yet been punished, no indemnities had been paid to the suffering Christians; no Government whatever existed in the Mountain. He concluded, therefore, that until satisfaction had been given on the former points, and until a settled Government for the Lebanon had been organized with the help of the European Commission, it was in the interests of the Porte itself that the foreign occupation should be maintained, since a fresh catastrophe might place in peril the very existence of the Sultan's supremacy.

A long and somewhat desultory conversation ensued between Velyk Efendi and the French Minister. The former argued that if the Commission had not made greater progress in the task entrusted to it, that was no fault of the Porte's, but was a question to be treated between the Commissioners and their respective Governments. "With the Commission, however," said Velyk Efendi, "I have nothing to do. I am instructed to ask for the execution of the Convention, a matter totally apart from the Commission."

M. Thouvenel, on the other hand, argued that although no positive reference

had been made in the Convention to the objects of the European Commission, yet that the two were by the nature of things so intimately connected that the intentions of the Convention could not be said to have been fulfilled until the reorganization of the Lebanon, one of the points which was to occupy the Commission, should have been accomplished.

Turning to Article V, he argued that it implied that if the object which the High Contracting Parties had in view, namely, the pacification of Syria, should not be realized within six months, the occupation might be prolonged. But that pacification could not be said to be realized until there should be a settled government in the Lebanon, while, with regard to other parts of Syria, his Excellency read extracts of a despatch which he had just received from the French Consul at Damascus, relating a conversation which he had had with the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces, who, he said, had admitted to him that he had not sufficient troops to maintain order, and that he must have reinforcements from Constantinople before it would be possible to undertake an expedition against the Hauran. The same despatch alluded to a number of other points which, in the writer's opinion, should be settled before the French troops ought to be withdrawn.

I took up the discussion at this point. I said that to follow out the suggestions contained in the despatch which M. Thouvenel had just read to us would be neither more nor less than to sanction the permanent occupation of Syria.

M. Thouvenel interrupted me by exclaiming that nothing was further from his thoughts; that he wanted no more than to be certain that there would be a responsible Government in the Lebanon whenever the troops of occupation should be withdrawn.

Referring, then, to the argument which M. Thouvenel had employed to establish a connection between the objects of the Commission and those of the Convention, I said that I could not accept it, nor the interpretation put by him on the Vth Article of the latter. The spirit and intention of the Convention, I observed, was to be found in the preamble, which declared the intention of the Sultan to put an end, by prompt and efficacious measures, to the effusion of blood in Syria, and His Majesty's firm resolution to ensure order and peace among the populations placed under his sovereignty, for which purposes he accepted the co-operation of Europe. The Articles regulated the manner in which that co-operation was to be given.

With regard to the present state of Syria I said that the reports received by His Majesty's Government differed essentially from those received by the Imperial Government.

In Lord Dufferin's opinion, who, however, did full justice to the happy results obtained by the co-operation of Europe, and more particularly of France, the Sultan was in a position to redeem the pledges which had been given in the preamble of the Convention, without the further assistance of his allies, and, therefore, acting under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, I must support the request made by the Turkish Representative for the due execution of the Convention.

M. Thouvenel continued to maintain his own views. He expressed more than once his firm conviction that the departure of the troops would be followed by fresh horrors, which, this time, would not stop at Damascus.

I said that all his arguments only tended to prove, in my mind, that the longer the evacuation was delayed, the greater would be the difficulties hereafter thrown in the way of its accomplishment; that I doubted whether, at this moment, the presence of foreign troops was not more pernicious than salutary towards the object which we all had in view. It tended to raise extravagant expectations on the one side, and to keep up irritation on the other, while the authority of the Sovereign was almost in abeyance; nor could I help adding that that occupation did not prevent many acts of atrocity committed by the Christians against the Druze.

M. Thouvenel said that he had no knowledge of any such acts, which were certainly regrettable, if true; but the facts I had alleged only strengthened his conviction of the state of things which would arise were the troops of occupation to be withdrawn.

We had now been for some time in discussion without any progress towards a solution of the question proposed to us. The Russian Ambassador had here

and there put in a word in support of M. Thouvenel's arguments. The Austrian Ambassador and Prussian Minister had not opened their lips.

With a view, then, of coming to some conclusion, I said that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that it might be advisable that the Maritime Powers should station naval squadrons off the coast of Syria as soon as the season would permit of it.

There would be no necessity, I observed, for any Convention for this purpose; but the presence of the ships would insure protection where it was wanted in case of need.

Both M. Thouvenel and General Kisseleff exclaimed that ships would be of no use in the Mountains; but I expressed the hope and, indeed, the conviction that the flags on the coast would, with the Turkish forces on land, suffice to insure tranquillity. Besides, I said, there was always the possibility of landing a force.

Prince Metternich asked when the season would permit naval squadrons to be stationed off the coast. He mentioned the 1st of May. The Prince then suggested that it might be decided that the occupation should be prolonged until the arrival of the squadrons, say, until the 1st of May?

Velyk Efendi said that he would not stand in the way of an arrangement of the kind, provided he had the assurance that the foreign troops would have left Syria on the date in question. I said that it must be matter of a fresh Convention. This was contested by the Russian Ambassador, but after a short discussion, agreed to as necessary by the other Representatives. When, however, we came to discuss the terms of the new Convention, M. Thouvenel objected to making the term of the 1st of May absolutely binding. He reiterated all his former arguments of the necessity of a recognized Government in the Lebanon before the troops should be withdrawn; but he asserted that if that Government were to be installed to-morrow, he would abandon the Lebanon to its fate the next day. He proposed then the signature of a short Convention, prolonging the occupation to the 1st of May, with an understanding that the Conference should re-assemble again in April to decide the moment of evacuation. In the meantime, the different Governments might send instructions to their Commissioners to hurry the project for the re-organization of the Lebanon.

I said that M. Thouvenel's proposal kept the whole question open, that one unwilling member of the Commission might cause delays without end.

M. Thouvenel replied, that he would not object to fixing a day on which the Commission must be ready with its Report. The Commissioners might then with it to Constantinople, and, unless the Porte made unnecessary delays, the whole matter might be settled in a comparatively short time.

It was not in the power either of the Turkish Ambassador or of myself to accept M. Thouvenel's proposal, and, as it was evident that nothing more was to be obtained by discussion, I proposed that the Conference should adjourn, in order that the Representatives might refer to their respective Governments.

It was agreed that the following Minute should be made of the result of the sitting:—

"A la suite de la discussion qui a eu lieu le Plenipotentiaire Ottoman a admis qu'il pourrait transmettre à sa Cour une proposition qui tendrait à signer une Convention prolongeant pour tout délai le terme de l'occupation au 1^{er} Mai."

It is impossible for me to take upon myself to fathom the policy of the French Government in this question; but my impression is, that pressed by their authorities, both Consular and Military at Beyrout, jealous of their prestige in the Lebanon, and afraid of giving further offence to the clergy in France, they are seeking to gain time. I believe that, at this moment, M. Thouvenel is sincere in stating that the troops shall be withdrawn whenever the new organization of the Lebanon shall be completed; but it is evident that no confidence can be placed in him or in his promises. If I did not fear the consequences of abandoning the Porte altogether, I should venture to recommend Her Majesty's Government to declare that, seeing that all their endeavours to come to an understanding with France are unsuccessful, they hold her to her engagements. If this is not done, I see no other course to adopt than to accept M. Thouvenel's proposal to fix the day on which the Commission must have terminated its Report, and then to

hurry its adoption by the Porte, so that the excuse of no settled Government in the Lebanon shall at least be done away with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 429

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 215. Confidential)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 21, 1861

I HAVE read with much attention your despatches Nos. 252, 253, and 254, of the 19th instant.

It is obvious that the French Government wish to prolong indefinitely the stay of their troops in Syria.

At Paris this desire is placed on a wish to see the labours of the Commission finished, and a new Government of the Mountain organized. A fear of renewed massacres is likewise ostentatiously put forward.

In Syria, however, nothing of the kind is pretended. It is then seen that the Commission could organize, with great ease, a government for the Lebanon, and that nothing prevents their doing so but the divergence of opinion expressed by the French Commissioners. The Austrian, Prussian, Russian, and British Commissioners are entirely agreed that there should be a Christian Chief or Governor of the Mountain, who shall not be a native of the Province. The Government of the Porte can hardly object to a so reasonable, and so much in conformity with the arrangements of 1842-43.

Nor does there appear, at present, in Syria, the apprehension expressed at Paris of a massacre. It is true that many Druse women and children, as well as men, have been killed, but the Turkish force appears sufficient to enforce and ensure tranquility.

It is certain, however, that French officers in Syria give other reasons for continued occupation. They say that the French army must accomplish some brilliant feat of arms before they go away, and an expedition to the Houran is spoken of for that purpose.

Now it is easy to conceive that, if such an expedition should take place, many Druses will be killed, and their houses and villages destroyed. This act will excite a spirit of revenge, and the French General may then plausibly say that the departure of his troops will be the signal of a bloody conflict.

Thus the indefinite occupation and final conquest of Syria may be accomplished.

M. Thouvenel has told Prince Metternich that he cannot agree to remove the troops to the coast, as the coast is unhealthy, and in the spring of the year there may be truth in this assertion. But the French Government might agree to an engagement not to send their troops further into the interior than their present positions.

If M. Thouvenel proposes a postponement of the commencement of the evacuation till the 1st of May, and its termination on the 1st of June, he might be asked, before such a proposition is submitted to Her Majesty's Government, whether he would agree thus far to restrict the action of the French troops.

Prince Metternich has said to your Excellency that the question of Syria was as nothing in his estimation to the interests of his own Government.

You may inform Prince Metternich that the question of the supply of arms in the Principalties is as nothing in our estimation compared to the question of Syria.

Her Majesty's Government are making themselves unpopular in the Principalties by their endeavours to return the arms brought from Genoa to that port.

If Her Majesty's Government are asked to promote the interests of Austria on the Danube, and told at the same time that the interests of Her Majesty's Government in the Mediterranean are as nothing to Austria, Prince Metternich must see that this one-sided relation cannot long continue, and that Her Majesty's Government must treat Austrian interests as matters of indifference to Great Britain.

But Her Majesty's Government have insisted on the representation that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire, and the prevention of the acquisition of its provinces by powerful European States, was an object in regard to which the Austrian Government considered itself as having a great and direct interest, and it is not easy to see how, if that be so, the Austrian Government can maintain that it has no interest in preventing Syria from falling under the dominion of France.

It is manifest that the transfer of Syria to France would soon be followed by an extension of French dominion to other parts of Asia Minor; that the existing state of affairs in the East would be completely altered; that in Europe by Russia with the support of France; and the Austrian Government would ere long find that vital interests of Austria had been sacrificed by the weakness and short-sightedness which her Government would have applied to the consideration of the Syrian question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 430

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 18)

(No. 2.)

My Lord,

Berlin, February 16, 1861

IN reply to my inquiry of Baron Schlabitz this morning as to the period when the Commission would meet, his Excellency has informed me that the Commission would meet on the 1st of March.

I have furthered the Excellency what instructions he had sent to the Prussian Government on that question.

His Excellency has also informed me that the Prussian Government could not consider that the state of the Mountain was such as to preclude all fears of a renewal of disorder. He considered that if the foreign troops were now removed, and that similar atrocities to those which had necessitated their presence were to be renewed, a spirit of indignation would be raised against Turkey which would compromise the very existence of the Empire, and possibly be its deathblow ("lui donnerait son coup de grace"); consequently the Prussian Government could not take upon themselves the responsibility of recommending their withdrawal.

His Excellency was of opinion that a hint for the occupation should be laid down, and he seemed to think that the period for the closing of the labours of the Commission, when a settled Government of the Mountain should be installed, would be the natural and more desirable period.

At the same time, his Excellency fully agreed that no prolongation of the occupation could be assented to in opposition to the wishes of the Sultan; and he further supported the principle that the unanimity of the Powers was requisite, and that the question could not be decided by a majority in the Conference.

His Excellency stated that he believed that an arrangement would be come to between Her Majesty's Government and that of the Emperor of the French, which would remove all further difficulties with respect to this question.

I have, &c.
AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 431

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 216)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 21, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government have no objection to the proposal to fix a day for the meeting of the Commission, and to the proposal to have a meeting on the 1st of March.

Indeed, if it were not that instructions from Paris hamper the French Commissioner, the Report might be signed by this day, as your Excellency will see

by the heads of a Report contained in Lord Dufferin's despatch No. 58 of the 10th instant

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 432

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(No. 265.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 22, 1861.

I CALLED on M. Thouvenel this afternoon, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government had no objection to the proposal to fix a day when the Report of the Commission sitting at Beyrout must be signed. I said that the day fixed might be an early one, as the Commissioners appeared to be pretty well agreed with the evacuation of Syria, and that they must continue to urge its completion by the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel feigned great surprise at hearing what I told him, and declared that he had received nothing from M. Béchard upon the subject which I had mentioned.

Thus can hardly be the case. Pursuing my communication, I said that what my Government with reference to the evacuation of Syria, and that they must continue to urge its completion by the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel's colleagues had expressed their opinion that if the French Government were to be again tied down to a day on which the evacuation must be effected, they would prefer carrying it into execution at once, leaving to the Porte the responsibility of the consequences which must ensue. The Emperor had not positively taken any decision, but the Council would reconsider the matter to-morrow. He would probably be charged to inform the Cabinets of the Great Powers that the Imperial Government, seeing the divergence of opinion which prevailed with regard to a prolonged occupation, preferred to abide by the engagements already taken, to contracting fresh ones. He should, however, at the same time, call the attention of the Cabinets to the consequences which might be the result of the departure of the troops—consequences which he should leave the whole responsibility with the Porte.

I said that I rejoiced to hear that there was a possibility of the Council of Ministers coming to the prudent determination mentioned by his Excellency.

I then asked whether M. Thouvenel proposed convoking the Conference afresh, but he seemed to have taken no determination upon the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 433

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(No. 266. Most Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 22, 1861.

WITH reference to my previous despatch the following details have come from different sources to my knowledge.

After the Conference had broken up on Tuesday M. Thouvenel detained Prince Motternich, and informed him that he intended to ask the Emperor's permission to propose at the ensuing Conference that the evacuation of Syria should commence on the 1st of May, and terminate on the 1st of June. Yesterday he stated to the Prince that the Emperor had been exceedingly angry at learning what had passed in the Conference, and was still more angry at the

suggestion which he (M. Thouvenel) had made to him, and that His Majesty had declared that, sooner than submit to the indignity of being tied down in such a way as M. Thouvenel proposed, he would act up to the original Convention, and bring away his troops at once, leaving to the Porte the whole responsibility of what he believed would be the inevitable consequences of their withdrawal.

Now, although this resolution may be partially acted upon in the manner in which M. Thouvenel announced it to me, as recounted in my preceding despatch, I have reasons for thinking that his Excellency hopes, by the form of declaration which he will employ, to intimidate the other Governments, and particularly that of Her Majesty, and thus render them more amenable to the prolonged stay of the French troops until a Government shall be organized in the Lebanon; and that if he finds that his scheme does not succeed, he will revert to the idea of a prolonged occupation to be terminated under a new Convention at a fixed period. It was under this impression that I remarked to him that I rejoiced to hear that the Council of Ministers would possibly take the prudent resolution which he had announced to me of preferring the evacuation at the time fixed by the Convention of the 5th September to another Convention fixing the 1st of May as the time.

M. Thouvenel had hoped to inspire alarm by a brusque change of determination. I took care that he should see that, as far as I was concerned it inspired no apprehension whatever.

Your Lordship can set me right if you deem that I expressed myself too positively.

I have, however, no doubt that the Government of Her Majesty should send, at as early a period as will be safe, a strong naval squadron to the coast of Syria. We must be prepared for every sort and kind of intrigue to create disturbances and to excite the passions of the people. It will equally reassure the populations of those countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 434

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 227.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1861.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language held by your Excellency in your conversation with M. Thouvenel on the affairs of Syria, as reported in your despatch No. 265 of the 22nd instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 435

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 23.)

(No. 115.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 19, 1861.

HAVING communicated to Ash Pasha the substance of Lord Dufferin's recent despatches, and especially No. 106 of the 18th of January, which intimates a belief that Faid Pasha has been restrained from following his own liberal inclinations by the fanatical tendencies of the Porte, his Highness denied this accusation in the most direct and positive manner, and as Lord Dufferin does not specify any particular instances in which the influence thus described has been exercised, I found it impossible to maintain any argument on the subject.

With respect, however, to two or three points concerning which Lord Dufferin generally complained, I brought them under Ash Pasha's notice.

With regard to the confiscation of the property of those Druses who had suffered the extreme penalty of the law, Aali Pasha declared himself most decidedly hostile to the principle of confiscation. But having, as he said, understood that the Commissioners had insisted in similar cases on the property of Mussulmans being confiscated, he had considered that in such case one rule should be equally applied.

I should add however, that confiscation is against the laws of the Empire, and that the fair and just thing would be not to sanction confiscation with respect to the children either of Druse or Moslem.

As to the indemnity, Aali Pasha said that he considered the sum proposed by M. Outrey as so enormous that he had hesitated in consenting to it, when a fact of which he seemed to have been for some time ignorant was pointed out to him, viz., that according to Protocol 14 the 150,000,000 piastres seemed reduced to 64,000,000, he made no further difficulty on the matter.

It may be urged, perhaps, in defence of his first objections that the Commissioners themselves seem to have taken at last the view which was originally taken by Aali Pasha, since they appear to have themselves reduced the penalty which it was at first proposed to inflict.

Touching Khorsheed Pasha's punishment Aali Pasha declares that Fuad was certainly punished by a tribunal, and had had his sentence approved of by the Ottoman Commissioner, the Porte could hardly, even if disposed, have altered such sentence without a great scandal, and also a great loss of prestige to the high functionary on the spot.

I have written to Lord Dufferin for further particulars as to any charges he has to bring against this Government, and until I get them, I can say no more than that I do not think, whatever may be the other faults of the present Administration here, it can be charged with fanaticism.

And now I am on this subject, I would venture to draw a distinction between an exaggerated Mussulman fanaticism and a natural Mussulman spirit.

Whilst strongly, as your Lordship is aware, in favour of introducing the Christian element into the Ottoman Government, I cannot but admit that we must expect a Government chiefly Mussulman, and a Mussulman Sovereign, to have a certain Mussulman tendency. It is moreover to be expected that a Government which knows that the only force it can depend upon is Mussulman should have a certain desire to retain a fair opinion with the Mussulman population.

All this is in the nature of things. What it seems to me we have to do, is to see that the Mussulman feeling to which I am alluding is not carried to any excessive or blameable extent, making a legitimate allowance for the necessary difference between what our feelings as Christians may be towards Christians, and the feelings which the Mussulmans may entertain towards Mussulmans.

In regard to the evacuation of Syria, Aali Pasha maintains it is an absolute necessity for the tranquillity of the province. He is sending there, however, three regiments of Cavalry, and General Kimey is to have the charge of the gendarmerie which is being organised.

I am still, as in Lord Dufferin, greatly in favour of a small foreign force in Turkish pay: 1,000 or 1,800 men would suffice.

Such a force I think, would furnish a strong moral support and comfort to the Turks, who will otherwise be in a critical position, in the excited state which will probably follow the departure of the French troops, should any troubles, however insignificant, arise in a Christian quarter.

A Turkish soldiery, under such circumstances, might either be so inactive as to destroy the prestige of the Government, or, by its action, give occasion to a cry that now passers were commencing.

Aali and Rashedi Pasha seem favourable to the project of which I am writing, and I have written to Lord Dufferin to let me know Fuad Pasha's private and honest opinion on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No. 436.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Bloomfield

(No. 29.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government are glad to find from your Excellency's telegram of yesterday, that the opinion of the Austrian Cabinet that it should rest with the Porte alone to decide whether the stay of French troops in Syria should be prolonged, has not been altered by what took place at the meeting of the Conference in Paris on the 19th instant. Her Majesty's Government agree entirely in that opinion.

As regards the report which appears to have reached Vienna that the French Government, rather than agree to any fresh arrangement binding them to withdraw their troops from Syria by a day which, though later than that named in the Convention of the 5th of September, should still be definitively fixed, would prefer to withdraw their troops at once, and to leave with the Porte the whole responsibility for the consequences of that measure, I have to state to your Excellency that if the French Government prefers the latter alternative, the adoption of which would immediately re-establish the Sultan's authority in Syria, Her Majesty's Government would offer no objection to that course, although they are willing, under conditions to be recorded in a fresh Convention,

that the French troops should be withdrawn by the 1st of May, or even to the 1st of June.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 437

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer

(No. 101.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1861

I HAVE apprized your Excellency by telegraph that Her Majesty's Government have been informed that the French Government may possibly determine upon withdrawing the French troops from Syria without loss of time.

With reference to such a contingency the Porte would do well to instruct Fuad Pasha to collect together a force sufficient to preserve order in the Lebanon, and to afford protection indiscriminately to Christians and Druses, and your Excellency has been directed to make a communication to that effect to the Turkish Government.

I have used the term Christians and Druses for convenience and brevity, but of course I mean to include Jews, Metuals, and all other subjects of the Sultan in Syria.

I am &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 438

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 112.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 25, 1861

WITH regard to the charge of fanaticism brought against the Turkish Government by Lord Dufferin, and noticed in your Excellency's despatch No. 115 of the 13th instant, Her Majesty's Government imagine that Lord Dufferin does not intend to charge Aali Pasha or any particular Turkish Ministers with fanaticism, but the Turkish Government in general with yielding to the fanatical spirit of the Turks.

The whole misfortune and difficulties of Syria have arisen from the connivance of Khorsheed Pasha with the murderers of Deir-el-Kamar, and from the cowardice of Achmet Pasha at Damascus.

Achmet Pasha has expiated his cowardice with his life. Khorsheed, after an attempt had been made by Fuad Pasha to retain him in the Government of

Syrin, was arrested and brought to trial. Care was taken to prevent the appearance of witnesses against him, and he is to be dismissed with a light punishment.

It does not much matter whether the Sultan's Ministers who have thus condoned the most guilty of all the accomplices of the Syrian massacres are themselves fanatical, or whether they are afraid of others who are so. The existence of a fanatical party in Turkey cannot be doubted: that this party seeks to console itself, by murders and massacres, for the advantages given to Christians by the Sultan of late years, appears but too evident. If Fuad Pasha had been instructed to bring all the proofs of Khoorshid's guilt to light, Khoorshid's life might have been spared. But the fanatical party in Turkey would have been intimidated the whole fanatical party in Turkey. Whether the Turkish Government acted from sympathy with that party, or dread of their opposition, the result is equally to be deplored.

If the Sultan wishes to employ a small body of Christian troops, he may easily raise such a body among his own subjects. But they must be regularly paid, or their fidelity will be doubtful.

I am, &c
Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 439

Acting Consul French to Lord J. Russell.—(Received February 26.)

No. 3.)

My Lord,

Dumaine, February 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship two despatches addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the first dated the 1st instant on the re-organisation of the Great Council of the Patriarch, and the second of to-day's date, being a report on the present deplorable condition of the Christians still in Damascus.

I have, &c
(Signed) WILLIAM H WRENCH

Inclosure 1 in No. 439

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Damascus, February 1, 1861.

IN my despatch of the 10th January I had the honour to inform your Excellency that the Pasha was engaged in re-organizing the Great Medjlia. With regard to those of the Musulman members, Osman Bey, Khalil Bey, and Dervish Efendi, the election was effected in the following manner. About thirty persons were brought to the Serai, and, a candidate being proposed, they voted either before or against him, but as the voters were chosen by the advice of Osman Bey, he and his friend Khalil Bey were returned with hardly any dissenting voices. Mahmoud Efendi Hanisi was appointed by the Pasha without voting.

The Vali, Mohamabagree, Mufti, Cadi, Chief of the Wakuf, and Nusur Mahmour (Chief Registrar) sit by right, there being also a Jew, a Catholic, and a Greek member chosen by their respective sects. Other Chaoiw members will be appointed when the numbers of the communities require it.

The business is conducted in Turkish, which language is not understood by Derwish Efendi, the Jewish or Christian members; the three latter sit apart, and hardly ever venture a remark.

The Council, not counting extraordinary occasions, meets three times a-week. The members do not generally assemble until 11 o'clock A.M., Osman Bey being in three other Ministries, and being Sanduk Estimeh of the Civil Government as well as for the Christians, is always late and sometimes absent, most of the others also hold some other post under Government, which interferes with their regular attendance. When the members arrive coffee, pipes, and conversation occupy an hour or more, the Pasha looks over his letters, and the business begins, but is interrupted during the day by the members praying at

the noon and 3 o'clock calls. If the Pasha is present the sitting continues until half-an-hour before sunset, but if his Excellency is absent little is done, and the Meclis breaks up early.

The business is dispatched without any sort of order or regularity. A petitioner has to commence his suit by a bribe to one of the members, his memorial entering the Council by means of a present to the door-keeper; the propitiated member will bring on the case, the memorial will be read, and he explains it to the Pasha. The petitioner is then called, his answers are translated into Turkish by the said member in the manner that suits him, and a sentence is at length drawn up, without a very careful examination into the rights of the case. If it is not in favour of the petitioner, the clerk, who has been bribed, after having satisfied the demand of the door-keeper, will remain forgotten, the petitioner waiting outside the Medjlis for thirty days or more and

The Vali and Muhaumadzogro do not receive bribes: but with this exception, and that of Derrub Efendi, the Jewish and Catholic members, who are newly introduced and do not possess any influence, all the Council, including clerks and judges, are corrupt. The only means of hoping for a termination to their rule,

The Pasha, I believe, is not content with the working of the Council as it is at present constituted, and it is to be hoped his Excellency will see the necessity for a thorough change in its organization.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH

Enclosure 2 to No. 439

Acting Consul French to Sir H. Bulwer.

But

Dumortier, February 7, 1861.

SINCE I had the honour on the 24th ultimo to address your Excellency on the affairs of Damascus, the weather has become most wintry; the roads being blocked by the snow we have not been in communication with Beyrout since the 25th ultimo, and no news is received from outside the town. The Christians consequently have not been lately alarmed by reported movements among the Druses and Arabs. Their position, however, is in the highest degree painful. The Government give them, it is true, two small flat loaves of bread daily per head, but some have received no charcoal, and many have exhausted the stock of the same; the firewood; for more than fifty days they have not received any from the Government, they are obliged to buy provisions at exorbitant prices, and in consequence of the want of money they receive going to liquidate these debts. Thus half-dressed, half-starved, and ill-lodged, the water in most cases filtering through the terraces into their rooms, their sufferings are terrible, and driven to desperation it cannot be wondered at that some individuals seek to drown their woes in drunkenness.

The bread has been slightly improved within the last few days, but, made from a mixture of barley, wheat, and maize, half-baked, it is still very unwholesome; but before this amelioration it was not fit food for a human being.

The French Consul is now distributing some cloth, and about 2,000 sterling, he will recommence with a similar amount when the first is exhausted. I have given away for the Relief Committee within the last week 210 warm sheepskin coats, and about 150 blankets to the poor, besides small amounts in money to the sick, but this is not much among such a numerous population. According to the registers made by the French Consulate there are upwards of 9,300 souls, of whom about 2,700 are villagers; these numbers include the Meidan quarter, not counted in the calculation of Arzouman Efendi, which I had the honour to report on the 10th of January.

le, the Christians are forced to remain here very much against their will. They hear that at Beyrouth the Government allowance is regularly paid, that several Committees are established to look after the refugees, and that private persons do all they can for them; it is natural, therefore, that they should wish to remove from a place where there

wants are so little attended to. If, when the weather clears up, anything remains from the money they are now receiving, I think it will be difficult to induce them to stay. The French Consul told me a few days ago that he should make no more efforts to this end, as for the last four months he had done all he could to return them, hoping the Turkish Government would have arranged something to improve their condition: now, however, that he sees no steps taken in their behalf, he will no more advise them to stay: his employés, I believe, counsel the receivers of his charity to leave as soon as they can.

A Greek Christian, the agent to recover what articles were found in clearing out the ruins of the Greek Patriarchate, last week finding the silver case of a watch, kept it with the intention of returning it to the owner; a party of soldiers met him when returning home, took from him his money and the watch-case, ill-treated him, and put him in prison, where he remained all night, on being taken out he had lost his reason, and after a few days died.

Khaled Pasha is gone to the Hauran, with what object is not known.

It is believed here that the Pasha has granted an amnesty to nine Druse Chiefs of the Hauran, more than one of whom was implicated in the late massacres. His Excellency was contemplating such a measure; but I doubt whether he has yet decided on it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

No. 440

M. Thouvenel to the Count de Mahault.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by the Count de Mahault, February 27.)

M. le Comte,

Paris, le 25 Février, 1861

Les Plénipotentiaires de l'Autriche, de la Grande Bretagne, de la Prusse, de la Russie, et de la Turquie, se sont réunis avec moi en Conférence le 19 Février, pour s'occuper des affaires de Syrie, et j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint le projet de Protocole de cette séance.

L'Article V de la Convention signée le 5 Septembre dernier étant ainsi conçu: "Les Hautes Parties Contractantes, convaincues que ce délai sera suffisant pour atteindre le but de pacification qu'elles ont en vue, fixent à six semaines le délai pendant lequel les Puissances se trouveront justifiées par les faits et si l'œuvre à laquelle elles avaient entendu concourir leur paraissant

Invité à s'expliquer le premier, en sa qualité de Représentant de la Puissance territoriale, le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie a affirmé que l'ordre était rétabli et que la Sublime Porte disposait de tous les moyens nécessaires pour l'empêcher d'être troublé. J'ai dû contester la valeur de cette assertion, et, après un débat dont le Protocole ci-joint reproduit les principaux détails, son Excellence Ahmet Velyk Efendi a déclaré que, mal par un esprit de conciliation, il se croyait autorisé à transmettre à Constantinople la proposition de prolonger l'occupation, si l'on convenait d'une date précise, qu'il a fixée, pour tout délai, au 1 Mai prochain. Avant de se prononcer sur l'accueil à faire à cette suggestion, les Plénipotentiaires ont jugé convenable d'en référer à leurs Cours respectives. Je viens donc, M. le Comte, vous exposer quelle est au sujet la manière de voir du Gouvernement de l'Empereur.

L'obligation où nous sommes de nous expliquer avec une entière franchise ne résulte pas seulement de nos sympathies pour des populations cruellement égarées, elle découle aussi du mandat que les Puissances ont donné à la France pour l'envoi d'un corps expéditionnaire en Syrie. La confiance même dont le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a été l'objet de la part de ses alliés lui impose une responsabilité directe, et il ne saurait s'en dégager qu'en faisant connaître, comme ses informations le lui représentent, l'état actuel des choses.

La présence de nos troupes dans le Liban a obtenu de prime abord un résultat considérable. Elle a mis fin aux massacres qui menaçaient de s'étendre bien au-delà des régions habitées par les Druses et les Maronites, mais il ne suffisait pas d'arrêter l'effusion du sang, il fallait que justice fût faite aux

coupables comme aux victimes; il était non moins essentiel d'aviser aux moyens de conjurer autant que possible le retour d'événements semblables à ceux qui ont soulevé l'an dernier l'indignation et la pitié de l'Europe. C'est sous l'empire de ces considérations multiples que les Puissances, au moment où une force Européenne était envoyée en Syrie, ont décidé qu'une Commission composée de leurs délégués s'y rendrait également pour assurer, de concert avec un haut fonctionnaire de la Porte, le châtiement mérité par les chefs de l'insurrection, la fixation de la répartition équitable des indemnités dues aux Chrétiens, et enfin l'adoption des réformes à introduire dans le régime constitutionnel de la Montagne. On avait évidemment pensé que la restauration de l'ordre moral devait marcher concurremment avec la restauration de l'ordre matériel et en devenir la garantie.

Un court exposé des faits démontrera si ce double but a été atteint.

Les deux premières questions que la Commission avait à traiter, celles des punitions à infliger aux coupables et des réparations à accorder aux victimes, ne sont pas encore réglées; la troisième, celle des modifications à apporter dans l'organisation du Liban, vient à peine d'être abordée dans les entretiens confidentiels. En un mot, les principales difficultés dont la solution semblait nécessaire pour pouvoir replacer les populations dans des conditions tolérables d'existence, subsistent presque intactes.

Si de ces points particuliers on passe à l'examen de la situation générale, est-il possible d'y puiser un sentiment de confiance assez caractérisé pour accepter

menaces de l'explosion d'une crise nouvelle? A Damas les Musulmans méditaient ni leur ressentiment ni leurs espérances, et les Chrétiens, devant les menaces dont ils sont l'objet, ne songent qu'à fuir leurs foyers dévastés et à gagner les villes du littoral. Les Druses du Liban, qui, au nombre de 3 000 en état de porter les armes, ont pu traverser les lignes Turques et se réunir à leurs coreligionnaires du Hauran, se préparent ouvertement à la lutte et renaissent des relations avec les Arabes et les Métouls. Déjà ils envahissent les villages de la plaine jusqu'aux portes de Damas, et leurs incursions ne rencontrent aucun obstacle. La sécurité, mais une sécurité destinée à s'évanouir avec son gage, ne règne que dans les parties de la Montagne où nous sommes. Partout ailleurs les craintes et les haines ont conservé le même degré d'intensité, et une effrayante quiescence se

ents, il est
v. de l'avou
de son Chef, pour attes
de leur refuge du Hauran, plus
sympathique, pour cause de religion, à la partie menaçante qu'à la partie me meuse
de la population, et il faut bien le dire, attendant un arriere de monde de tre de
mois, peut être offerte à l'Europe, dans des circonstances aussi crit ques, comme
constituant à elle seule une garantie d'ordre et de tranquillité. La décision
ci-jointe en copie de notre Consul à Damas me dispense de m'étendre davantage
sur ce sujet. Je mentionnerai cependant les intérêts et les plaintes du commerce
étranger dont m'entretient notre Consul à Beyrouth, dans le rapport également
ci-joint.

Voilà, M. le Comte, le tableau de l'état actuel de choses en Syrie, tel qu'il
résulte des informations les plus récentes parvenues au Gouvernement de
l'Empereur. Je ne veux pas prétendre que les autres Puissances doivent
accepter, sans les contrôler par les leurs, les données que nous tra

Agents, mais on ne saurait non plus nous demander de déclarer leur juge
ment nous autorisent à déclarer que l'ordre
s retablis par la les
de la Convention du 5 Septembre

La prolongation que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman se montre disposé
proposer à sa Cour, sur la demande de la Conférence, modifierait-elle sensiblement
la situation? Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur ne le pense pas. À son avis
l'accomplissement du mandat de justice et de réparation confié à la Commission

nous, d'accorder à l'intercession Européenne en Syrie, mais bien une prorogation jusqu'à nouvel ordre, c'est-à-dire, sans autres limites que la certitude acquise de la paix, à défaut de l'union, rétablie et assurée dans le Liban sous une administration nouvelle, impartiale et forte, approuvée et garantie par les Puissances.

Mais comment inspirer aux uns la confiance, aux autres la crainte, sûre d'accepter à tous la justice, si l'on nous voit divisés au point d'en être, après enquête, à discuter, comme on le fait de l'autre côté du Déroit, si ce ne sont pas les Chrétiens qui ont massacré des Druses et si ce ne sont pas les Français qui en sont cause ?

Et pendant ce temps toutes les correspondances d'Orient, officielles ou privées, écrites dans toutes les langues, émanant de toutes les sources, s'accroissent à présumer le départ du corps d'occupation comme le signal certain de nouveaux et plus sanglants massacres. Déjà les Druses et les Musulmans fanatisés des villes, encouragés par ces coupables sympathies trop arrougées, disent hautement que l'heure approche où ils vont reprendre leur œuvre interrompue, l'extermination des Chrétiens.

Que des Turcs, plus ou moins complices en tout ceci, s'obstinent à nier la lumière qui éclaire leur oppression et leur cupidité, cela peut ne pas nous étonner ; mais qu'il se trouve des Chrétiens à Londres plus Turcs qu'à Constantinople, cela fut plus que nous l'ignorions, cela nous afflige profondément.

D'accord, avant de la connaître, avec la dépêche de M. Thouvenel qui, la me aucun doute sur le dévouement de la France dans la question de Syrie, nous demandons dernièrement qu'une partie des troupes d'occupation

Au lieu de nous faire plus encore nous proposerons d'adjointes aux que l'on vire si d'instincts Protestants et de bons Catholiques ne peuvent s'entendre, en dépit de la politique, pour protéger les Chrétiens du Liban, que que communions qu'ils appartiennent, sans se faire des victimes à eux-mêmes et réciproquement.

Ce n'est pas sans une grande tristesse que nous nous sommes vus forcés de revenir sur une question où les uns parlent d'eux-mêmes avec la plus douloureuse éloquence ; mais lorsqu'on les dénature ou qu'on les use, quand le mensonge menace de prévaloir sur la vérité, il n'est pas permis de se taire.

Avez de difficiles et importantes questions ne se dressent-elles pas devant l'Europe en ce moment, questions de droits et de devoirs, de justice et d'honneur de paix ou de guerre, pour que sur une question d'humanité avant tout, des Puissances qui se disent Chrétiennes et alliées aient la sagacité de s'entendre ?

No. 442

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — (Received February 27)

No. 278. Confidential

My Lord,

Paris, February 26, 1861

THE Turkish Ambassador called upon me this morning. He said that he had received a telegram from his Government, approving his conduct in the Conference on Syrian affairs which took place on the 19th instant ; but I regret to add, that his conversation afterwards showed him to be disposed to extend the period of French occupation to any time that may be agreeable to the French Government, provided only that that time is fixed by a new Convention.

Vefyk Efendi stated the position of his Government to be that it must keep on terms with the French Government, in order to prevent the rupture of the Miris loan. If the Porte cannot obtain advances from the Bank of France to meet the engagements which it has contracted, counting on the proceeds of the loan, ruin will be the consequence. It is needless, he says, to remark, that with ruin at Constantinople, the Turkish Government cannot count upon maintaining tranquillity in Syria, or anywhere else.

Now, it is in the power of the French Government, Vefyk Efendi states, to permit the bills of the Ottoman Treasury, and it is perfectly clear to me

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which the French Government may couple the accommodation which they may give, though he may be compelled to do so, should Her Majesty's Government maintain their present attitude.

I observed to Vefyk Efendi, that Her Majesty's Government had just reason to complain of the conduct of the Porte. It was, I said, on the repeated solicitations of M. Musurus, that Her Majesty's Government had insisted, with the French Government, on the fulfilment of the Convention of the 5th September, and now I found the Porte's Ambassador at Paris ready to agree to that which the Porte's Ambassador in London had begged Her Majesty's Government to accede to. I continued, that I should know where I was, and I therefore begged to inquire in so many words, whether he (Vefyk) was prepared to consent to a longer prolongation of the occupation than the 1st of June.

Vefyk Efendi replied, that if it was necessary, he should not object to a term a little beyond the 1st of June, and which "little," in the mouth of a Turk, may mean anything.

Your Lordship will see that I am necessarily obliged to refer to you for further instructions. Until I receive them I neither like to commit Her Majesty's Government nor myself further in the line which we have followed until now, nor, on the other hand, can I take upon myself to make the least further concession.

I was with M. Thouvenel this afternoon, and he was equally reserved with me. His time has been so much taken up with the Senate and other matters since I saw him on Friday that neither I nor any of my colleagues are aware of the resolution taken by the Council of Ministers on Saturday. I purposely abstained from asking him myself this afternoon, but I shall learn it in the course of the evening, and inform your Lordship by telegraph.

The point on which I chiefly desire to receive your Lordship's instructions is, how far I am to advise or to oppose the Porte's Representative, when your Lordship, at the same time, of my conviction that everything that I may say to Vefyk Efendi will be repeated to M. Thouvenel.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 443

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — (Received February 27)

(No. 260. Confidential)

My Lord,

Paris, February 26, 1861

I MET my Prussian colleague in M. Thouvenel's waiting-room, this afternoon, and he told me that he believed that M. Thouvenel was more disposed to agree to a fixed date within which the prolonged French occupation of Syria must cease, than he had been a few days ago. Count Pourtales believed that his Excellency was about to address a despatch on the subject to the Emperor's Representatives with the Great Powers.

Count Pourtales then proceeded to develop a plan which he conceived might be agreed to by all parties. He concurred in opinion with Her Majesty's Government that a period for the evacuation of Syria must be fixed by a Convention ; but let that period, he said, be sufficiently distant to make it certain that the reorganization of the Lebanon, for which the French Government contended, will have been accomplished. He contemplated, therefore, a longer delay than the 1st of June. He suggested further, that a clause should be introduced into the new Convention, binding the French Government to withdraw, at the demand of any other Power or Powers, such a number of the French troops of occupation as the Power or Powers might be willing to replace by contingents of its or their own. Count Pourtales added that he was not astonished that the French Government should hesitate at withdrawing its troops, for it was impossible not to fear the occurrence of fresh massacres on their departure.

I could only repeat to Count Pourtales what I have so often said before, that danger of fresh disorders will always exist, and that it was for the Porte,

and not for Europe, to decide whether foreign aid was required for their repression.

With regard to his suggestion, I said that Her Majesty's Government having throughout these discussions maintained that there was no connection whatever between the Convention and the reorganization of the Government of the Mountain, could not be expected to agree to a prolongation of the occupa-

the French Government being bound to withdraw a part of these troops at the demand of any other Power willing to replace them, I said, that it would merely be a stipulation upon paper, as Her Majesty's Government was the only one that could well profit by it, and they were not likely to stultify themselves by aiding in prolonging an occupation which they condemned on principle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 444.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

N^o. 445
My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 27, 1861

I. The French Ambassador read to me yesterday a despatch from M. Thouvenel on the affairs of Syria.

M. Thouvenel relates what took place in the Conference, and states that the Ottoman Ambassador declared his Sovereign to be ready to answer at present for the tranquillity of Syria, but that he was prepared to refer to Constantinople a proposal for the prolongation of the occupation till the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel proceeds to give various reasons why this prolongation for this term would be deemed quite insufficient by the French Government. He dwells at length on the danger of massacre, the apprehensions felt by the commercial classes, English as well as others, the shortcomings of the Commission, and the absence of any government in the Mountain.

The despatch proceeds to say that the Emperor is willing to agree to the combination of Austrian, Russian, Prussian, or British troops, with those of France in Syria. But that if no agreement can be arrived at he would conform to the terms of the Convention of September, and order the immediate evacuation of Syria by his troops.

There are two conclusions which may be fairly deduced from this despatch. The first is, that France is perfectly willing that the foreign occupation of Syria should be European, furnished, in short, by a mixed force, and not one exclusively French. The second is, that the occupation contemplated is one of indefinite duration. Its continuance is to depend on uncertain contingencies: the agreement of five or six Commissioners of different nations; their skill in organizing a Government; the efficiency of the Turkish authorities; the probable disposition of Maronites and Druses towards each other.

There appear to Her Majesty's Government several insuperable objections to such an arrangement. The Maronites and Druses are two fierce tribes who are constantly indulging their implacable hatred against each other. The Maronites have killed in cold blood in the last few months a number of Druse men, women, and children. The Druses revenge themselves by smothering and burning a Maronite village. What is a foreign force to do in these circumstances? If the Commander undertakes to try and punish the offenders, he assumes all the duties and responsibilities of the internal administration of the province. If he refrains from interference, the foreign occupation is justly charged with leaving crime and outrage unpunished.

Another fatal objection to this course is, that the authority of the Sultan is gradually weakened to such a degree that it can never be restored. The Sultan, no doubt, felt this danger when he directed his Ambassador to ask for the evacuation.

Her Majesty's Government were quite ready to concur with the Ottoman Ambassador in prolonging the European occupation to the 1st of May. They are willing to admit that the present suggestion of the Imperial Government

excludes any suspicion that France wishes her own troops alone to occupy Syria.

But seeing all the evils of an indefinite occupation by foreign troops, they prefer, without hesitation, the immediate evacuation according to the terms of the Convention of the 5th September to that indefinite occupation.

Her Majesty's Government have always considered the question of the Commission as a question quite separate from that of the foreign occupation.

The difficulty for the Commission is to obtain unanimity, and if that is required, no time can be fixed when it may be obtained.

But if M. Thouvenel will agree that a majority shall bind the minority, the business of the Commission may be finished in a fortnight. The sentence upon the Druses has been pronounced, and the executions of Damascus need not be revived.

It would be a task beyond the power of any Commission to appease the hatreds of Maronites and Druses. But the fear of a renewed occupation will act as well upon the Turkish authorities as upon the hostile tribes; and the presence of the French army in Syria in 1860 will have stayed the progress of massacre, and inspired a wholesome dread for the future.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

P.S.—Your Excellency will read this despatch to M. Thouvenel, and will give him a copy of it if desired.

No. 445.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

N^o. 239.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 28, 1861

ON reading over again your Excellency's despatch No. 234 of the 10th instant, I have to say that Her Majesty's Government will not object to fix the duration of the Convention to the 1st of May, it being understood that the Commission are to decide forthwith by a majority as to the future government of the Lebanon, and that, if necessary, the Conference may meet again in April, in order to receive the Report of the Commission.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to sanction the continuance of the foreign occupation till the 1st of June.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 446.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 2.)

(No. 300.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 1, 1861

I HAD the honour to receive this morning your Lordship's despatches Nos. 238 and 239 of the 27th and 28th ultimo, relative to the Syrian question.

I read the former of those, as desired, to M. Thouvenel, and at his request have furnished him with a copy of it.

M. Thouvenel said that he concurred in your Lordship's opinion that it would be exceedingly difficult to obtain unanimity of sentiment among the members of the Commission sitting at Beyrout. He could not, he continued, desire M. Beclard to submit to the decision of the majority on points on which he entertained a conscientious opinion, but he had written to him to say that as it was not the Beyrout Commission which was to settle the future government of the Lebanon, their province being confined to offering advice with respect to it, it was not in his judgment necessary that their Report should represent an unanimous conclusion. All that M. Beclard need do would be to state his own opinions in the Report. The Report might then be sent to Constantinople, and he had no doubt that the Porte and the Representatives of the Great Powers

would soon settle the points on which there might be a difference of feeling among the Commissioners.

With respect to the main question at issue, namely, the evacuation of Syria, M. Thouvenel said that as soon as the other Representatives should be in possession of their new instructions he would summon another Conference, but he gave me to understand that his own occupations, and the necessity of attending the discussions in the Senate, would retard the reassembling of the Conference until the middle of next week, and he expressed the hope that this delay would not be objected to by your Lordship.

On returning home it struck me that the Conference ought not to meet later than the 5th instant, as the Convention of the 5th of September will expire on that day.

I should be glad if your Lordship would inform me by telegraph of your wishes on this point.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 447

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell — (Received March 2.)

No. 310. Confidential.

My Lord,

Paris, March 1, 1861.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch I have the honour to state, that I had yesterday and to day some confidential conversation with M. Thouvenel with respect to the solution of the Syrian question. M. Thouvenel's object was to induce me to consent to the prolongation of the occupation until the 1st of June. I said that your Lordship's instructions were imperative as to the occupation ceasing on the 1st of May.

But, as I had remarked in your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd ultimo to Lord Bloomfield, copy of which was inclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 223 of the 23rd ultimo, that you would not object, under conditions, to prolong the stay of the French troops to the 1st of June, I asked M. Thouvenel, without, however, giving his Excellency any intimation that this prolongation might be possible, whether he would consent to the troops being withdrawn positively withdrawn.

M. Thouvenel replied that a short Convention might be drawn up, simply stating that, after an exchange of opinions, the Plenipotentiaries had come to the conclusion that the occupation might be usefully prolonged for three months, and that it was accordingly so prolonged. "You will thus," said M. Thouvenel, "have it in your own hands to constrain us to go." "Yes," I replied, "but probably to be met by the same arguments for staying as you are making use of now."

M. Thouvenel said that he could not consent to sign a Convention which would declare before the whole world that under no circumstances could the terms of the Convention be further prolonged. It would be derogatory to France to do so. "But will you," I asked him, "give me in writing, for the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government, a declaration that your troops shall have retired by the 1st of June?" "I cannot do that," rejoined M. Thouvenel, "but I will, if you please it, give you a declaration in writing that the troops shall be withdrawn as soon as ever there shall be an organized Government in the Lebanon."

I replied, that M. Thouvenel must be well aware that three months would more than suffice to enable the Porte to establish a Government in the Lebanon, if no obstacles were to be thrown in the way by foreign Powers. "But the fact is," I said, "you want to have everything your own way, and the more concessions we make, the more you require of us. The reason why Her Majesty's Government were desirous of avoiding the occupation altogether last year was under the apprehension that it would lead to the consequences which we now see. And even now they are willing to meet your wishes for a prolongation of the occupation; but they must be assured that this concession is not to lead to further demands. You will not meet them half."

way. Well, then, there is nothing for it but to abide by our original engagement."

M. Thouvenel replied, that he agreed with me that three months ought to suffice for the reorganization of the Government of the Lebanon, and that if he demurred to any positive engagement that the French troops would be withdrawn within that time, it was because a state of things might arise in the meanwhile which might render, by the common consent of all the parties interested, that evacuation impossible. Why not, then, extend the period of occupation in the way which he had suggested, and which, he repeated, put it in the power of Her Majesty's Government to enforce the withdrawal of the troops when that period should have expired.

It would be a waste of time to prolong this despatch further. My answer was a mere repetition of what I had said before, for in truth there is nothing new to be said.

I have not made use of the suggestion mentioned in your Lordship's despatch No. 239, because I feel sure that it will not meet with the assent of the French Government.

M. Thouvenel gave me to understand that some proposal for the prolongation of the occupation for three months would be made by the Prussian Plenipotentiary at the ensuing Conference. Unless otherwise instructed, I shall continue to insist on the 1st of May being the time beyond which Her Majesty's Government will not agree to prolong it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 448

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 247)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1861.

ON reading your despatch of the 1st inst. I was surprised to find that M. Thouvenel had suggested a prolongation of the occupation until the 1st of June, which it now stands. It appears, therefore, to Her Majesty's Government that the better course will be to abide by the Convention as it stands.

The opinion of the Turkish Government has already been stated. The Sultan has declared, through his Representative at Paris, that His Imperial Majesty is ready to undertake the protection of the inhabitants of the Lebanon of all races and creeds.

Such being the case, and the proposal for a prolongation to the 1st of May having been rejected by M. Thouvenel at the last Conference, your Excellency is instructed not to agree to any prolongation of the occupation sanctioned by the Convention of the 5th of September.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

No. 449

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 248)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1861.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 247 of this date, relating to the evacuation of Syria, I have to inform you that the French Government has declined to agree to any prolongation of the occupation beyond the 1st of May.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 72.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1861.

IT appears from your Lordship's telegram of the 25th ultimo, which reached me this morning, that the evidence produced on the trial of Said Bey Djumblat at Beyrout had failed to establish his guilt.

It is exposed to prevent the execution of the sentence of death passed upon that Chief by the Tribunal by which he was tried, and Her Majesty's Government trust that your efforts, although made on your own responsibility, will have proved successful.

I think it nevertheless right to instruct you, without a moment's delay, to insist with Fınd Pasha that Said Bey Djumblat shall not be executed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 451

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 132.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1861.

IT appears from a telegram of the 25th ultimo, which reached me this morning, that Lord Dufferin had come to the conclusion that the evidence against

In such a state of things I cannot doubt that Lord Dufferin will have interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence of death passed upon that Chief by the Tribunal by which he was tried; and Her Majesty's Government trust that his efforts, although made on his own responsibility, will have proved successful.

I have thought it nevertheless right to instruct Lord Dufferin, without a moment's delay, to insist with Fınd Pasha that Said Bey Djumblat shall not be executed; and your Excellency, as I have already instructed you by telegram to do, will make a communication to the same effect to the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 452

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 15, 1861.

I HAVE informed Aali Pasha, in obedience to your Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant, that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the French Government concurred in this opinion of public justice, and that the French Government concurred in this opinion.

His Highness telegraphed at once to Fınd Pasha upon the subject, and I likewise communicated your Lordship's telegram to Lord Dufferin with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell. (Received March 2.)

(No. 132.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, February 18, 1861.

FOR the last few days the French Ambassador has been actively employed in endeavouring to induce the Porte to desist from its demand for the immediate evacuation of Syria, and, if I am rightly informed, nothing has been spared to effect this object.

Your Lordship will remember that long before a loan was contracted in France I pointed out the probability that such a loan would, if the Turkish finances were not otherwise arranged, be a probable occurrence, and that if it finally took place it would give the French Government an immense hold over the Porte.

The Ottoman Ministry has in fact been led to imagine that the recent refusal of the Bank of France to discount the bills of M. Mada is connected with the evacuation of Syria, and that on its decision will depend the solution it may meet with in regard to its monetary difficulties.

This view of the matter, whether correct or not, has not been lost sight of by those who have felt an interest in engaging the Grand Vizier and Aali Pasha to depart from their first intentions, and at our moment especially after a despatch from Ahmet Vefik Efendi, stating that France, Russia, and Prussia, would insist on the prolongation of the occupation, I thought it not unlikely that the Turkish Cabinet would abandon its design of demanding the immediate execution of the Treaty of September, and consent, without making such a demand, to a certain prolongation of the French occupation.

I thought it right, however, to inform Aali Pasha clearly of the manner in which I should regard such conduct.

I said that if the Sultan's Government were not certain of maintaining the tranquillity of Syria, then it ought frankly to say so and enter into arrangements suitable to such a condition of things, but that if, on the contrary, it retained the conviction it had so often expressed that the presence of a French army in Syria rather prevented than favoured the settlement of that country, then it was bound in duty, both to its own subjects and to Europe, to declare its opinion without reserve, and require the honest execution of the engagements that had been entered into with it.

I added that Aali Pasha had to remember that he had for some time past been constantly urging Her Majesty's Government to support the determination on the subject which, after due deliberation, he said he had mutually arrived at; but a few days since he had told me, in the most distinct and positive manner, that nothing could induce him to swerve from that determination, and that, consequently, if the Porte, after having thus engaged your Lordship to support its policy, were now, without some clear and powerful reason (such a reason of its own insufficiency to maintain order) to change that policy, it would thereby rouse the indignation of those whom it had deceived, and induce them to consider that all reliance on or interest in it was for the future out of the question.

Aali Pasha said that his resolutions had undergone no change; but that it was also to be considered that the French had come, professedly as friends, to assist the Sultan, and that, consequently, the Sultan's Government did not like to behave in a manner that could fairly be considered unfriendly or offensive.

His view, therefore, was to persist in demanding the immediate evacuation; but to allow of a short delay if valid reasons were brought forward in favour of it.

Finally, in a long conversation I had with his Highness last night, relative to this matter, the conclusion was this: first, that the Ottoman Ambassador should demand the immediate evacuation, and say that the Porte was ready to take the responsibility of maintaining order and peace in Syria; secondly, that the evacuation being once decided on and agreed to, the mode of executing it would then be considered; thirdly, that if at that time the French Government were to prove the impossibility or great danger and inconvenience of the whole of the French force being at once and immediately embarked, that the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, after consulting with Her Majesty's Ambassador, will

whom, on account of the agreement of opinion between the two Governments, he was ~~to be~~ ^{to be} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~power~~ ^{power} to consent to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~two~~ ^{two} months for the complete evacuation of the Ottoman territory—which evacuation, however, should commence immediately, and take place continuously, and with as little delay as circumstances admitted of.

It strikes me, upon the whole, that this arrangement is not a bad one. on the ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~hand~~ ^{hand} the Porte will ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~able~~ ^{able} to ~~declare~~ ^{declare} its readiness to assume the responsibility of governing it, on the other hand, its claim in this respect being fully established, it will not carry that claim into execution with an abruptness which France, considering all the circumstances, might regard as unnecessary and hostile.

But I think it most material that the immediate evacuation should be demanded and consented to as the first step in the proceeding; that any delay in evacuating should be justified by an adequate motive, and confined within a short and precise period; and that, moreover, it should commence at once, and thus afford a proof that it is intended *bona fide* to complete the arrangement at the time specified.

I have, ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject}, Aali Pasha having approved of its contents, no ~~longer~~ ^{longer} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~you~~ ^{you} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Ambassador~~ ^{Ambassador} to adopt.

Aali Pasha, moreover, after our interview on Sunday night, sent another telegram to ~~Me~~ ^{Me} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~Yefyk~~ ^{Yefyk} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~evacuation~~ ^{evacuation} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~territory~~ ^{territory} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~much~~ ^{much} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} in conformity with the views of his Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

I have, ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject}, Baron Prokesch has received information that his Government ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~informed~~ ^{informed} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~got~~ ^{got} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~information~~ ^{information} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~M. de Lavalette~~ ^{M. de Lavalette}, but the name of Vefyk was mentioned—the Porte believing what it had heard, but not liking to state the real source of its intelligence.

H. L. B.

Inclosure in No. 453.

Sir H. Bulwer to Earl Cowley.

(Translation.)

Constantinople, February 18, 1861, 2 a.m.

I HAVE just seen Aali. Instructions are given to Vefyk to insist on the fulfilment of the Treaty and to declare the Porte ready to assume alone the ~~responsibility~~ ^{responsibility} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~evacuation~~ ^{evacuation} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~territory~~ ^{territory} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~much~~ ^{much} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} in conformity with the views of his Lordship. The Porte is to allow two months for its gradual accomplishment, but the whole force is to have left Syria within that time. Vefyk is to consult with you on this point.

The French Ambassador wanted the Porte not to insist on the evacuation in the first instance, but to agree at once to defer the departure of the French troops.

This Aali declined.
Will you inform Lord John?

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 4.)

No. 454
My Lord,

Vienna, February 28, 1861

SHORTLY after receiving your Lordship's telegram of the 23rd instant, I met Count Rechberg, and told his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government agreed with the Austrian Government, that it was for the Porte to decide as to the necessity of a prolonged occupation of Syria. I also stated to his Excellency that if the occupation were continued till the 1st of June, it should be done under conditions, and with a view to the complete restoration of the Sultan's authority in Syria.

I have, ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject}, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~able~~ ^{able} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~declare~~ ^{declare} its readiness to assume the responsibility of governing it, on the other hand, its claim in this respect being fully established, it will not carry that claim into execution with an abruptness which France, considering all the circumstances, might regard as unnecessary and hostile.

His Excellency said that on the rising of the Conference held at Paris last week, in which the Turkish Plenipotentiary spoke in strong terms against the occupation of Syria beyond the term stipulated in the Treaty of 1840, he was powerfully supported in this opinion by ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~able~~ ^{able} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~declare~~ ^{declare} its readiness to assume the responsibility of governing it, on the other hand, its claim in this respect being fully established, it will not carry that claim into execution with an abruptness which France, considering all the circumstances, might regard as unnecessary and hostile.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD

No. 455.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 42.)
My Lord,

Berlin, March 2, 1861.

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, the French Minister at this Court, has communicated to Baron Schlenitz a despatch from his Government referring to the discussion which had taken place at the late Conference at Paris with respect to the prolonged occupation of Syria, and explaining the grounds on which the French Government proposed that measure.

As a copy of this despatch (which appears to bear the character of a ~~report~~ ^{report} ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~probably~~ ^{probably} ~~have~~ ^{have} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~placed~~ ^{placed} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~your~~ ^{your} ~~Lordship's~~ ^{Lordship's} ~~hands~~ ^{hands} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~far~~ ^{far} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~me~~ ^{me} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~refer~~ ^{refer} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~further~~ ^{further} ~~than~~ ^{than} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~remark~~ ^{remark} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~both~~ ^{both} ~~moderate~~ ^{moderate} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~conciliatory~~ ^{conciliatory} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~substance~~ ^{substance} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~tone~~ ^{tone}).

In conversing with Baron Schlenitz on this question, his Excellency remarked that there were two points on which the ~~French~~ ^{French} ~~Government~~ ^{Government} ~~agreed~~ ^{agreed} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Porte~~ ^{Porte} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~much~~ ^{much} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} in conformity with the views of his Lordship.

The two former were:—

1. They considered that a strictly-defined limit should be assigned to that occupation; and,
2. That the decision with respect to the prolonged occupation must be determined by unanimity, and not by the majority of the votes, in the Conference.

Baron Schlenitz further maintains the opinion that the occupation cannot be prolonged without the consent of the Sultan.

The two points in which the Prussian Government concur with France are

1. They recognize a connection between the Commission and the Convention, both tending to the same end, namely, the pacification of Syria, the one in a moral, the latter in a physical, sense, and,

2. They are of opinion that the occupation cannot at present cease without a serious danger for the peace and security of that province. Baron Schlieffitz considers that the withdrawal of the French troops should take place in a manner mortifying to the susceptibility of the French nation, for a strong opinion had been expressed in the French Legislative Chamber on this subject, and he, therefore, considered that it would not be politic to place the Government of the Emperor in a position of difficulty as regarded the public opinion of the country.

Under these circumstances Baron Schlieffitz was of opinion that some compromise might be proposed which would harmonize the divergent opinions of the English and French Cabinets, but, before taking any step in that sense, he was anxious to learn the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, as it would entirely depend on their wishes and acceptance of his proposal whether he should give effect to it or not.

The proposal of Baron Schlieffitz, as I have had the honour to report to your Lordship to-day by telegram, is: "That a term of four months, that is, till the 1st of July, shall be definitively fixed for the prolongation of the occupation, at the end of which term the French troops shall be withdrawn."

He has reason to believe that this proposal will be accepted by the French Government, and he considers that the period so fixed will allow ample time for the Commission to terminate its labours, and for the establishment of a responsible administrative government for the Mountain.

If Her Majesty's Government are prepared to agree to this proposal, Baron Schlieffitz declares his readiness to make a formal proposition to that effect. If, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Government do not give their assent to it, Baron Schlieffitz considers that it will not be desirable that Prussia should abandon the passive position which she has hitherto maintained on this question.

I venture to observe to your Lordship that should the proposal of Baron Schlieffitz prove acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, it will have the advantage of placing Prussia completely on the side of England in case it may fail to meet with the concurrence of the French Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 456

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 138.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 3, 1861.

I REQUESTED your Excellency, by my telegram of the 26th instant, to inform me whether the Sultan had changed his mind in regard to the departure of the French troops from Syria, which, at the desire of the Turkish Ambassador, Her Majesty's Government have been urging; and I informed you on the following day, by the like means, that Her Majesty's Government were ready to support the Sultan if he made no change in his policy in that respect, but remained firm to his purpose of requiring the evacuation of that province.

Your Excellency's telegram of the 2nd instant announced that the Sultan's determination was unchanged; and I apprized you on the following day that the evacuation could hardly be completed in less than a month or six weeks.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 457.

Lord J. Russell to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 26.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 3, 1861.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 42 of the 2nd instant reporting a proposal which Baron Schlieffitz had made to you for determining the duration of the French occupation of Syria, the substance of which you had already communicated to me in your telegraphic despatch of that day. Her Majesty's Government regret that they cannot agree with the Prussian proposition.

The same difficulty would arise at the end of four months as that which now occurs.

Baron Schlieffitz wishes not to wound the susceptibility of the French nation and the French Legislative Body, but this would be also a reason for perpetual occupation; while Her Majesty's Government consider that the susceptibility of England and of the House of Commons have also some claim to be consulted.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 458.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Cowley.

(No. 26.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 3, 1861.

THE Count de Flahault called on me yesterday, and stated that he was instructed by M. Thouvenot to ask me for an explanation in regard to the views of the British Government on the subject of the evacuation of Syria, as set forth in my despatch No. 238 of the 27th ultimo, of which your Excellency had given a copy to M. Thouvenot.

I told Count de Flahault that Her Majesty's Government could not be party to any secret understanding in regard to the period at which the French troops should depart from Syria. Any arrangement on that subject must be patent and public, and no arrangement could be accepted by Her Majesty's Government which would involve the prolongation of the French occupation beyond the 1st of May next.

If no such arrangement could be made Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that the only alternative was to adhere strictly to the period specified in the Convention of the 5th of September.

In my despatch No. 247 of the 2nd instant I stated to your Excellency that as M. Thouvenot had at the last Conference rejected a proposal for prolonging the occupation to the 1st of May, you were not to agree to any arrangement which would involve the prolongation of the French occupation of the 5th of September; but I added in another despatch of the same date that your Excellency would state that the arrangements to be made for the evacuation would of course require a month or six weeks before that operation could be completed.

Your Excellency, therefore, giving the most liberal interpretation to the limit of time thus prescribed to you, namely, so much only as might be required for completing the evacuation, might assent to an engagement on the part of the French Government which should assign any period not longer than the 1st of May for the departure of the French troops from Syria; but your Excellency will not agree to extend that period to the 1st of June, or indeed to any other date beyond the 1st of May; and Her Majesty's Government have reason to suppose that the Turkish Plenipotentiary will receive instructions to support the course taken by your Excellency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

No. 441

No.

Foreign Office, March 6, 1861.

I TRANSMIT, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a despatch from Thouvenel to M. de Flahault,* which is referred to in my instruction to Earl Cowley No. 235 of the 27th of February, of which I sent you a copy in my despatch No. 117 of the 28th of February.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 460.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 6.)

(No. 327.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 5, 1861.

I OBSERVE by M. Thouvenel's despatch to M. de Flahault of the 25th ultimo, inclosed in copy in your Lordship's despatch No. 233 of the 4th instant, that you have been furnished with a copy of the draft of Protocol of the Conference on Syrian affairs held on the 19th instant.

M. Thouvenel ought not to have made use of this document, which has not as yet received the sanction of the Conference. It states the French case very accurately, but not the replies given either by the Turkish Ambassador or myself. I am writing for the first time for the purpose of making my own observations properly reported, and I believe that Velyk Efendi has also observations to make.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 461

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 6.)

No. 328.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 5, 1861.

I HAVE NOT as yet received your Lordship's telegram dated 2 p.m. this day. If M. Thouvenel, in his despatch to M. de Flahault, to which your Lordship therein alludes, has stated that I offered to enter into any agreement to prolong the occupation until the 1st of June, he has entirely misrepresented me. What passed between us is correctly reported in my despatches Nos. 309 and 410 of the 1st instant. I have invariably held the same language to him and to my colleagues,—that my instructions were positive, and that I could consent to no prolongation beyond the 1st of May.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 462

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 269.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1861.

I HAVE to state to your Excellency, in reply to your despatch No. 327 of yesterday, that although mention is made in M. Thouvenel's despatch of the 25th ultimo, of which a copy was transmitted to you in my despatch No. 233 of the 4th instant, of a draft of Protocol as inclosed in it, Count Flahault did not furnish me with a copy of that draft, but merely with a copy of the despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

* No. 440.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

No. 270.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1861.

I HAVE to observe to your Excellency, with reference to your despatch No. 328 of the 5th instant, that Count de Flahault, at the interview which I had with him on the 4th instant, did not state that your Excellency had offered to enter into any agreement to prolong the Syrian occupation until the 1st of June.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 464

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 271.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1861.

M. MUSURUS has stated to me that he has been informed by Ali Pasha that the French Ambassador at Constantinople is very urgent with the Porte in order to obtain its consent to the prolongation, until the 5th of June next, of the French occupation of Syria and the Tahrir. The Porte has accordingly been instructed, in the event of M. Thouvenel equally insisting at Paris upon such an arrangement, to come to a previous understanding with your Excellency on that point.

I have to instruct your Excellency to acquaint Velyk Efendi that you are to be guided by the same language as that which I have communicated to the occupation to the 5th of June; and that, with reference to the communication made to me by M. Musurus, Her Majesty's Government expect that Velyk Efendi will hold the same language as that prescribed to your Excellency.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 465

Ali Pasha to M. Musurus.—(Communicated to Lord J. Russell by M. Musurus, March 6.)

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 4 Mars, 1861.

DES instructions positives ont été données à Velyk Efendi, lui prescrivant d'agir tout-à-fait d'accord avec son collègue d'Angleterre sur la question de l'évacuation. Comme les Français à Constantinople paraissent tenir absolument à la prolongation jusqu'au 5 du mois de Juin, notre Plénipotentiaire, en cas qu'on insiste assez beaucoup à Paris, s'entendra au préalable avec Lord Cowley sur ce point.

No. 466.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 272.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1861.

I UNDERSTAND from the Count de Flahault that M. Thouvenel proposes to assemble the Conference on Saturday or Monday. I will give your Excellency to-morrow, by messenger, precise instructions as to the course you are to pursue in that Conference.

In the meantime your Excellency will guide yourself by my directions in No. 271 of this day.

I transmit, confidentially, a copy of the telegraphic despatch of Aali Pasha.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 467

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

No. 274)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 7, 1861.

M. de Count de Flahault called upon me yesterday at the Foreign Office, at the request of the British Government, to discuss the occupation of Syria.

If I rightly understood those views they are to the following effect. M. Thouvenel considers that the British and Ottoman Government propose:—

1. That the term of the foreign occupation shall be fixed and definite, instead of being contingent and uncertain.

2. That the term of evacuation shall not be later than the 1st of May.

M. Thouvenel is ready to agree to the first of these conditions, provided that the term fixed by the second should be extended so far as to afford a reasonable prospect of the completion of the organization of the Lebanon, which has been entrusted to the Commission at Beyrout.

M. Thouvenel therefore proposes that the period of evacuation shall be extended to the 5th of June.

It appears from your telegram that the Turkish Ambassador at Paris has instructions to agree to this extension, if it is clearly stipulated that the evacuation shall have taken place by that time, and if this proposal shall have the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government.

The Austrian Minister, Count Rechberg, is willing to admit a prolongation which will have the sanction of the territorial Sovereign, the Sultan.

Baron Schleinitz informs Her Majesty's Government that M. Thouvenel stated to the Prussian Minister at Paris that there would be no objection to insert in the fresh Convention a formula, providing that the preparations for evacuation shall commence in May, so as to be completed by the 5th of June. Baron Schleinitz considers that the French Government evince, by this proposal, an accommodating spirit.

All these circumstances have been carefully weighed by Her Majesty's Government. They consider that if the vague and indefinite proposal made by M. Thouvenel is changed into one of a fixed and positive character, and the change of period is not greater than from the 1st of May to the 5th of June, the main object of the British and Turkish Governments will be gained. It may be observed that without any new stipulations the execution of the provisions of the 5th of September could hardly be carried into effect before the end of April or the beginning of May. They desire, moreover, to co-operate, as far as possible, with the Powers of Europe, and to show on their side a conciliatory disposition.

I have to instruct you, therefore, to be prepared to accede to the proposal on the terms which are contained in the draft Convention transmitted as an inclosure in this despatch, and provided that by no condition, direct or indirect, expressed or implied, it is to be agreed to, or understood to be agreed to, that the fulfilment of the positive engagement that the evacuation is to be completed by the 5th of June is to depend upon anything other than a faithful and honourable execution of the words of the Convention.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 467.

Draft of Convention.

HIS Imperial Majesty the Sultan having, in concert with their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of

* No. 465

Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, have resolved to occupy Syria, in accordance with Article V of the Convention of the 5th day of September, 1860, for the occupation of Syria by European troops, their said Majesties have resolved to conclude a further Convention to that effect, and have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say, &c., &c.

ARTICLE I.

The duration of the occupation of Syria by European troops shall be prolonged until the 5th day of June of the present year; it being distinctly agreed between the High Contracting Parties that such occupation shall have ceased and shall have ended on that day, and that the whole of the European troops in such occupation shall have actually embarked on or before the 5th day of June of the present year, and shall have proceeded on their voyage home from the coast of Syria.

ARTICLE II.

The provisions of Article II of the Convention of the 5th day of September, 1860, shall continue in force during the period which intervenes between the date of the signature of the present Convention and the 5th day of June of the present year, and shall not be modified by the provisions of the present Convention.

ARTICLE III.

The present Convention shall be ratified, &c.

No. 468

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(Separate.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 7, 1861.

YOU will inform Vefyk Efendi that if he shall depart in any way from the proposal to extend the period of occupation, you are instructed to leave the Government at Constantinople. If he is disposed to sell Syria for the Mirde loan, neither the British nor the Ottoman Government are willing to consent to such a bargain.

It is to be hoped that his stay at Paris will not be long.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 469

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell—(Received March 8.)

(No. 336.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 7, 1861

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship by telegram early yesterday morning, that M. de Flahault had stated that the French Government were willing to prolong the occupation of Syria to the 5th of June next. As this was in contradiction with the latest advice which I had received from Sir H. Bolwer, I informed that Ambassador of M. Thouvenel's statement, and requested to be informed whether it was true. I have not yet received his Excellency's answer.

Later yesterday I saw Vefyk Efendi. He read me an instruction which had just reached him from Constantinople, of which the inclosed is the translation. He said, that from the conversations which he had had with M. Thouvenel, he did not think that the French Minister would consent to introduce a stipulation into

Government of what had taken place at the late Conference, and of their fulfilment of a mandate which they had received from Europe.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 476.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 7)

(No. 48. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Berlin, March 5, 1861.

IN conversing with Baron Schleinitz this morning on the subject of Syrian affairs (as reported in my previous numbered despatch), his Excellency expressed

troops from Syria at the period first agreed upon, the Oriental question would be within a month formally brought before Europe. He was afraid that disorder would again occur in Syria, which would lead to a question of European interference, and that thus would be reopened the Oriental question, the discussions on which might give rise to serious complications in Europe.

Baron Schleinitz observed, that for this reason he was anxious that an understanding should be come to between the Great Powers with regard to the occupation of Syria. Austria, he observed, was not in a state to face at present all the difficulties and dangers appertaining to the solution of an Oriental question. As regards ourselves, said Baron Schleinitz, "Prussia is quite ready for any questions of this nature, but Austria is so weakened by internal difficulties, that at this moment, any serious events in the East would greatly compromise the peace of her own Provinces."

Baron Schleinitz remarked, that he did not believe that the Russian Government were at all desirous of re-opening the Oriental question. Russia was not yet ripe to enter the lists on this question, nor prepared to encounter all its danger and embarrassments. But in his Excellency's opinion, a compulsory withdrawal of the French troops from Syria will assuredly give rise to events which will force the Oriental question on the attention of Europe, the consequences of which may be productive of serious danger to the general peace.

Baron Schleinitz expressly stated the foregoing to be his own personal opinions.

I consider it my duty to report these to your Lordship, but I request that this despatch may be regarded as confidential.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 477.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11)

(No. 58.)

My Lord,

Berlin, March 9, 1861.

I HAVE read to Baron Schleinitz your Lordship's despatch No. 26 of the 5th instant, stating that Her Majesty's Government regretted not being able to agree with the Prussian proposal for determining the duration of the French occupation of Syria, which, at Baron Schleinitz' request, I had transmitted to your Lordship in my telegram of the 2nd instant.

Previous to communicating your Lordship's reply, I thought it desirable to read to Baron Schleinitz my despatch to your Lordship No. 42 of the 2nd instant, to the exactness of which his Excellency bore testimony, stating that I had most correctly reported to your Lordship his opinions and the substance of our conversation.

In reply to my inquiry, Baron Schleinitz stated that he had not instructed should it now assemble. His Excellency was of opinion that it would be better that the Conference should not meet until an arrangement had been previously come to between the Great Powers on the subject of the French occupation, as matters now stood, Prussia would maintain her passive position until his Excellency was informed of the reply of Her Majesty's Government to the last proposal which I had the honour to address to your Lordship by telegram on the 6th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 478.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 66.)

My Lord,

Berlin, March 9, 1861.

BARON SCHLEINITZ arrived at the House on Wednesday last, before the ceremony of the installation, that he had received information on the Syrian question from Paris of a very conciliatory and satisfactory nature, which led him to believe that the French Government would agree to such an arrangement as would be satisfactory to all parties.

His Excellency stated, that in conversation with Count Pourtalès, M. de Thouvenel had expressed the opinion that the French occupation of Syria for three months, that is, until the 1st of June next.

Count Pourtalès hereupon had suggested the insertion of a clause in the new Convention, providing that at the expiration of the period fixed, the evacuation should take place, to which proposal M. de Thouvenel stated it as his opinion that there would be no objection.

Count Pourtalès further suggested that some formula might be agreed upon, to be inserted in the Convention, stating that the preparation for the evacuation of Syria should be strictly carried out in accordance with the Convention.

To this latter suggestion Baron Schleinitz informs me that M. de Thouvenel did not raise any objection, although I have since heard from his Excellency that no formal assent to it was expressed by the French Minister.

Baron Schleinitz requested me to lose no time in submitting this proposal to Her Majesty's Government, stating that he was ready to bring it forward in the Conference if it should meet with their assent and concurrence.

I accordingly transmitted the foregoing to your Lordship in my telegram of the 2nd instant.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 479.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11)

(No. 76.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 7, 1861.

YOUR Lordship will have learnt by my telegram of the 5th March, recorded in my despatch No. 74, that in consequence of the vagueness of M. Thouvenel's language, Her Majesty's Government would not agree to a renewal of the Convention for Syria.

His Excellency did not enter into any discussion of the question of the prolonged occupation of this portion of the Turkish territory; but gave me simply to understand that the opinions of the Austrian Government were guided by the interests of the Empire, and that they would be the guide of their policy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 480.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11)

(No. 78.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 7, 1861.

I HAVE thought it advisable to read to Count Rechberg your Lordship's despatch No. 76, in which you state that the Austrian Government are not prepared to agree to a prolonged occupation of Syria.

His Excellency agreed entirely with the opinion expressed in your Lordship's

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despatch, and hoped that the two Governments would continue to act together in whatever further decisions it may become necessary to take connected with this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 481

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 351)

My Lord

Paris, March 10, 1861

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 287 of yesterday's date, I beg permission to observe that it may be perfectly true, as stated by M. de Flahault to your Lordship, that if M. Thouvenel consents to a fixed date for the evacuation of Syria, the reasons on which the French Minister founds his consent do not concern Her Majesty's Government.

But the fact is, that M. Thouvenel will not consent to a fixed date without mental reservations, which appear upon the surface as soon as a clear and positive designation of the day upon which the French troops shall have evacuated Syria is insisted upon. It is not Her Majesty's Government, then, who ask M. Thouvenel's reasons for consenting to a fixed date, but it is M. Thouvenel who, when asked to consent to a fixed date, forces his reasons upon Her Majesty's Government for declining the proposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 482.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 352)

My Lord,

Paris, March 10, 1861.

UPON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the day before yesterday, desiring me to act upon the instructions contained in your despatch No. 274 of the 7th instant, relative to the evacuation of Syria, I wrote to M. Thouvenel, and requested him to fix a hour for seeing me. Yesterday being Council day, he was unable to receive me until late in the afternoon, when I stated to him the decision at which Her Majesty's Government had arrived in consequence of the last communication of M. de Flahault, and the nature of the engagement which Her Majesty's Government expected the French Government to take if Her Majesty's Government were to consent to the prolongation of the occupation of Syria to the 5th of June.

M. Thouvenel said that the proposal of Her Majesty's Government showed such a complete mistrust of France that he must decline to agree to it. He would prefer the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Syria.

A lengthened conversation ensued between us. M. Thouvenel argued that to accept the proposal of Her Majesty's Government would be tantamount to declaring that under no possible contingencies could the occupation of Syria be prolonged, but that the troops must be brought away even if murder and destruction were raging around them; an engagement, he said, into which no French Minister could enter. He had no objection to assign in a Convention a final term to the occupation, but he would not defer himself the right of proposing a Conference at a later period, with a view of prolonging the occupation should events arise which in his opinion might render it necessary, but he conceived that by adopting your Lordship's proposal he should preclude himself from taking such a course. He went again over the old argument that the fluency of the occupation was in the hands of the Porte and of Her Majesty's Government from the moment that a Convention should be signed fixing a day on which the occupation must cease.

I observed to M. Thouvenel in reply that I did not dispute the fact that France could be held to, or would deny the validity of, her engagements; but what Her Majesty's Government desired to be assured of was, that three months

hence they would not be subjected to the same disagreeable discussion as was pursuing now, in order to obtain the fulfilment of the new Convention, if one was to be signed. With regard to the convocation of a Conference hereafter, I could see nothing, I said, in the words of your Lordship's proposal which would preclude his Excellency, as he supposed, from taking such a step, it being of course understood that the Powers were free to accept or reject the proposal, were it to be made to them.

M. Thouvenel then read me the project of a Convention which he had communicated to Vefyk Efendi, and which he considered might be agreed to by all parties, whatever might be their separate motives of action. As his Excellency permitted me to take a copy of it, your Lordship will find it inclosed.

I remarked at once that the expression "époque à laquelle" "doit s'effectuer" was so vague that I was certain Her Majesty's Government would not accept it. It implied, moreover, that the evacuation was not to commence until after the 5th of June, whereas the proposal of Her Majesty's Government provided for its accomplishment at or before that date. M. Thouvenel argued that if the occupation was to be prolonged for three months, the evacuation ought only to commence after the expiration of those three months. I asked him, premising, however, that he must not consider my question as implying any, the slightest, acquiescence in his notions, how soon after the 5th of June he considered that the evacuation could be completed. He replied that if the transports were all ready (and their being upon the spot towards the end of May he said would be an earnest of the intentions of the French Government) he had learnt from the Minister of War and Marine that ten days would suffice to embark the troops, and he asked me whether Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied if that were to be stated in the Convention. Still maintaining the same reserves, I said that I should certainly prefer that he should make the project of Convention as stringent as possible, in other words that it should contain the deliberate intentions of the Imperial Government. M. Thouvenel then made the alteration which your Lordship will find in the inclosed document.

I said I was not sure that I should have been able to do so, but in presence of your Lordship's positive instructions and unwilling to give M. Thouvenel the slightest hope that your Lordship would depart from them, I considered it better to leave the matter entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

I am not sure, indeed, whether your Lordship will approve my having consented to be the medium of M. Thouvenel's communication, so positive are your last instructions to me as to the decision taken by Her Majesty's Government. I have, however, acted to the best of my judgment, and I must rely on your Lordship's indulgence should you consider me to have exceeded the bounds of discretion.

With regard to the question at issue, I believe that M. Thouvenel is himself convinced that the troops will have quitted Syria by the time he mentions, still there must be some reason beyond that which he alleges for refusing to bind himself positively upon the subject. Indeed, both my colleagues and myself have remarked that his language has been so vacillating from day to day that he hardly appears to be a free agent in the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 482

Project of Convention communicated to Vefyk Efendi by M. Thouvenel.

LEURS Majestés

[Après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs] s'étant entendus pour modifier d'un commun accord l'Article V de la Convention signée entre elles le 5 Septembre dernier, ont nommé à cet effet pour leurs Plénipoten-

make no further concessions with regard to the prolonged occupation of Syria, maintained the intention of demanding that the troops should actually be on their way home on the 5th of June.

I replied in the affirmative; when he said that nothing would induce him to sign such a stipulation, and that he must express his surprise that Her Majesty's Government should make a proposal so derogatory to the honour of France. He was ready, as Her Majesty's Government insisted upon it, to a stipulation that the troops should be on their way home on the 5th of June. Her Majesty's Government had no right, in his opinion, to stipulate more than this, nor to dictate what is to become of the troops when re-embarked. Her Majesty's Government had ordered a squadron, with marine troops, to the coast of Syria. Was France to be debarred from keeping troops on board her ships at sea? If Her Majesty's Government were willing to sign a Convention in the usual form, he was ready to do so; but no French Minister could put his name to such a Convention as I had described that suggested by Her Majesty's Government to be.

After stating this with warmth, M. Thouvenel grew more calm, and showed a desire to bring this question to a conclusion. He said that he would send a Draft of Convention to-night to M. de Flahault for your Lordship's consideration, and you might introduce modifications into it if you pleased.

I have also endeavoured, on my part, to bring the Draft which your Lordship sent me as near as possible to what I imagine M. Thouvenel will accept.

This project is enclosed herewith. It has not been seen by M. Thouvenel, because I would not take any step with him which would involve the least departure from my instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 486.

Draft of Convention prepared by Earl Cowley.

ARTICLE I.

LA durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Septembre 1860, en tant qu'elle n'ont point encore été exécutées ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en force pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de la dite Convention et le 5 Juin de la présente année.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenues dans la deuxième Article de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en force pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de la dite Convention et le 5 Juin de la présente année.

ARTICLE III.

La présente, &c., &c.

No. 487

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell,--(Received March 13.)

(No. 70.)

My Lord,

Beirut, February 13, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte.

I have, &c.
DUFFERIN AND CLAVEBOYE.

Inclosure I in No. 487.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beirut, February 12, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that Foul Pasha has just communicated to me a copy of the Porte's project for the future government of Syria, and I certainly agree with your Excellency in thinking the plan liable to grave objections. In fact, I have little hesitation in saying that the half-measures it proposes will prove very insufficient to guarantee the future tranquility of the country, while they will certainly fail to restore the confidence of the Christian population.

After a long and arduous study of the necessities of the province, a result of its geographical position, the multiplicity of the fanatical sects which inhabit it, and the influence of the Ottoman Government, I am convinced that no plan can be devised which will ensure the future tranquility of the country, while they will certainly fail to restore the confidence of the Christian population.

After a long and arduous study of the necessities of the province, a result of its geographical position, the multiplicity of the fanatical sects which inhabit it, and the influence of the Ottoman Government, I am convinced that no plan can be devised which will ensure the future tranquility of the country, while they will certainly fail to restore the confidence of the Christian population.

Now, it is to this very system that the late catastrophe in the Mountain may be in some degree attributed. If there be any excuse for Khorsid Pasha's conduct, it is to be found in the fact that Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Damascus and Mushir of Arabistan, was his enemy. Tahir Pasha, the Military Commander at Beirut, and all the officers in garrison at Dar-el-Kuwar and Haddar, were under the Mushir's orders.

The bad understanding which is known to have existed between Khorsid Pasha and Tahir Pasha was the natural consequence of this circumstance, and may have impeded, as is warmly asserted by one of my colleagues, the action of the Pasha of Beirut, and thus contributed to the massacres.

At all events, it is very certain that the present scheme is simply a continuation of the old state of things, with the addition of a system of representative Medjlis, and the occasional visit of an Inspector-General.

It remains to be considered whether these new institutions afford counterbalancing securities. I confess, that as far as my limited experience enables me to judge, it seems to me they do not.

In these countries, the efficiency of a Medjlis depends to a great extent on the character of the person who presides over it. If its proceedings are conducted under the auspices of an ill-disposed official, the members are more likely to become his accomplices than sureties for his good conduct, while the partnership thus established serves only to relieve him from all responsibility.

To the second expedient of an annual visit by a high dignitary of the Porte, I am disposed to attach still less importance. Such personages have already appeared from time to time on the stage of Syrian affairs, and our Blue Books are filled with no very encouraging records of their interference.

In some of my earlier despatches, I ventured to mention to your Excellency that it was difficult to foresee how the future security of the Christians in Syria was ever to be maintained unless guaranteed by the presence of a small European force. Subsequent reflection led me to suggest the substitution of a Governor-Generalship for so inconvenient, if not impossible, an expedient. This proposition being rejected by the Porte all my previous misgivings return, and I naturally feel anxious to guard myself against being held answerable for what may hereafter occur in this country.

In recommending Her Majesty's Government to insist on the withdrawal of the European force, I am aware that this will be a means of checking the panic which will probably be caused by the withdrawal of the European force. I am, however, provided against this contingency by the inauguration of a new em, and the establishment of a new government.

fear may now manifest itself would have been completely dissipated. As it is, I am afraid that the evacuation of Damascus by the Christians will continue, and that nothing will induce those who have left it to return. A similar movement will probably take place at Beyrout, and a general exodus from the country of those rich enough to go may be expected. This result will be considered by the Moslems of the province as a triumph, and may perhaps be viewed with indifference by the Turks; but by those who had aspired to a more satisfactory conclusion to their labours it will be felt as a disappointment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 2 in No. 487.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir Beyrout, February 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of another clause (No. 11) which has been added by the Commission to those I have already communicated to your Excellency as a commencement of the basis for our Report on the reorganization of the Lebanon.

As your Excellency will observe, the most impartial attention has been paid to the claims of all the various sects and communities inhabiting the Mountain. Although the non-Christian element forms but one-fifth of the entire population, in both Medjhah Christians and non-Christians are represented in exactly the same proportion, while the Druzes, whose number, probably, does not exceed 100,000 souls, are estimated at 150,000 souls.

It has also been agreed that inasmuch as the Protestant and Jewish Communities have been recognized by the Porte as independent Rites or Millets, a delegate from each shall have the right of sitting, both in the Judicial and in the Administrative Medhia, whenever the interests of their respective Societies are concerned. As, however, the number of Protestants at this moment in the Lebanon does not exceed 500 or 600 persons, women and children included, and as the Jews are still less numerous, I did not think advisable to insist that they should act as more than occasional members at those Councils.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 3 in No. 487

Article II of the Basis for the Future Government of Syria

Les deux Medjlia supérieurs seront composés de douze membres, savoir : 2 Maronites, 2 Grecs Orthodoxes, 2 Grecs Catholiques, 2 Druzes, 2 Musulmans, 2 Melchites, auxquels on adjointra éventuellement un Représentant des Cultes Protestant et Israélite, quand un membre de ces Communautés aura des intérêts engagés dans l'affaire portée devant l'un ou l'autre de ces deux Medj.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

Inclosure 4 in No. 487

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir Beyrout, February 15, 1861

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that a report has just reached me that Yusef Kerun, the Christian Kaimakam, has thrown into prison certain Christian notables for having addressed him as "the eminent and revered Bek," instead of as "the Majestic Bek."

I have reason to believe that there is some truth in the story, which I report for your Excellency's amusement, the incident having arisen probably out

of an affront put upon the Kaimakam by some of his aristocratic rivals. The whole proceeding is a significant indication of the state of feeling in the country. I take this opportunity of transmitting a proclamation lately issued by the same functionary of an equally entertaining character.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 5 in No. 487.

Proclamation

(Condensed translation.)

WHEREAS, the former Governors of Mount Lebanon gave special titles to certain families and individuals on account of the excellence of their services, by which they obtained also the favour of the Government. But recently these people have forgotten the good works of their forefathers, and have presumed to take upon themselves advancement and titles, since the establishment of the Christian Kaimakamate.

The former Kaimakams, owing to their weakness, were obliged to grant greater titles and distinctions to those who were known as intriguers, in order to gain their adhesion, which proceeding injured their security for some people purposely resorted to agitation in order to obtain titles, so that unwarranted titles were conferred on many, which has reduced Mount Lebanon to its present degraded condition.

Those who persevere in these practices in order to get advanced titles, instead of thinking of what would please the Government and her officers, and would advance the prosperity of the inhabitants, when they saw that the compas-

office of Christian Kaimakam of Mount Lebanon, showed pretensions which were unbecoming, from their belief that I am not of the family of the old Kaimakams of Mount Lebanon, and was but a short time ago like unto them in position; and some of them have persuaded themselves that I ought to raise their rank above what they were before, that otherwise they will refuse obedience and cause agitation and intrigue on the plea that I am only temporary Kaimakam; so that by means of their improper proceedings either I shall be obliged to consent to their demands for advancement and outrage upon the poor, or the Government must dismiss me and give them liberty to attack and destroy, which would cause many misfortunes unnecessary to mention. It has neither occurred to them that the giving of titles is the prerogative of Government, nor that I when in a similar position to themselves and saw the ruin of the Government and the ruin of the country, arrested some of the overweeners and Mokâtaps, them in confinement, thus preventing them from committing d, until the Government should be re-established, and should be in a position to consider about their punishment.

Naturally what I did at that time was with the hope that lawful justice would raise me in the eyes of the Government, and would divest me of blame, and I do this more energetically now, because I am duly appointed by Government, the temporariness of my appointment does not render me the less able to

those who will not know that the temporariness of my office is an act of wisdom on the part of the Government, that I may always hear the voice of dismissal in my ears, and that when I quit the service I may leave behind me a path of security to the inhabitants whom I love much more than my own advancement, and place before them new customs which they may practise everywhere, they may rise in rank, and gain good name by merit, removing self-love, and in their stead exert themselves for the establishment of security, person I should consider worthy of dignity, and I would take him as an

Some of the employés in this Kaimakamate have old superstitions; they have been arrested, and will remain until the beginning of Lent, when their conduct will be examined, and their punishment awarded.

Furthermore, I have written to all the Mokâtaps, calling them "dear brothers," in the same style that their own former direct superiors wrote to them, and I will act towards them according to their doings. I shall also write to

to be made with the title of "Baron" as they may desire and have the right to do so. Every such case must be referred to a Government officer, and which have caused some to be placed far above their position, which they ought to be. I myself render it to my immediate superior; for which reasons I have issued this proclamation. Every one will act as he may think proper, and will be dealt with accordingly, and as may be considered necessary on my part. Be it known!

No. 488.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 71.)

My Lord,

Beirut, February 24, 1861.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship that the prospects of the peasantry, and the state of the country, are sufficiently improved to render it a subject of debate at the meetings of the Anglo-American Relief Committee, whether it may not be advisable to write to England to stop any further supplies of money being sent to Syria.

I have, &c.

DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 489.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 72.)

My Lord,

Beirut, February 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 66 of the 1st instant, instructing me that it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that the Commission should confine their attention to the latter part of the year, and I beg to thank you for the instructions. I have already been occupying myself during the last week, and ever since the receipt of that despatch, in discussing severally with the various authorities of the Mount Lebanon in its former relation to the province.

By the next post I shall be able to pronounce more definitively upon the subject, and I shall be able to place the Mixed districts under the immediate control of the Turks, or to separate the populations, which might be done now without any very extreme difficulty, and create three Kaimakships, composed of the various districts of the Mount Lebanon.

is plan would be very heartily supported by Russia, and I believe neither the British nor the French would object to it. But the latter will wish to see the Druse Kaimaknia to be placed under a Turkish Governor.

It may be seen by the above that the occupation we have had in settling the affair connected with the judicial proceedings at Beirut have prevented me paying as much attention to it as I hope to do during the ensuing week.

In explanation of my despatch No. 70 of the 15th instant, I would beg to state that it ought to have come by the last boat, and that it was written before I received your Lordship's fresh instructions, and in ignorance of your present wishes.

Nevertheless, if it were not too presumptuous on my part, I would venture to adhere to the general opinion therein expressed.

I fear great efforts are being made by designing persons to discourage and unsettle the population of Damascus and the Mountain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 490.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 73.)

My Lord,

Beirut, February 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that having ventured to mention to General (Comte), a French officer of high rank, and of a high standing to a Diplomatic capacity, to the Staff of General de Beaufort, that I regretted extremely more active measures should not have been taken to put a stop to the murdering of Druses by the Christians during the last six months,—that officer replied, that if upwards of 200 Druse men and women had been murdered by the Christians, at all events an equal number of Christians had been murdered during the same period. Dr. Scott, the English Missionary, is through the villages to collect the names of the victims in question.

As it may be a subject of some interest to your Lordship, I venture to transmit to your Lordship extracts from several private letters I have received from various persons resident in different parts of the Mountain, who are in a position to state authoritatively whether or no any such assassinations have occurred during the last six months in their respective districts.

As the area with which we are concerned is very small, and as each of these gentlemen inhabits a separate centre, there is no part of the Mountain which will remain unanswered for, and the very fact of so many of our correspondents alluding to the same circumstances will be a strong confirmation to your Lordship that the news of a general massacre is not true over the country.

It only remains for me to mention the names of my informants. The first is Mr. Scott, an English silk-spinner; the next is M. Morgue, a French gentleman engaged in the same pursuit; Mr. Benton, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Ford are American missionaries; and Mr. Abela is Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Sidon.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 490.

Major Fraser to Lord Dufferin.

Beirut, February 19, 1861.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to state that when the list of Druses murdered by Christians since the military occupation of Mount Lebanon was handed to me at Mokhtarah, I requested the Christians at that place to furnish me with a similar list of Christians stated by them to have been murdered by Druses within the same period.

The highest rate at which I have ever heard these even loosely stated amounted to thirty; but to this moment no list of names has been sent to me, and an agent, whom I myself employed at that time, could not procure the names of more than three, and these without the corroborative particulars of date and place of alleged crimes.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. J. FRASER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 490.

Extracts from Letters received respecting reported Murders of Christians by Druses since the Military Occupation of the Mountain.

From Mr. J. Scott, dated Shamlain, February 14:—

—You may inform Lord Dufferin that I have no knowledge of any Christian being killed by Druses since the arrival of the French military expedition in Syria.

"There was a report of a quarrel at Arsoon about some grapes, in which it was said a Maronite lost his life; but I never heard that it was authenticated."

From M. Mourgue, dated Ain Hamadé, February 14:—

"En réponse à votre billet d'hier, il n'est pas à ma connaissance qu'aucun meurtre, ni tentative de meurtre, ait été commis dans mon district, le Meïn, par les Druses sur la personne de quelques Chrétiens depuis l'arrivée de M. les Commissaires des grandes Puissances."

"L'effet moral qu'avait déjà produit l'arrivée de nos troupes s'était alors fait sentir, et le Meïn plus que tout autre ne demandait que la concorde."

From Rev. J. E. Ford, dated Sidon, February 14:—

"The only case of the kind that has come to my knowledge is that of two Christians who were murdered near the village of Ashieh in Jebel Rihan about the 1st of October. According to the accounts I then heard the murderers were Druses of the Reis family, who were said to have had an old blood feud with the family of the murdered persons. I have since been told that two Arabs have been arrested on suspicion of their being the murderers."

From the Rev. S. H. Calhoun, dated Acheh, February 15:—

"In reply to your inquiry about the murders of Christians since the coming of the French military expedition, I have to say, that after taxing my own memory, and that of another, himself a Christian, I have no recollection of anything of the kind having occurred in all Lebanon, except the murder of, I believe, two Christians in the region of Jezzin, or near the village of Naba. It was said that Druses were the murderers in this case, though I afterwards heard that the guilty persons were from further south, and were perhaps Melnaks. I was never able to ascertain the fact as accurately as I could wish, but I believe there was no doubt about the fact of the murder. In all this quarter I have not the slightest recollection of anything of the kind having occurred. I hold myself subject to correction in this respect."

From the Rev. W. Benton, dated Bhamdun, February 16 1861:—

"I am happy to state, for the information of Lord Dufferin, that we have heard of no instance of any such murder."

"I have inquired of the Christians at Bhamdun repeatedly, but they have no knowledge of any cases of this description."

Inclosure 3 in No. 490

Vice-Consul Abella to Vice-Consul Rogers.

(Translation)

Illustrious Sir,

Saida, February 14, 1861.

IN answer to your confidential letter of yesterday, written to me by the order of Lord Dufferin, I have the honour to inform you that, on Saturday, the 4th of October of last year, when his Excellency Fuad Pasha was at Mokhtara, a murder was committed in the fields belonging to the Druse village Kahlumseh, which is opposite to, and at a distance of half an-hour from, Mokhtara. Some inquiries were made, but they resulted in nothing, it not being discovered who either the murderer or the murdered man was. The supposition was that he was a Christian because some Christian charms or relics were found on the corpse; the Druses, on the other hand, pretended he was a Druse, but this was not proved before the Commission at Mokhtara.

In my letter No. 158 of the 2nd of November of last year, to Mr. Consul-General Moore, I gave an account of the murder of Shahun and his brother Abdu lah Nihawi in the village Ashieh, in the district of Akhna Rihan. At that time it was said that the said murder had been committed by the family of Bent Seif of the village of Naba, in the district of Shuf; but subsequently I heard that the said crime had been attributed to two Bedouins, who, it is said, were captured and conducted to Mokhtara.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JACOB ABELLA.

No. 491

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 74)

My Lord,

Beyrout, February 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 491.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

Sir,

Beyrout, February 24, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency, in the form of a Minute, the substance of the observations I have felt it my duty to address to my colleagues, at one of our unofficial meetings, on the subject of the judgments to be passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout on the Turkish

having gone into every particular case separately, and having prefaced my need trouble your Excellency with any explanatory remarks. I will content myself with stating that the conclusions embodied in the accompanying paper have been arrived at after the most anxious deliberation, and are certainly uninfluenced by any feelings of partiality towards any of the accused.

When I first came to this country I was under the impression of those natural sentiments of indignation which animated every one who had heard of the horrible atrocities perpetrated by the Druses on the Christians, and I fully expected that the investigation it was become my duty to pursue would only confirm my previous impressions.

To my surprise, however, I soon began to discover that the subject was more complicated than I had imagined; that there were two sides to the story; and that it was quite possible it might become necessary to modify my opinions. In proportion as the real truth unfolded itself this conjecture became a certainty, and I am now in a position to state, without fear of contradiction, that however criminal may have been the excesses into which the Druses were subsequently betrayed, the original provocation came from the Christians, and that they are themselves, in a great measure, responsible for the torrents of blood which have been shed.

This consideration has naturally influenced the conclusions at which I have arrived regarding the prisoners referred to in the Minute, and I have thought it my duty carefully to distinguish between those who may be regarded as mere butchers and those against whom no graver allegation can be brought than that they took part in the general hostilities which were being waged throughout the Mountain.

Unfortunately, the Turkish Tribunal has acted on a different principle, and with an indiscriminating severity, which in my opinion is quite unjustifiable. They have proposed to pronounce on the eleven Druse Sheiks, many of whom were certainly not concerned in the massacres, and all of whom voluntarily

the blood-stained murderers who have attempted to fly from the Turkish and Prussian Commissioners.

I am, however, entering further into the subject, perhaps I had better held for the purpose of discussing the Tribunal's judgments, and of drawing up the note in which our opinions upon them were to be communicated to Fuad Pasha.

Last Thursday was the day appointed; but as the business occupied the whole of yesterday's sitting as well, for the sake of brevity I will consider the two conferences as one.

I had originally proposed that, although conducted in the absence of Fuad Pasha, our proceedings should be considered official, and be recorded in a Protocol. This suggestion was first objected to, then adopted, and finally abandoned.

I will not trouble your Excellency with any minute detail of all that passed. It will be sufficient if I state the several opinions put forward by each member of the Commission.

M. Weekbecker, as our doyen, was the first to speak. He confirmed the judgment of the Court (perpetual imprisonment) in the case of Khoorsheid and Tahir Pashas, and the other Turkish prisoners, and acquitted all the Druse Chiefs but three. Of these, two convicted for murder he condemned to be executed, and for the other he demanded a revision of the trial.

M. Beclard followed, and pronounced a universal sentence of death on Turks and Druses, to be commuted in the case of one old Sheik, past 70, into perpetual imprisonment. Before concluding, however, he intimated his desire that none of the capital sentences pronounced at Mokhtarah should be carried into execution.

When it came to my turn, I spoke in the sense described in the Minute, designating Khoorsheid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and Nouri Bek, as deserving the extremity of punishment, with a recommendation to mercy in favour of the last; confirming the judgment of the Court on Wadi and Achmet Efendi, requiring revision of the judgments in the case of six of the Druses; a commutation of the capital sentence in favour of three; and subscribing to the execution of two whose personal participation in the massacres has been put beyond all doubt.

M. Novikow pronounced himself favourable to a sentence of death being recorded against the two Pashas and the Turkish Colonel; but he evinced a

for life. As to the Druses, his view differed both from mine and from M. Beclard's. Said Bey he was ready to pronounce guilty, though he admitted that the evidence on the trial was not enough to convict him. Two of the sentences that I had wished to be revised he was ready to confirm, the others he proposed should be commuted; while upon two or three he declined to pronounce any opinion at all. He agreed, however, with the rest of the Commission in pronouncing a capital sentence against the two prisoners I have already designated as actual assassins.

M. de Rensselaers concluded by pronouncing upon all alike the same sweeping

This portion of the proceedings was terminated by all the Commissioners, with the exception of M. de Weekbecker, drawing up a note to Fuad Pasha, copy of which they convey to his Excellency their dissatisfaction with the judgments proposed by his Extraordinary Tribunal.

Next Tuesday the Commission is to meet officially under the presidency of his Excellency for the purpose of receiving his reply to our communication, and of expressing our individual opinions in a more precise manner.

In the mean time I have communicated to his Excellency the substance of the telegram your Excellency has forwarded to me from Lord John Russell, announcing that the French and British Governments concur in the opinion that the execution of one or two of the Druse Chiefs as ringleaders will satisfy public justice.

His Excellency has answered me in return that, provided the Government of Europe will relieve him from the responsibilities attaching to the estimation of public opinion among the Christians, here and in Europe, he will be too glad to follow a course so entirely in accordance with the national sentiments of his Sovereign.

I have also made a similar communication to M. Beclard, but that gentleman only expressed great surprise at what I said, alleging that his advices from M. Thouvenel merely instructed him to convey a recommendation to mercy to

the Turkish Government on behalf of the persons lately convicted of murder at Mokhtarah.

In reference to this subject I may mention that when M. Beclard suggested yesterday to the Commission that an intimation to the above effect should be conveyed to Fuad Pasha, he encountered some little opposition from M. Novikow and M. de Rensselaers; M. Novikow urging with great truth that it would be a great injustice to suffer actual murderers to escape, when you condemn to death, as at all events some of the Commissioners proposed to do, a number of Druse notables, against whom no particular act of atrocity could be alleged.

Before concluding, I may venture to spend a few moments in analyzing the results of this important meeting.

Your Excellency will be aware that the Commission, in its deliberations, has been divided into two main sections. The first section, consisting of M. Beclard, M. de Rensselaers, and myself, has been of opinion that the judgments pronounced at Mokhtarah should be revised, and that the sentences of death should be commuted. The second section, consisting of M. Novikow and M. Weekbecker, has been of opinion that the judgments should be confirmed, and that the sentences of death should be carried into execution.

I am obliged to differ with this latter gentleman, whose conviction, I am sure, is beyond all praise, it is more in consequence of the difference of the method of investigation we have each resorted to, than any disagreement in our appreciation of facts. We both agree in attributing the original fault to Christians. "Along the whole boundary of the Mixed districts," said M. Novikow to me yesterday, "the Christians were the first to commence the attack upon the Druses." We both agree in wishing only to condemn those implicated in the massacres, and in most of the individual verdicts we have pronounced we are also agreed.

The principal, nay I may almost say the only points at which we are at variance are the opinions we hold respectively on the culpability of Khoorsheid Pasha and of Said Bey Djumbat. His views in regard to the former I have already intimated to you. With respect to the examination of the *procès-verbal* of the latter he has adopted a principle which seems to me to be both dangerous and critical. In the first place he receives with implicit faith the statement of every Christian that is given on oath, without reference to its general character, and the other considerations which may compromise its credibility, saying that unless you consent to do this, it will be impossible to arrive at a conclusion at all; and, in the next, he has allowed information he has acquired elsewhere to supplement the materials of conviction which he admits to be wanting in the proceedings before the Court. The consequence has been that he attaches considerable weight to the testimony of a witness whose evidence I had discarded on account of the palpable exaggeration of many of his statements, and he has allowed himself to be influenced by many of the stories current in the mouths of the unfortunate victims of the late atrocities, and, probably, detailed by them in perfect good faith, but which, unless subjected to the test of repetition in open Court, if not of cross-examination, ought never to be made the thread on which a human life should hang. Were such a principle admitted, I do not know who in this

of Said Bey, it would be simply fatal. There is scarcely one instance to which he is not obnoxious. The Turks and Christians, he says, desire his ruin. It is on this point, point by point, the Commission, and to your Excellency a copy of the report. I find that the remarks I have made are justified by its contents. If

they are not, I am not a judge, and death, in behalf of a man who has committed such crimes, conclusions and, I may almost venture to say.

of my colleagues. The observations, moreover, it embodies, were made at one of our official meetings. I have no doubt that I was motivated to make the above observations by a conscientious desire to state the exact conclusions to be drawn by an impartial analysis of the proceedings before the Court.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYLE

Enclosure 2 in $\Delta_{\ell} \rightarrow 0$

Minute on the Judgment proposed to be passed on the Turkish Officials and Druse Chiefs by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrouth.

THE French Commissioner has the honour, in the following Minute, of communicating to his colleagues the impressions conveyed to his mind by a careful study of the *procès-verbaux* of the trials of the Turkish officials and Druse Chiefs now under judgment in the prison of Beyrouth; but before reviewing the same he would wish to establish in a precise manner the principles which should regulate any revival of the proceedings of the Extra-

According to the understanding arrived at between the Ottoman Commissioners and the Representatives of the Five Powers, it was determined that the Commission should have the privilege of assisting, either in person or by deputy, at the proceedings of the Court, and that before any sentence was recorded by his Excellency Pasha against any of the prisoners, the Commissioners should have the right to submit to his Excellency any observations the occasioning it require. By this arrangement, the European Representatives became in some sort Associates with his Excellency on the cases brought before him, and responsible for whatever verdict might be rendered upon each.

The exercise of these functions necessarily involves an inquiry into the degree of culpability attaching to every individual. The importance of this consideration is enhanced by the fact that there are more than two parties to the cause on which our attention is engaged. The accusations of the Christian prosecutors are directed, not only against their Druse enemies, but also against the Ottoman authorities; while the Druses, in their turn, accuse the Christians, and the Ottoman authorities accuse both Druses and Christians. It becomes, therefore, the duty of those who are watching the proceedings on behalf of Europe, carefully to disentangle the truth from the network of recrimination in which it is involved, in order to assign their due share of responsibility to each of the parties concerned. Such a precaution is rendered all the more necessary by the suspicious proposal of the Turkish tribunal to condemn, at a single swoop, the eleven Druse chiefs to death, while the lighter penalty of imprisonment is adjudged to each of their own co-religionists. Before, therefore, proceeding any further, the British Commissioner would wish to record his opinion—

First: That the very fact of such horrible scenes is

not prepa
ed would

believe that Christians of other denominations were required, under pain of excommunication, to take part in the Holy War.

It would further appear that, not content with the confidence inspired by the enormous superiority that a nation of 150,000 souls possesses over a tribe scarcely numbering 30,000 persons, the Christian clergy endeavoured still further to animate the courage of their flocks, by telling them that their endeavour to attain undisputed possession of the Lebanon would be warmly countenanced by the Powers of Christendom. It is not to be imagined that these designs, so openly prosecuted as to have become notorious months before the final outbreak occurred, should have remained unknown to those against whom they were directed. The ambitious insolence of one party naturally aroused the savage indignation of the other. Preparations for attack begot preparations for defence; the moral atmosphere of the Mountain became saturated with the elements of the most direful hostility; isolated collisions—it is idle to inquire by whom begun, but characterized on both sides by native barbarity—became the precursors of the impending struggle. Bodies of armed men passed over from the Kesrouan into the Mixed districts, burning and killing as they marched. The Clansmen of Zahleh set out forth to the contest, and war became inevitable.

Under these circumstances

and of cowards if they had done so. The Turkish authorities were evidently indisposed to prevent the impending collision, and nothing was left to them but
et of natural valour to become
confounded with the horrible massacres which subsequently occurred in localities beyond the precincts of the Mountain, and under the armed protection of Turkish garrisons! If, in that inevitable sequence of events by which the struggles of barbarous tribes are too often terminated, and which on this occasion seems to have been especially aggravated by the intervention of official influences, horrible excesses were committed, is every Chief who summoned his followers around him, and prepared for the battle, or who even carried on the war according to the barbarous usages practised from time immemorial in the Mountain,—to be ruthlessly stigmatized as an assassin, or to be held responsible for all the excesses of his infuriated dependents? Above all, is he to pay the forfeit of his head, while the Turkish authorities who remained inactive spectators of the tumult, whose officers superintended the massacres and conducted the victims to the shambles, are suffered to escape?

The British Commissioner cannot remain silent while in gross a perversion of justice is proposed, and he is unable to admit, unless proof can be shown to the contrary, that the Turkish civil and military Pashas at Beyrout were not chiefly responsible for what occurred. It is equally impossible for him to recognize as a principle that the mere fact of the Chiefs of a barbarous tribe having taken part in a defensive war can be alleged as a capital offence, yet such seems to be the doctrine laid down by the extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout. The Ottoman authorities are dealt with as secondary criminals, whilst sentences of death is recorded against every one of the Druse Chiefs, most of whom are not even accused of having participated in the massacres, who voluntarily surrendered themselves into the hands of justice and whose names therefore demand, if not an acquittal, at all events an important consideration.

With these few preliminary remarks the British Commissioner will now proceed to consider separately the case of each of the accused.

Acknowledged Pasha.—The proceedings before the Court have not brought to light any circumstance to diminish the responsibility naturally attaching to the Governor General of India, for the disorders which have occurred
 " is to have remained an indolent spectator,
 " who plundered, and the most murderous hostilities
 " within an hour's march of his camp; and though solemnly
 warned by the Councils of the Five European Powers, he took no step to prevent
 the consummation of a catastrophe which it is impossible to believe he did not

Did not these circumstances sufficiently establish the culpability of his conduct, the fact of the butchery of Christians having continued after his arrival at Der-el-Kamar would place it beyond a doubt. Whether the consequence of

cowardice, imbecility, or design, a dereliction of duty which has resulted in so great a sacrifice of human life requires to be visited with the utmost severity.

Tahir Pasha.—The observations suggested by the perusal of the *procès-verbal* of the trial of Tahir Pasha, and the evidence adduced, lead to the conclusion that he was not a military Commander of the forces, and it is only too evident he made no serious effort to stop the effusion of blood.

Nours Bey.—This prisoner's fatal neglect to do his duty is beyond doubt, and he is presumed, however, that the attitude of his Chief may have influenced his conduct, and as it does not appear that he is implicated in any of the massacre, the difference between his guilt and that of the other more atrocious military criminals already condemned to death or executed.

Ali Wasfi Efendi.—The accused has been sentenced by the Court to temporary imprisonment and dismissal from the public service. The Minutes of evidence are so destitute of all materials for forming a true estimation of the prisoner's guilt or innocence, that it becomes difficult to pronounce any opinion on the *procès-verbal* which has been communicated to the Commissioners.

Ahmet Saleh Efendi.—The same observation is applicable to the *procès-verbal* of this prisoner.

Said Bey Jumlat.—Before proceeding to pronounce an opinion on the individual guilt or innocence of this prisoner, and his brother Mokataji, the British Commissioner would wish to observe, that the sentence proposed to be passed by the Court is a sufficient indication that there has existed no desire on the part of the Prosecution for the Crown to shelter the accused from punishment; that the trial of all the prisoners has extended over several months, during the course of which the Government has had every facility for collecting evidence and prosecuting the case to the last extremity; that during the whole of this period the defendants have been immured in prison, and shut off from all communication with their friends outside; that, consequently, they have had no Christian testimony alone, that no Druse witness has been examined; and that all the advantages of the situation have been on the side of the Prosecution.

It is therefore a matter which nearly concerns our honour that the verdict we give should be one that their acquittal or condemnation must not depend on any other consideration than that which is authorized by the proceedings before the Court. That it would be a gross violation of justice were a decision to be arrived at independent of that which is authorized by the proceedings before the Court. This reserve becomes very important, from the fact that the judicial investigation on which we are engaged has been conducted during a season of intense political excitement; that the nation of which the prisoners are the Chiefs has become obnoxious to the hatred of a powerful and numerous community; that on such occasions the most unfounded calumnies are necessarily current; that the races among whom we lived are notoriously untruthful, and that it requires a considerable effort of the mind to release itself from the tyranny of public opinion; in order to adjudicate impartially on cases already disposed of by the prejudices of an infuriated and unscrupulous population.

It is therefore a matter which nearly concerns our honour that the verdict we give should be one that their acquittal or condemnation must not depend on any other consideration than that which is authorized by the proceedings before the Court. That it would be a gross violation of justice were a decision to be arrived at independent of that which is authorized by the proceedings before the Court. This reserve becomes very important, from the fact that the judicial investigation on which we are engaged has been conducted during a season of intense political excitement; that the nation of which the prisoners are the Chiefs has become obnoxious to the hatred of a powerful and numerous community; that on such occasions the most unfounded calumnies are necessarily current; that the races among whom we lived are notoriously untruthful, and that it requires a considerable effort of the mind to release itself from the tyranny of public opinion; in order to adjudicate impartially on cases already disposed of by the prejudices of an infuriated and unscrupulous population.

With these few observations the British Commissioner now turns to the examination of the degree to which the first prisoner on the list, Said Bey Jumlat, may be supposed to have been implicated in the late transactions.

Before, however, considering the graver and more sweeping charge brought against this individual, as the principal author and promoter of the late horrible catastrophe in the Mountain, it may be more convenient to pass in review the minor allegations against him enumerated in the indictment.

These are five in number:—

- 1st. That he sent letters to the people of Jezzin to lull them into security.
- 2nd. That he gave his word to Tahir Pasha that no harm should happen to the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar.
- 3rd. That he received into his house Ismail el-Attrash, and his followers, on their return from Zahleh.
- 4th. That he sent Ali Bey el Hanudi to Hasbeya, under the pretext of conducting his sister to Moktara, but really with the intention of assisting in the butchery of the Christians; and
- 5th. That he commissioned Zeed-ed-Deen to cut off the head of the Emir Said-ed-Deen Shehab of Hasbeya, and subsequently rewarded the emissary who executed this behest.

Of these, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are very serious, and if either of the two last were to be considered proved, the British Commissioner would be of opinion that the infliction of capital punishment would be a well-merited penalty.

With regard to the two first accusations it does not appear that much importance can be attached to them. The letters written by Said Bey to the people of Jezzin seem to have been documents, containing injunctions and general exhortations to maintain the peace, which it seems probable the Druse Chief was anxious to preserve, and as the disturbances in that particular locality commenced by the Christians of Jezzin attacking the Druses of the Sheuf, it would be unjust to strain the purport of communications written before the outbreak to the unnatural meaning with which it is now proposed to invest them.

To the accusation which stands second on the list, to the effect that Said Bey promised Tahir Pasha that no harm should happen to the people of Deir-el-Kamar, he is inclined to attach still less importance. He regards it, in fact, as an instance of that tendency, to which he has before alluded, to shift all the blame of what has happened from the shoulders of the Turkish authorities to those of the Druses. In the first place it is manifestly unjust to make a Druse Mokataji responsible for events which occurred in a town garrisoned by Turkish troops, and beyond his jurisdiction, and in the next, it appears from the evidence of one of the witnesses for the prosecution, that Said Bey had actually proposed, some time before the outbreak, to place his family under the protection of the officer in command of Haddin, and that he had earnestly entreated the inhabitants of Deir-el-Kamar, not to surrender their arms, and not to allow Tahir Pasha to go away. Moreover, it is proved over and over again, that it was under the auspices of other Chiefs that the slaughter of the Christians of Deir-el-Kamar was conducted.

When we come to the third count, however, matters assume a graver aspect. It has been proved, indeed the prisoner himself acknowledges, that, immediately after the affair of Zahleh, Ismail el-Attrash arrived at Moktara, and that he and his followers were received with all the accustomed honours by

Such a circumstance as this naturally leads one to suspect that the movements of the Hauran Chief must have been more or less approved of by the prisoner, or, at all events, that he had been, to a certain degree, privy to his proceedings. Now, as it is a well-known fact that the massacres at Hasbeya were the handiwork of Ismail el-Attrash and his Arab and Druse followers, it would be scarcely unjust to consider that, by welcoming him to his roof, the prisoner had become, to some extent, an accomplice in his guilt.

Such, in fact, was the conclusion at which the British Commissioner arrived, when this significant fact was elicited, at the commencement of the proceedings, and he fully expected that collateral proof would have been forthcoming to place Said Bey's complicity beyond all doubt. He confesses, however, that in proportion as the real truth has come to be unfolded before the Court, the tendency of the evidence has been quite in the opposite direction. Said Bey is asked whether he did not send the ends of his wife's veil to the Chief of the Hauran, as an indication of the extremity in which he and his people stood. The prisoner denies that he did anything of the kind, and no atom of evidence is offered in support of the assertion. On the contrary, it is distinctly proved that, immediately on Said Bey's receiving intelligence of Attrash's arrival, he sent to inform the Government of the fact, and he seems to have been much more embarrassed than pleased by the event. It is true he did not subsequently close his gates when the Hauran Chief came to Moktara, nor did he refuse him

the honour customary on such an occasion; but he states that he absented himself from home as much as possible, that he acquainted the Government with the circumstance, and that the usages of the country and the exigencies of his own peculiar position rendered a certain amount of complaisance to his self-invited guest an imperative necessity. This plea does not seem unworthy of our consideration.

It is to be remembered that the Druses of the Lebanon, at the close of the proceedings, stood in defiance of the Christian enemies. In their extremity, they summoned a hundred Chieftain of the Hauran to come to their assistance. On his way he and his wild followers burn, pillage, and destroy; and he is justly regarded by his victims as a blood-stained assassin; yet, by the time he has come to rescue, he is naturally looked upon as a deliverer and a hero. Might it not have been difficult, if not impossible, for a brother Chief, however indisposed to approve of his excesses, to have driven him with ignominy from his door, and to have violated, in the person of a victorious ally, those rites of hospitality which in the East are esteemed so sacred? Such seems to be the excuse referred by the prisoner, and the British Commissioner cannot but admit that in his opinion they greatly mitigate the importance of the circumstance referred to in the count under consideration.

The next charge against Said Bey Jumblat is that, under pretence of writing to the Emir of Hama, he induced Ali Hamadi to Hasbeyra, in order to organize the massacres which took place there.

Here, however, we find ourselves again embarrassed by the discrepancy between the evidence and the deduction derived from it, disapprobably increased, in this instance, by the suspicious exaggeration of the phrases in which the accusation is conveyed. It seems an undoubted fact that Ali Hamadi and a number of Druses did set out, on the occasion referred to, for Hasbeyra, and although it has been only proved that he arrived in the vicinity of the ill-fated village on the day in question, there is reason to believe, and, at all events, some of his followers, passed over to the place before the massacres were finished.

If the theory of the events of the Mountain being a deep-laid plot, whose ramifications had been long in preparation, and whose execution was a coincidence must have been the result of an intentional combination; but even so, it is rather a dangerous stretch of the imagination to infer that Ali Hamadi must have been sent to organize a tragedy which was, probably, commenced before he arrived. But so far as our information enables us to form an opinion there is no ground for supposing that the Druses at Hasbeyra possessed that deliberate character which is sought to be attributed to them, and it seems probable that, until bonded on by the Turkish garrisons, the Druses never contemplated the outrages they subsequently committed. Though the war raged all over the Lebanon, it was only in places where Turkish troops were present that those wholesale massacres occurred, and it is a fact worthy of especial notice that it was not until the arrival at Hasbeyra of an emissary from Damascus that the signal was given for the slaughter.

It is to be remembered, moreover, that the massacre occurred immediately after the funeral of a Druse notable who had been mortally wounded in a previous combat with the Christians, and whose death appears to have caused an unusual degree of fermentation. Up to that moment the relation between the Druses outside the Serail and the Christians within had not been unfriendly. No general butchery seems to have been either dreaded by the one party or contemplated by the other, though it is possible that ill-designing persons may have been prepared to seize with avidity the opportunity to stimulate, to an indefinite extent, the vindictive feelings aroused by the death of a favourite leader, and it is a very significant fact that Osman Bey was present at the ceremony in question.

At all events, the thread of evidence by which it is sought to connect Said Bey with the events of Hasbeyra is far too slender to be depended on in a court of justice. Ali Hamadi, though apparently of late become an associate of Said Bey, cannot be looked upon as his dependent. On the contrary, he is a Meklaty and a Sheik of a rival house, formerly in open hostility with the family of Jumblat, and apparently only subsequently reconciled to it by the sense of a

common danger. It might, therefore, be very unsafe to make Said Bey, however friendly their relations at the time may appear to have been, responsible for Ali Hamadi's conduct, or for the actions of those who accompanied him, even though they were, as it is somewhat vaguely alleged, Said Bey's own dependents. In the state of excitement which evidently prevailed an absent Chief can be held as little responsible for the excesses of his savage clansmen as a commander of disciplined troops for the outrages they commit in a town taken by assault. Druses and Christians both looked upon the affair as a war. At the same time each party conducted it according to those savage rules which long usage has consecrated in the Mountain.

An unforeseen combination suddenly invested it with a character of unusual atrocity, but it does appear from the evidence before us that the prisoner at all contributed to give to the struggle, which it is known he earnestly deprecated, the sinister character it subsequently assumed. It would rather seem, as far as we are able to conjecture from the meagre materials before us, that Said Bey was all along the representative of the moderate party in the Druse camp at a moment when the danger which threatened his nation rendered moderation a questionable virtue, and evidently compromised his popularity. The fact of the followers of a rival house marching through his feudal village of Meklaty, singing the war-cry of another Chief, as was shown on the trial, the Christian

denial of his unpatriotic neutrality, his publicly beating the Druses who raised the war-cry, his having saved hundreds of Christians, and still more the fact of hundreds of Christians having trusted to him for protection, are all circumstances indicative of this inclination.

That he sympathized with his co-religionists is probable; that he did not do all an impartial spectator would have done is certain; that he, perhaps, exulted over the discomfiture of his nation's enemies may be imagined. He even regarded with indifference the atrocities which others committed is possible; but that there is any proof that he either organised or took any part in them cannot be pretended.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the difficulty in procuring evidence sufficient to convict the prisoner is not the result of his innocence, but of his superior cunning, that with the duplicity in which Orientals are much adepts he secretly fomented the troubles he pretended to appose, and that while he saved some to bear witness in his favour in case a day of retribution should arrive, he secretly incited the less cautious of his brother Chiefs to commit the crimes he was too prudent to engage in himself.

Such conduct would not have been without example in the annals of Eastern nations, and the conjecture is not sufficiently improbable to require us to discard it without examination, if countenanced by a fair amount of collateral evidence. In the particular case under consideration, however, the British Commissioner is of opinion that there is no trustworthy indication which would warrant such an interpretation of the prisoner's conduct, and that if due allowance be made for the natural passions which must influence a man whose nation was in danger of extinction at the hands of a hostile tribe, it may be even a matter of surprise that his conduct should not have been more ambiguous.

We now come to the most grave, because the most definite, charge which has been brought against Said Bey, to the effect that he commissioned a Zeed-ed-Deen to go to Hasbeyra, and bring him the head of the Mahomedan Emir Said-ed-Deen. If this were proved, nothing would be more damning to the prisoner; and we should be relieved from the painful responsibility of extricating the truth from the mass of suspicious evidence before us. But when we come to examine the testimony upon which the charge is based, it dissolves into the same unsubstantial elements which have already so often disappointed our search.

In the first place, no proof is given that the person in question ever received any such commission from Said Bey; or, in the next, that he had anything to do with the murder of the Emir. It is true the latter fact is taken for granted, on the authority of a mazbatla presented to the Grand Medjlis at Damascus, but an examination of that document will only afford an instance of the rash mode in which the Tribunal is disposed to deal with evidence.

So far from containing any satisfactory proof of Zeed-ed-Deen having been the author of the alleged crime, the persons who signed the mazbatla expressly

At Said.—The evidence against the prisoner is very grave. I am unfortunately unable to say more than that he does not seem to have been able to give any explanation of his conduct at the time of the murder.

$\frac{d}{dt} \int_{\Omega} u^2 dx = -2 \int_{\Omega} u \Delta u dx = 0$, so $\|u\|_2$ is constant.

DOLYFERIN AND CYANERGOL

Inclosure 3 in No. 491.

MM. Bédard, Rehtuen, Novikow, and Lord Dufferin, to Fuad Pasha.

Bejrout, le 23 Février, 1861.

LES Soussignés, après avoir pris connaissance des pièces du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et de ses conclusions, ont dû, en vertu de leur mandat, émettre le regret, le 23 Février, 1861, de constater que de ces pièces il ne résulte aucune circonstance atténuante, de nature à établir avec certitude que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ne sont pas responsables en principe des événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne, et amené le massacre de 6,000 Chrétiens. Dans la pensée des quatre Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, cette responsabilité continue, du ont regretté à le dire, à prouver aux les Agents de l'autorité Ottomane, au moins autant que aux les plus coupables des Chefs Druses, et la différence des châtimens infligés aux uns et aux autres ne trouve pas, à leurs yeux, la justification suffisante dans les pièces du procès soumises à leur examen.

En conséquence, les Soussignés ont dû, le 23 Février, 1861, émettre le regret, le 23 Février, 1861, de constater que de ces pièces il ne résulte aucune circonstance atténuante, de nature à établir avec certitude que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ne sont pas responsables en principe des événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne, et amené le massacre de 6,000 Chrétiens. Dans la pensée des quatre Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, cette responsabilité continue, du ont regretté à le dire, à prouver aux les Agents de l'autorité Ottomane, au moins autant que aux les plus coupables des Chefs Druses, et la différence des châtimens infligés aux uns et aux autres ne trouve pas, à leurs yeux, la justification suffisante dans les pièces du procès soumises à leur examen.

En conséquence les Souverains ont l'honneur d'inviter son Excellence Faid Pacha à suppléer par sa propre initiative, et dans le légitime exercice des pleins pouvoirs dont il est muni, en consultant à la fois les inspirations de sa conscience et les nécessités aussi impérieuses qu'urgentes de la justice, à ce qu'il

(Signed) L. BECLARD
DUFITRIN AND CLANBOYE
REDFEES
NOVIKOW

Inclosure 4 in No. 491

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, Washington, D. C., June 24, 1891.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. in relation to the proposed purchase of land for the establishment of a military reservation at the mouth of the Mississippi River, Louisiana. I am sorry to hear that you are of the opinion that a commission of one or two Druze Chiefs or ringleaders would satisfy the exigencies of public justice.

One of the responsibilities which I have felt the most painfully during the execution of the business of the Board I have been assigned during the last six months has been that which involved the expression of an opinion on matters of life and death. This duty I have been endeavouring hitherto to discharge to the best of my ability; and wherever I have been able conscientiously to do so, my voice has been raised on the side of mercy. The Minute I have forwarded in another despatch of this day's date was already written when the telegram arrived, and, as your Excellency will perceive, I had determined to consent to the execution of only two of the Druse Chiefs.

But in announcing this resolution to the Commission, I felt I should

probably provoke a considerable amount of disagreeable opposition, and that it would require some persistence to make it prevail.

Under these circumstances, I was a great satisfaction to me to find that I had not violated the wishes of the Mr. C. & Co. Government and that I need not fear having weakly sacrificed the interests of a necessary justice to any misplaced feeling of clemency.

of the twenty or thirty unfortunate wretches condemned by the Tribunal of Mokhtars. It was much against my will that these misguided men, however blood-stained they might be, were doomed to death, and it was only the dread of betraying the mission on which I was sent that enabled me to go through the disagreeable duty of subscribing to the infliction of capital punishment upon them. Now that Her Majesty's Government has relieved me from all responsibility of this kind, I shall continue to prosecute my other duties under much greater freedom.

at Beyrout a Drum Chief of some importance whose guilt is so atrocious and clearly proved that all the Commissioners have recorded a unanimous verdict against him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclusion 5 in No. 4

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulmer

Dayton, February 24, 1961

Sir, Beirut, February 24, 1961

IN continuation of my despatch of the 15th instant I beg to transmit herewith a report on the progress of the work done since the last report. This report is added to those already agreed upon by the Commission and is intended to complete the projected report on the re-organization of the Lebanon.

We claim No. 14 your Excellency will perceive that the Mass, namely, of the Christian Kaimakamship, and whose population is composed of Maronites, 10,000 Orthodox Greeks, and 5,000 Druses, is constituted a Mass.

[illegible]

LINEAR AND CLANBOYLE

Inclosure B in No. 491

Articles 12 to 16 of the Basic Law for the Future Government of Syria.

Article 12. Au lieu des vingt-quatre mairies Mokâtam, le Liban sera divisé en six circonscriptions, savoir : —

1. Le Koral, y compris la partie inférieure, et les autres fractions de

3. La partie septentrionale, sauf le Kürük, jusqu'au Nahur-ul-Kelb.

2. La partie septentrionale;
3. Zabieh et son territoire.

4. Le M'poko, depuis le Sahel Tchadien, et les états limitrophes du K. et de

5. Le territoire à population mixte, situé au sud de la route de Darnas, jusqu'à Jezzîn.

6. Le Jezzin, auquel seront rattachés les groupes Maronites environnants.

Ad. 13. Le M. La J. ordonne de première instance sur ce chef : — oe

chaque circonscription, et se composera de trois membres au moins, six au plus. L'un d'eux sera nommé par le Gouvernement, et les deux autres par le peuple. L'un d'eux sera nommé par le Gouvernement, et les deux autres par le peuple.

Dans le cas où il n'y aurait que deux éléments, le tribunal sera composé de trois membres, dont deux fournis par l'élément prépondérant.

La présidence sera exercée à tour de rôle, et mensuellement, par chacun des membres du Medjlis, et en cas de partage le Président aura toujours voix prépondérante.

Art. 14. Le Medjlis Administratif se composera dans chaque circonscription, conformément au principe adopté pour le Medjlis Judiciaire, de trois membres au moins, et six membres au plus.

Dans les circonscriptions désignées à l'Article 12 sous les numéros 4 and 5, le Medjlis Administratif sera composé de six membres, dont trois Chrétiens et trois non Chrétiens.

Art. 15. Les membres des Medjlis Administratifs et Judiciaires de première et de seconde instance seront choisis et délégués par les Chefs de leurs communautés respectives, et institués par le Gouvernement.

Art. 16. Si après une enquête poursuivie par le Medjlis Judiciaire Central il est prouvé qu'un membre des Medjlis Administratifs ou Judiciaires de première instance a prévariqué, ou s'est rendu par un fait quelconque indigne de ses fonctions, ce membre devra être révoqué par le Gouvernement, et sera, en outre, passible d'une peine proportionnée à la faute qu'il aura commise.

(Suivent les paraphes.)

No. 492.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 13.)

(No. 370.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 12, 1861.

I HAD the honour to receive this morning your Lordship's despatch No. 291 of yesterday's date, informing me that Her Majesty's Government must continue to insist on the evacuation of Syria by the 5th of June, but stating that, with regard to the Convention proposed by M. Thouvenel, of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch No. 352 of the 10th instant, Her Majesty's Government would not refuse to agree to it, provided the evacuation, at the period above-mentioned, was effected.

Your Lordship will have learnt, from my despatch No. 363 of yesterday's date, that M. Thouvenel had consented to make the 5th of June the period at which the European occupation of Syria shall cease and the evacuation shall have been effected, but that he would not agree to any stipulation respecting the destination of the troops after they should have been re-embarked. I felt confident then that the two Articles which I had the honour to submit in that despatch for your Lordship's consideration would meet with his concurrence; and, as my last instructions gave me latitude to come to an understanding with his Excellency, I took them to him this morning, hoping to be able to report to your Lordship that, by their acceptance, the Conference would meet, and the question be set at rest.

In order, however, that Her Majesty's Government might remain supreme arbiters, in case of any further difficulty, I was careful to tell M. Thouvenel that I was acting under general instructions, which allowed me to seek the means of reconciling the objections of the French Government to the wording of the draft Convention proposed by Her Majesty's Government, with the requirements of Her Majesty's Government that the Convention should contain a positive declaration on that Syria should be evacuated by the 5th of June, and that I had accordingly framed the Articles as closely as possible to those proposed by Her Majesty's Government, which M. Thouvenel had taken objection.

I regret to say that my expectations were disappointed. M. Thouvenel took exception to the clause "l'occupation aura atteint son terme définitif," which he said bound the French Government too strongly, but he offered no objection to the rest. Now, it is true that in strict parlance the French Govern-

ment would be as much bound without this clause by the words, "l'évacuation aura atteint son terme définitif," but with every wish to be conciliatory I felt that something was due to the French Government, and that having made this conciliatory proposal in order to meet M. Thouvenel's objections, real or imaginary, to the wording of the original draft proposed by Her Majesty's Government, a stand ought to be made against further concessions, particularly as the objections raised by M. Thouvenel showed that in some way or other he wanted to avoid the obligations which it was the object of Her Majesty's Government to impose upon him.

I had less hesitation in making a stand, because, as I have said before, I felt that it would always be in the power of Her Majesty's Government, if appealed to, to consent to the omission of the words objected to by M. Thouvenel.

I said then to M. Thouvenel that I would not make any further concession, and, taking your Lordship's despatch as my text, I contrasted the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in this business with that of the French Government in the case of the Convention of 1840, and the impartial judgment of Europe.

M. Thouvenel then said that he would take the Emperor's orders; that in the meantime he should probably learn from M. de Flahault the result of the interview which that Ambassador would no doubt have had with your Lordship to-day, and that he would give me an answer to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 493

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(No. 377. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 13, 1861.

THE Prussian Minister informs me that he had a great deal of conversation with Count Bismarck, who had been passing some months in Syria, charged, with other officers, with the distribution of the funds raised in Prussia for the relief of the sufferers in the events of last summer.

Count Bismarck states that it is impossible to ensure the preservation of tranquillity in Syria, not only among the native Christians, but among the Mohammedans, who, being chiefly Armenians and Protestants cannot be suspected of desiring to favour the Roman Catholic element,—that the departure of the French troops will be followed by a repetition of the bloody scenes of last year, but upon being questioned by Count Pourtalès, he expressed the opinion that the only way to ensure the preservation of tranquillity

He is also convinced that the Turks are of themselves quite able to prevent the French from occupying Syria, but he thinks that they are not to be trusted.

I remarked to M. de Pourtalès that it was not to be conceived that the French Government could be so easily deceived as to suppose that the Turks would seriously consider how far the supreme interests of the Empire would be promoted by conceding to them the possession of Syria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Lord J. Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

(No. 149.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 13, 1861.

IN your despatch No. 418 of the 17th of last July, you say, in speaking of the Mountain, "the Government of the Mountain are incompatible with order and society; that one Government should be established in Syria, and that Government ameliorated."

Lord Dufferin, after some experience in Syria, arrived at the conclusion which your Excellency's sagacity had enabled you to anticipate.

But the jealousy of the Porte having induced the Sultan to object to any inquiry or report on the part of the European Commission with regard to Syria, I directed Lord Dufferin to restrict his proposals to the Commission to the Mountain only.

But every day's experience confirms the soundness of your Excellency's views. The reason for that judgment in a very striking point of view.

You will endeavour to show to Aali Pasha that the Sultan's jealousy of his own servants may be carried too far; that in the present state of the Turkish Empire, to choose able and honest Governors of Provinces, and to confer upon them large powers in a spirit of liberal and generous confidence, is true wisdom.

When it is too late, that he is obliged to surrender to foreign Princes and States powers which he had refused to confide to his own faithful servants.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 495.

Lord J. Russell to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 35.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 13, 1861.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from Lord Dufferin to the European Commissioners in Syria with reference to the sentences by the tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners tried before it, on the charge of having taken part in the massacre of the Christians last summer.

Your Lordship will perceive from this despatch the view taken by the Commission of the respective prisoners, and the manner in which they severally incline to recommend that each prisoner should be dealt with.

Your Lordship will further observe that while the Austrian, British, and Russian Commissioners lean more or less to the side of mercy, the French and Prussian Commissioners concur in promoting the indiscriminate execution of all the Druse prisoners now under sentence at Beyrout.

You will find in Lord Dufferin's despatch an inclosure containing a very able statement of the grounds on which he has come to the conclusion that public justice will be satisfied by a limited number of executions, and that as regards the large majority of cases, and more particularly as regards that of Saïd Bey Jumblatt, the evidence adduced on the trial is wholly insufficient to warrant their conviction, and still less their capital punishment.

Her Majesty's Government have seen with some surprise the part taken by the French Commissioner, as they had reason to suppose from M. Thouvenel's language to Lord Cowley, as reported in the despatch of which I inclose a copy, that the French Commissioner would receive instructions which would induce him to moderate the number of executions. It is true those instructions applied specifically to the case of the Druses tried at Mokhtarab; but the

* Inclosure 1 to No. 491.

principle on which they were founded was susceptible of a more extended application.

On receiving from Lord Dufferin ten days ago a telegram stating the conclusion at which he had arrived in regard to Saïd Bey Jumblatt, I instructed his Lordship; and likewise Sir H. Bulwer to insist, the former with Fuad Pasha and the latter with the Porte, that Saïd Bey Jumblatt should not be executed; and I directed Lord Dufferin to instruct Fuad Pasha not to execute that Chief.

Under all these circumstances I have to instruct your Lordship to call Baron Schlenitz's attention to this subject. You may place in his Excellency's hands such a general account of what has passed between the Commissioners according to Lord Dufferin's report, as may, it is to be hoped, satisfy his Excellency of the propriety of instructing the Prussian Commissioner at Beyrout no longer to insist on the indiscriminate execution of the prisoners there under sentence of death, but to confine himself within the limits which Lord Dufferin so clearly shows to comprise all those whose guilt has been satisfactorily established.

If Baron Schlenitz should be willing to act in this matter you will further urge his Excellency to lose no time in sending his instructions to Beyrout, for every day's delay in bringing questions arising out of the trials at Beyrout to a close must necessarily act unfavourably on the deliberations of the Commissioners on the other matters which they are required to investigate and determine.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 496.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 309.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 13, 1861.

HER Majesty's Government entirely approve the draft of Convention which your Excellency sent with your despatch No. 363 of the 11th instant, and which, if adopted, will, however, you are to press as far as possible, your Excellency will take care that in any words which may be substituted, the object which Her Majesty's Government have in view, namely the complete evacuation of Syria by the 31st of June shall be fully secured.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 497.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

Foreign Office, March 14, 1861.

M. de Chateaubriand called here to day and read a despatch respecting the Commission in Syria. M. Thouvenel proposes that the Commissioners, when they shall have finished their Report, shall go to Constantinople and assist the Ambassadors in settling the terms of the future government of the Lebanon with the Ministers of the Sultan.

I said I thought the Commissioners ought to finish their Report as soon as possible; but I thought it would be more useful that they should remain in Syria to assist Fuad Pasha, or any other Governor appointed by the Porte, than that they should go at once to Constantinople with their Report.

The Marquis de Chateaubriand having asked me how long I thought the Commissioners ought to stay in Syria, I said till the beginning or middle of May, that, however, I did not pretend to have formed any very settled opinion on this

The Marquis de Chateaubriand spoke of the terms of the Convention for the continuance of the European occupation, but I said that question was in the

hands of your Excellency, and that I had sent your Excellency my final instructions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 498

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 393.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 14, 1861.

IN the course of the conversation which I had with M. Thouvenel this morning, he said that by the last advice which he had received from Beyrout, he had reason to believe that Fuad Pasha was about to undertake an expedition against the Hauran, with a view of obliging the Druse Chiefs who had taken refuge there to capitulate or to go elsewhere. The French troops are not to take part in this expedition, but are to remain in the Lebanon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 499

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 15.)

(No. 396.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 14, 1861.

I HAD the honour to inform your Lordship in my despatch No. 370 of the 12th instant, that M. Thouvenel had promised to let me know on the following day whether the French Government would accept the two Articles relative to the evacuation of Syria which I had offered for their consideration. I did not inform me that M. de Fishault and your Lordship had agreed upon a wording different from that which I had transmitted to you.

As this information was the result of a mistake which has since been cleared up, I do not dwell upon it further.

This morning, then, I waited upon M. Thouvenel, having in the meantime received an invitation from his Excellency to attend a Conference to-morrow, for the purpose of stating to him that at that Conference I intended to propose the adoption of the two Articles.

M. Thouvenel made the same objections to the words "terme définitif" which he had raised the other day. He said that they were useless; that the words "aura été évacuée;" and that therefore to insist on retaining the words "terme définitif," was to wound unnecessarily the susceptibilities of the French Government.

I would admit, I replied, that the term "aura été évacuée" expressed all that I was desired to obtain; and I should not, therefore, consider myself so strictly bound to insist on the retention of the other words, were it not that the anxiety of the French Government to set them aside made me apprehensive that the interests which I was bound to guard might possibly be jeopardized by further evolutions.

M. Thouvenel rejoined by giving me his word of honour that he intended to abstain from any allusion to the evacuation of Syria in any communication towards the public of having abandoned, under every possible contingency, the Christians of the Lebanon to any fate that might be reserved for them. Although I had told him that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to dispute the right of the French or of any other Government to propose the reassembling of a Conference, should one or other deem it necessary, he feared that the words "terme définitif" might be quoted hereafter as a Treaty engagement preventing the possibility, under any circumstances whatever, of a re-occupation. Supposing, for instance, at the moment the troops were about to

embark it was patent to every-one that a massacre would be the consequence, he would have been bound to have refused to consent to the evacuation of Syria. The Conference, and of consulting the Allies of the Porte as to the advisability of carrying the evacuation into execution, of course they would be equally at liberty to consent or to refuse to do so.

I repeated to M. Thouvenel what I had stated to him on former occasions, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of laying down as a positive condition that under no possible circumstances could a fresh Conference be proposed, but they desired to be assured, I said, that in admitting for conciliation's sake that for which they saw no real necessity, viz., the prolongation of the occupation of Syria for three months, they were not preparing the way for fresh difficulties and dissensions hereafter, i.e., that if at the end of three months the same state of things existed, the French Government were not to be called upon to consent to a prolongation because there was no organized Government in the Lebanon, or for some other excuse equally futile.

M. Thouvenel replied that he perfectly understood the ground on which Her Majesty's Government took their stand, and that he was satisfied with the explanation which I had given him, but he still continued to press for the suppression of the, to him, obnoxious phrase. I consented at last to meet him on the word "définitif."

The Article, therefore, will stand thus:—
"La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme, et que l'évacuation aura été terminée."

I trust that your Lordship will not disapprove my having made this concession.

The addition of the word "définitif" to "terme" hardly makes the expression stronger, if the remainder of the sentence is taken into consideration, nor could a Government determined not to be bound by the weaker phrase make much difficulty of setting aside the stronger.

M. Thouvenel is very anxious that the Turkish Ambassador should himself think that Vefyk is right, that having declared his Government to be able to maintain order and tranquility in Syria, and having consented only on pressure to prolong the occupation, he should now turn round and propose the 5th of June. When, therefore, M. Thouvenel asked me to urge his views on Vefyk, I refused, observing that I could not advise another to do what in his place I would not do myself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 500

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 327.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 15, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 396 of yesterday, reporting a letter from M. de Fishault, dated the 12th inst., in which he stated that the proposed Convention for the evacuation of Syria for a limited period should be drawn up, and I have to repeat to you, as I have stated to your Excellency, that Her Majesty's Government approve of the first Article of that Convention which is embodied in your despatch.

Your Excellency will have observed from a statement that Her Majesty's Government are not disposed to agree to any arrangement made to the terms of the Article which would involve the evacuation of an

beyond the 5th of June, or to any extension to that effect being proposed in the Festival of the Conference about to be held.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 501

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 329)

My Lord,

Paris, March 15, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch on Syrian affairs met again this afternoon.

M. Thouvenel proposed the proceedings by asking the Plenipotentiaries to inform him of the opinions of their respective Governments on the observations made in the sitting of the Conference on the 19th February.

Prince Metternich, as Plenipotentiary of Austria, being the first to speak, said that his Government was willing to consent to the prolongation of the occupation for a limited period, that period it had been suggested should be two months, but as a month had expired since the suggestion had been made, he considered that a term of three months from the date of the first Convention might be taken as the period for the further extension of the occupation.

M. Thouvenel, as French Plenipotentiary, said that he maintained his opinion that the occupation ought to be prolonged.

It being my turn to speak, I said that nothing had reached Her Majesty's Government since I had last the honour of addressing the Conference a month ago, to induce them to modify the opinion of which I had then been the organ; but that, nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government had authorized me, if I found a general opinion existing among my colleagues that the evacuation ought to be delayed, and if the Porte agreed to a delay, to consent, for conciliation's sake, to a prolongation of the occupation, provided always that the evacuation should be completed by the 1st of May.

My colleagues disposed to a delay, to propose such a working of the instrument of the Convention as would have the effect of prolonging the occupation for three months, and I have the honour to inform you that the Government had in view.

M. Thouvenel expressed his satisfaction at the conciliatory spirit shown by Her Majesty's Government, and said that he was ready to agree to the term of three months.

Count Pourtalès, the Prussian Plenipotentiary, spoke in the sense of the Austrian Plenipotentiary.

General Kiseleff, the Russian Plenipotentiary, adhered to the period of three months, expressing the hope that within that time the institution of a regular Government would insure order and tranquillity in the Lebanon.

Velyk Efendi said, that although he must maintain what he had stated on a former occasion, that the Porte was ready and able to maintain tranquillity in Syria, yet that, out of deference to the opinions of the Powers who by their counsel and assistance had come to the Sultan's aid, he had been empowered to assent to the prolongation of the occupation to the 1st of May, and not doubting that the Government of France would be disposed to agree to the prolongation of the former Convention for three months, he would take upon himself to sign an instrument to that effect, on the understanding that the evacuation should have terminated at the date agreed upon.

M. Thouvenel observed that I had a proposal to make with that intent, and having requested me to state it to the Conference I proposed the signature of the two Articles which have received the assent of Her Majesty's Government. The Conference accepted them without further discussion, and the instrument, of which I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy, was immediately signed.

The Conference agreed that the signature of the latter Act should take place on Tuesday the 19th instant.

On the same occasion, the Protocols of the first and second Conferences will be signed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

Inclosure in No. 501.

Draft Convention agreed to in a Conference held at Paris, March 15, 1861.

LEURS Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, la Reine du Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et l'Empereur des Ottomans, après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs, s'étant entendus pour modifier la Convention conclue entre eux, le 5 Septembre dernier, les Représentants de leurs dites Majestés sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants, qui seront textuellement convertis en une Convention dont les instruments vont être aussitôt préparés pour être revêtus de leurs signatures.

ARTICLE I.

La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 5 Juin de la présente année, époque à laquelle il est entendu entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II.

Les stipulations contenues dans le deuxième Article de la Convention du 5 Septembre, 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées, ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées, s'appliquent à la présente Convention, et la présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris, dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

ARTICLE III.

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris, dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

Les Plenipotentiaires sont convenus de se réunir Mardi prochain, 19, pour signer la Convention.

Paris, le 15 Mars, 1861.

No. 502.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley

(No. 329)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 16, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 406 of yesterday, reporting what had passed in the Conference on Syrian Affairs, and enclosing the copy of the Protocol in which the results of that Conference would be recorded; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your conduct throughout the recent discussions on those matters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 503.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 409. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 15, 1861.

THERE can be no doubt that one of the principal reasons which has actuated the Imperial Government in desiring the prolonged occupation of Syria,

has been the apprehension of still more offending the Clerical party in France by an apparent abandonment of the protection of the Maronites.

I have found this idea more difficult than any other to combat in the frequent and long discussions which I have had with M. Thouvenel on this matter, and the argument which I have employed with the most success has been, that he might either in the debates in which the subject might be introduced, or through the press, insist that the presence of the naval squadrons on the coast of Syria would be sufficient to inspire confidence when it was wanting.

To-day, after the Conference was over, M. Thouvenel took me on one side and asked me whether I thought that Her Majesty's Government would be willing to enter into some agreement with regard to the presence of a combined squadron in the Syrian waters. I replied that I should write to your Lordship. I found M. Thouvenel showing a conciliatory spirit. I should be very glad if Her Majesty's Government could return a favourable answer to his Excellency's inquiry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 504

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 16.)

(No. 410)

My Lord,

Paris, March 15, 1861

BEFORE going into Conference to-day, I requested M. Thouvenel to be very careful not to utter a word which would imply the possibility of a renewed demand hereafter for the further prolongation of the Syrian occupation; for, were a hint of the kind to be given by him, or any one else, I should be obliged, I said, to insist upon the execution of the Convention of September 3th.

M. Thouvenel said that, as far as he was concerned, I need be under no apprehension, for the Emperor was so resolved that the evacuation should be completed by the 5th of June that he (M. Thouvenel) had received orders to inform M. de Lavalette, General Beaufort, and M. Reclard, that under no circumstances could it be continued. Not being, however, certain that General Kimeroff would be as prudent, he took him on one side, and requested him to say nothing which might mar the amicable settlement by the Conference of this irritating question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 505

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 333.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 16, 1861

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch No. 409 of the 15th instant, I have to state to you that, in addition to the ships which have been on the coast of Syria during the winter, Her Majesty's Government have given orders for the presence of a small force on the coast in the 1st of May, and to remain there till the end of the summer.

As the object of Her Majesty's Government is the same as that of the French occupation, namely, to overcome those who might be inclined to repeat the massacres of last year, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to co-operate with the French Government for this purpose.

It would seem that the best course to be pursued will be, that Her Majesty's Government should draw up instructions for Admiral Murray, who is to command the squadron, and communicate them to the French Government by a note from your Excellency, or a despatch from the Foreign Office.

You will speak to M. Thouvenel in this sense, and inform me of his reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 506

Acting Consul Wrench to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

(No. 4)

My Lord,

Damascus, February 25, 1861

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch I have to-day addressed to his Excellency Sir Henry L. Bulwer, reporting on the events which have occurred in Damascus within the last few days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. WRENCH.

Inclosure in No. 506

Acting Consul Wrench to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Damascus, February 25, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that Khaled Pasha, who had been for some weeks in the neighbourhood of the Hauran with about 800 troops, returned to Damascus rather unexpectedly on the 18th instant.

The report was spread that he had fled in such haste from a party of Druses as to abandon his dinner. The real facts of the case, as far as we can learn them at this distance, appear to be as follows—

When Khaled Pasha, after an ineffectual attempt to recover the goats taken from the village of Kalat Jendal, moved to the neighbourhood of Shuara, on the borders of the Lachah, the Druses, thinking his object was to attack them, assembled their co-religionists to a considerable number to oppose him. Khaled Pasha, not wishing probably to risk an engagement, returned with a part of his forces, leaving the remainder in those villages already occupied by Turkish

The alarm occasioned by the report mentioned above was heightened by crosses being chalked, during the night, on the pavement in many places in the Meidan, and in the neighbourhood of the Christian houses. During the nights of last Friday and Saturday numerous crosses have been made on the pavements and doors of the Christian houses in the Meidan, and in the quarter of Kanawat. The authors have not been discovered, but three Christians, who were on a visit to a neighbour in the evening, on returning to their houses were arrested, and detained in prison for the night.

The Christians, in a great state of alarm, are disposing of their beds, copper, and whatever saleable articles they possess, in order to hire mules. Some have already left, but the majority wait to receive the arrears of the Government

will be paid in a few days hence. Asaad Agha, a Druse in the employment of the Government, has been given an order for 150 horsemen, and leaves to-morrow for the Hauran.

Dana Agha Jerudi, who was a Chief in the Aunieh Irregular Horse, is in prison since the middle of August last, when the Musulim made an expedition to Jerud, as reported to your Excellency in Mr. Brant's despatch No. 34 of the 16th August, 1860, and Emir Sulaiman Harboush, who was arrested in January 1859, and since that time has been confined in Damascus, effected their escape this morning. They were allowed to go to the bath, guarded by three men, and afterwards requested to be permitted to pray at the tomb of a Moslem saint. On their arrival at the burial-ground, about twenty horsemen, with two led-mares, awaited them. They mounted the animals, and rode off, the number of their followers preventing any opposition on the part of the guards.

I have, &c.
WILLIAM H. WRENCH

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

(No. 76)

My Lord,

Beyrout, March 1, 1861.

I REGRET extremely that a press of business will prevent me giving you a full and complete account of the Commission at our last two meetings. As, however, they will be resumed in a single Protocol, it will be almost more convenient that I should defer writing any commentary on what passed until that document is ready for transmission home. In the meantime it will be sufficient if I state that, at the official conferences which took place yesterday and the day before, under the presidency of Fuad Pasha, for the purpose of arriving at a final conclusion on the judgments proposed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout, each of the Commissioners held pretty the same language as that which I have already attributed to them at the two preliminary and confidential meetings which took place at my house during the preceding week, as reported in my previous despatch No. 122 of the 24th ultimo.

M. Weckbecker confirmed the judgment of the Court (imprisonment) against Khoorshid Pasha and Tahir Pasha; the other Turkish officials he acquitted altogether. Of the Druse Chiefs, he condemned two to death; demanded a commutation of the capital sentence on behalf of two others, and acquitted the remainder.

M. Béclard and M. de Rehfues united in demanding the execution of 11 Turkish prisoners, including an old man past 70, who they proposed should be only imprisoned for life.

M. Novikow declared himself in favour of a capital sentence on Khoorshid Pasha, Tahir Pasha, and Colonel Nouri Bey. Turkish officials he thought ought to be condemned to death. Against some of the others, among whom was Said Bey Jumblatt, he also recorded sentence of death; but he was careful to add, that the evidence produced in Court at the latter prisoner was not alone sufficient to procure a conviction. With regard to the rest, he declined hazarding any opinion at all.

For the reasons mentioned in the Minute of which I have already forwarded you a copy, I recommended sentence of death to be recorded, leaving it at the discretion of his Excellency subsequently to commute the penalty; and I confirmed the judgment of the Court in the same manner. In conjunction with all my colleagues, I also recommended, but I associated myself with M. Weckbecker in requesting a commutation of the capital sentence.

His Excellency Fuad Pasha replied to our paper, in which he defended the Turkish prisoners. In explanation of the Commission's proceedings, he stated that the Commission was not unanimous, and that the invitation of the Commission was not unanimous, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of aggravating the sentence pronounced by the Court upon the two Pashas without a reference to Constantinople.

A long debate ensued, which resulted in a declaration on the part of the Commission, that the invitation of the Commission was not unanimous, he could not take upon himself the responsibility of aggravating the sentence pronounced by the Court upon the two Pashas without a reference to Constantinople.

With regard to the Druse Chiefs in prison at Beyrout a still less conclusive decision was arrived at, every one maintaining his individual opinion with equal persistence. At last M. Weckbecker, after a long and arduous discussion, and minutes of evidence in concert. Though I am afraid this proceeding will merely accept a proposition which seemed to receive the approval of my colleagues, and it has been gone through with. By next mail the matter must be ended.

I will conclude by observing that I perceive an indication on the part of M. Béclard to use the act of lenity he has been instructed by his Government to apply to the prisoners of Mokhtara as a means for procuring the conviction of all the Druse Chiefs at Beyrout. But it is contrary to justice that mercy should be bartered in this manner. The criminals at Mokhtara are, many of them, men of eminence and responsibility, whose guilt is infinitely greater than that of most of the Chiefs whom it is proposed to sentence to death. The latter are persons who gave themselves up to take their trial, and, consequently it is to be presumed the least compromised of any of their nation. Many of them are not even accused of being implicated in the massacres. It seems, therefore, cruel to require them to be put to death in consideration of the act of grace it is proposed to extend to others more bloodstained than themselves.

Under these circumstances I shall consider it my duty to oppose the application of so irrevocable a penalty as that of death to any persons who do not merit it. I have had the honour of transmitting, for your Lordship's consideration, by last mail

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE

No. 508.

Lord Dufferin to M. Béclard

My dear Colleague,

Beyrout, March 1, 1861

I WAS vexed yesterday to perceive that not only you misunderstood the expressions which fell from me at a certain period of the discussion, but that you quite misinterpreted the meaning I myself attached to them.

The first error I could correct on the spot, but it was necessary to reserve an explanation on the second until a more convenient opportunity.

What I said, or what I meant to say, was this—and it was in the hope of conciliating the adverse opinions of yourself and M. de Rehfues that I said it—“Among the eleven Druse Chiefs condemned to death, there are six whose complicity in the massacres has not been proved, and who are, therefore, in my eyes, guilty of no greater crime than a participation in the ordinary hostilities of Mountain warfare. Under the circumstances, I do not think they are deserving either of death or of so severe a chastisement as imprisonment for life. It will be sufficient to condemn them to a sentence of death, inasmuch as once executed it can never be rescinded. A sentence of perpetual imprisonment I shall also oppose, as unjust. Should I, however, be unable to persuade my colleagues to agree with me—should Fuad Pasha persist in pronouncing it, in spite of my remonstrances, I shall not weary the Commission by useless argument. I shall make my reserve, and report the matter to my Government, and it will be for them to make what representations they choose on a sentence recorded in opposition to the convictions of their Commissioner.”

Such was the substance of my observation, made, as you will remember, with the express promise that it was not to appear in the Protocol, for the simple reason that I should not wish to place on record the fact that even out of a sense of what was due to the convenience of my colleagues I had talked of yielding in any degree a single point which might appear to sanction an injustice.

Unfortunately, you fancied, somehow, that I contemplated calling on my Government to act independently of the Porte.

This notion was quite foreign to my thinking. At the time, I was thinking of the good understanding which seemed to prevail between our respective Governments on this odious subject of the executions. Already, they have felt authorized to mitigate. In the case of a difference of opinion among between

their Representatives here, more especially when neither of those Representatives was present. It is a great advantage to be able to sit at headquarters. When, therefore, I talked of the representations my Government might make, I said to Mr. Russell that I accompanied them here, addressed, and not to the Porte. Had you understood this, I am sure you would not have taken exception to what I said.

I regret extremely to differ from you. I can well understand it must be painful to you also to dispute on such a painful subject; but you may always rely on my being ready to acknowledge the temper and forbearance with which you are good enough to enter into the discussion.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

No. 509

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin

No. 74)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 18, 1861

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 76 of the 1st instant, respecting the opinions and language of the Commissioners as to the sentences upon the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

Upon the whole Her Majesty's Government are disposed to agree with the Austrian Commissioner.

When a tribunal, pretty fairly chosen, has condemned the Turkish officials to a sentence short of death, it would be repugnant to our feelings to demand their execution in pursuance of the requisition of foreign agents who have not heard the evidence, and do not pretend to have examined the proofs of guilt in a judicial spirit. But if Khorsid Pasha's life is spared his imprisonment ought to be rigorous, and not indulgent, it should be a reality, and should not be a mask for fresh confidence and future employment.

With regard to the Druses, if two of the most criminal, and who have been the authors of the most atrocious crimes, are to be spared, it would be for the purposes of justice and of example. Her Majesty's Government could not give their consent to the execution of the six whom their Commissioner believes to be innocent of the massacres.

All the testimony we have received from Syria since the massacres tends to show that the Maronites had intended to be the aggressors, and had planned to apply with great discrimination, and in a perfectly impartial spirit, the severe law which he quotes.

I am, &c.

It is said that Mr. [Name] surrendered at Beyrout to give themselves up, on the assurance that they should have a fair trial. If this is so, it increases our responsibility.

I send your Lordship a copy of a despatch from Lord Augustus Loftus addressed to him on receiving your Lordship's No. 122 to Sir Henry Bulwer.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL

* Nos. 495 and 512.

No. 510.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

No. 75)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 18, 1861

HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration your despatch No. 122 of the 24th ultimo, addressed to Sir Henry Bulwer; and I have to acquaint you that they approve of the course which you pursued in regard to the judgments proposed to be passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 511.

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18)

(No. 70)

My Lord,

Berlin, March 16, 1861.

I HAVE not failed to communicate to Baron Schlenitz, as instructed by your Lordship's telegram of the 11th instant, the substance of your Lordship's telegraphic instruction of the 7th instant on the question of the prolonged occupation of Syria.

I informed his Excellency that the instructions from the Porte permitted the Turkish Ambassador at Paris to extend the period of the French occupation of Syria to the 5th of June next, if it were clearly stipulated that the evacuation shall have taken place at that time, and I further informed his Excellency that Earl Cowley was authorized to agree to that proposal if it were made clear, positive, and final.

Baron Schlenitz stated that he had learnt by telegraph from Paris that the question under discussion had been finally arranged, and that the new Convention would be signed in a few days.

He had not yet received a copy of the draft of Convention agreed upon, but he stated it to be on the basis to which I had referred.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 512

Lord A. Loftus to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

(No. 73)

My Lord,

Berlin, March 16, 1861

IN conformity with the instructions of your Lordship's despatch No. 35 of the 13th instant, I have brought under the notice of Baron Schlenitz the different opinions entertained by the European Commissioners in Syria, with reference to the sentences passed by the Tribunal at Beyrout on the Turkish and Druse prisoners for the massacre of the Christians last summer.

Baron Schlenitz did not admit that the Prussian Commissioner had taken so decided a part as that of desiring the indiscriminate execution of all the Druse prisoners under sentence at Beyrout; and his Excellency read to me a report from M. de Behrue, which certainly exculpated him from any such intention.

Baron Schlenitz further read to me a list of the different opinions offered on each case by the several Commissioners, according to which there did not appear to be so very marked a divergence of opinion between the English and the Prussian Commissioners, nor so perfect an agreement between the French and the Prussian Commissioners.

Baron Schlenitz further observed, that as yet the only official act which had taken place on this subject had been the collective note of the Commissioners to Fued Pasha, which had been signed by all, with the exception of the Austrian Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

Lord Bloomfield to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

Vienna, March 14, 1981.

Count Reebberg observed to me that he most ardently wished this to be effected, but that he was of opinion the Commissioners would find much activity in coming to an agreement if they took a totally new basis for these negotiations, and that it would be more practical if they adopted as their starting-point the arrangement agreed to by the Powers in 1843.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD

Karl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 18.)

Peru, March 17, 1861.

Signed) COWLEY.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, February 19, 1861.

Pour l'Autriche, M. le Prince de Metternich ;
 Pour la France, M. Thauvenot,
 Pour la Grande Bretagne, M. le Comte Cowley ;
 Pour la Prusse, M. le Comte de Pourtales ;
 Pour la Russie, M. le Comte de Kisseleff,
 Pour la Turquie, Vesik Effendi.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France, en se référant à la communication de son Gouvernement qui a provoqué la réunion de la Conférence, rappelle et détermine

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie expose que son Gouvernement s'est efforcé de maintenir la tranquillité dans la Syrie, et qu'il s'est mis sans retard en mesure d'y pourvoir; qu'il est en état de maintenir la tranquillité, et que la Convention peut recevoir son exécution sans danger pour la conservation de l'ordre. Il rend hommage d'ailleurs à l'attitude et à la conduite que les troupes Françaises et leurs Chefs ont tenues depuis leur débarquement.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie ne saurait consentir à faire dépendre
il n'oublie nullement dans quel esprit l'Acte du 8 Septembre a été conclu, et à
des sympathies des Puissances alliées de la Porte, mais il ajoute qu'il n'est pas
moins constant, d'autre part, que la Convention est formelle et qu'en ce qui
regarde l'évacuation, elle stipule une date qu'on ne peut dépasser sans mécon-
naître la clause qui règle ce point essentiel : qu'au surplus, l'œuvre de réorga-
nisation de la Syrie revient exclusivement à son Gouvernement, qu'on ne pourra
y donner suite que quand la Commission aura accompli son mandat, et que,
quoique là, il suffit, comme il l'affirme, que la Porte ait les moyens propres

hâter le rétablissement d'un ordre de choses régulier en Syrie, que la Commission, dont la présence ou le rappel ne saurait modifier l'état matériel du pays, fût invitée à se rendre à Constantinople, où elle rédigerait son rapport, dont les Représentants des Puissances prendraient connaissance sans retard et pourrnt ainsi, en se concertant avec la Porte, avancer le moment de la pacification.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie, après avoir fait observer que les informations parvenues à son Gouvernement lui permettaient de partager les appréciations de M. le Plénipotentiaire de la France, ainsi que les conclusions de la Commission, a déclaré que le Gouvernement russe n'est pas constitué en Syrie, et que, par conséquent, il ne peut pas intervenir dans les affaires de ce pays. Les deux Plénipotentiaires ont convenu que les deux Gouvernements s'efforceraient de maintenir la paix et la tranquillité en Syrie, et de faciliter le développement de la civilisation et du commerce dans ce pays.

coupables, d'arrêter aux moyens d'indemniser les victimes, et d'élaborer un rapport sur l'organisation administrative du Liban. Or, dit-il, jusqu'à présent, il n'a été infligé aucun châtiment aux auteurs des massacres de la Montagne, aucune

indemnité n'a été accordée aux Chrétiens, et la Commission n'est pas encore à l'œuvre. Les Druzes retirés dans le Hauran se concertent avec les Arabes et les Metualis pour résister ouvertement aux mesures de rigueur que l'on prendrait contre eux et les Chrétiens, de leur côté, se disposent à repousser les agressions dont ils sont menacés; on s'arme partout et la guerre civile, loin d'être apaisée, est de nouveau imminente. En présence de ces éventualités, la France décline la responsabilité des conséquences qu'entraînerait le départ prématuré du corps expéditionnaire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne répond que si l'on se plaçait au point de vue de la France, l'occupation serait désormais permanente, et déclare que son Gouvernement ne saurait reconnaître la Puissance territoriale. Il annonce que les renseignements parvenus à son Gouvernement présentent la situation sous un jour qui le porte à considérer l'évacuation immédiate comme une mesure opportune et même nécessaire. Le Commissaire de la Grande Bretagne estime en effet que les Agents du Gouvernement Ottoman disposent des forces nécessaires au maintien de la tranquillité, et que la présence des troupes étrangères, utile au début, entretient aujourd'hui des espérances et des craintes dont l'effet est de perpétuer des ressentiments qu'il importe de faire cesser. Il soutient qu'il n'existe aucune connexité entre les travaux de la Commission et la durée de l'occupation, que le but de la Convention est atteint; que ce but a été défini dans le préambule de cet Acte, et consistait à "arrêter l'effusion du sang par des mesures promptes et efficaces". Il rappelle que l'occupation est temporaire, et que son but est l'exécution dans ses clauses finales. C'est désormais, pense-t-il, à la Puissance Souveraine qu'il appartient exclusivement de pourvoir à la sécurité en Syrie, et le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie déclarant, avec raison selon lui, que son Gouvernement peut prévenir de nouveaux troubles, il n'y a nulle raison de retarder le départ des troupes, qui n'avaient d'autre mission que de concourir à mettre fin aux conflits sanglants qui avaient éclaté dans cette province.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France fait remarquer qu'il ne s'agit nullement de combiner une occupation permanente, et que le Gouvernement Français, pour son compte, ne consentirait, en aucun cas, à en accepter seul les charges; il reconnaît que s'il n'y a pas une connexité conventionnelle entre la mission des Commissaires et celle du corps expéditionnaire, cette connexité, dans son opinion, existe par la force des choses, puisque l'on s'exposerait à de nouveaux malheurs si l'on n'appliquait les dispositions que comporte l'exercice de la force.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne exprime l'avis que l'on pourrait secourir la Turquie dans l'œuvre de pacification qui reste à remplir et témoigner aux populations l'intention des Puissances de concourir, s'il y avait lieu, à la repression de nouveaux troubles, en décidant qu'on entretiendrait sur les côtes de Syrie une station combinée de leurs forces navales.

Le Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche fait observer que cette mesure ne pourrait s'effectuer avant le mois de Mai, et qu'il pourrait survenir des conflits regrettables avant cette époque si le corps expéditionnaire quittait la Syrie à la date fixée par la Convention.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Prusse finet la même opinion.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie croit que la présence des bâtimens de guerre serait insuffisante pour garantir la sécurité des Chrétiens, qui, habitant le littoral, seraient forcés de borner leur protection aux villes du littoral.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne exprime la conviction que la présence des pavillons étrangers sur le littoral suffit par son influence morale pour contenir les mauvaises passions des habitants du Liban. Du reste, ajoute-t-il, rien ne serait plus facile que de débarquer une partie des équipages, s'il devenait nécessaire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie dit qu'en principe il ne pourrait admettre aucune distinction entre l'occupation par des troupes de terre et le débarquement des équipages. Il revient au surplus sur ses déclarations antérieures et persiste

notamment à penser que l'état des choses en Syrie permet d'exécuter la Convention; mais, connaissant les sentiments qui animent son Gouvernement, il croit que l'on pourrait régler le départ des troupes de manière que l'évacuation eût lieu sans exercer une influence fâcheuse sur les dispositions des esprits, en s'effectuant pendant un délai que la Porte utiliserait pour raffermir l'ordre. Il ne soumet à la Conférence aucune proposition; mais il est prêt à tenir compte, dans cette mesure, des appréciations des autres Plénipotentiaires, et se croit autorisé à transmettre à sa Cour une ouverture tendant à prolonger l'occupation temporairement et jusqu'à une date déterminée d'avance.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France se plaît à reconnaître qu'une semblable suggestion tend à rapprocher les avis, mais il prévoit que l'on se trouvera, à l'expiration de ce délai, si l'on ne veut se préoccuper que d'une date, sans égard pour les conséquences de prolonger l'occupation jusqu'au moment où la Porte serait, sur sa demande, convoquée à cet effet, l'ensemble des mesures prises pour garantir la tranquillité de la Syrie, et les Plénipotentiaires décideraient alors, après avoir reçu cette communication, que l'évacuation aurait lieu. Il se fonde sur ce que les Puissances de la Conférence ne sauraient, en parfaite connaissance de cause, la laisser s'écouler sans qu'elle ne soit terminée, et qu'elle ne soit terminée sans qu'elle ne soit terminée.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne fait observer que son Gouvernement a acquis, postérieurement à cette communication, la conviction que la Porte s'était mise à même de maintenir l'ordre en Syrie. Il ajoute qu'il voit avec regret que, d'après les rapports des Agents Britanniques, de nombreux assassinats sont commis à l'heure qu'il est par les Marabouts sur les Druzes. Puisque la présence de troupes étrangères n'a pas pour effet de prévenir ces crimes, c'est là une raison de plus, selon lui, pour mettre une terme à l'occupation. Autrement, c'est sur l'Europe, qui a envoyé cette expédition, que retomberait la responsabilité de la non-punition de ces actes.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France dit que les faits signalés par M. le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne ne sont pas parvenus à la connaissance du Gouvernement Français, qui, dans tous les cas, au lieu d'y voir un motif de hâter l'évacuation, il pense qu'on devrait en conclure qu'il est essentiel de prolonger l'occupation.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie déclare qu'il ne saurait accepter pour son Gouvernement l'obligation de fournir des moyens nécessaires au maintien de la sécurité sur son propre territoire.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Russie propose de prolonger l'évacuation de deux mois et de remettre toute résolution au terme de ce délai, époque à laquelle la Conférence serait mieux édifiée sur la situation des choses en Syrie, selon lui, cet ajournement donnerait à la Commission le temps de terminer ses travaux et l'on trouverait vraisemblablement, dans le Rapport des Commissaires, les éléments d'une résolution qui réunirait l'assentiment de toutes les Puissances. Il ne croit pas que l'on puisse, dans le cas où il surgirait de nouveaux incidents durant la prolongation de l'occupation, la Conférence pourrait modifier sa résolution selon les circonstances.

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La Conférence examine si l'on peut prévoir que, dans un délai déterminé, l'ordre moral sera suffisamment établi en Syrie pour qu'il soit possible, dès ce moment, de fixer à une date invariable le départ des troupes. A la suite de cette discussion, où se sont produits des avis contradictoires, le Plénipotentiaire de la Turquie a admis qu'il pourrait transmettre à sa Cour une proposition qui conduirait à signer une Convention prolongeant, pour tout délai, le terme de l'occupation jusqu'au 1^{er} Mai prochain.

Les Plénipotentiaires décident qu'ils en référeront à leurs Cours respectives.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 19.)

(No. 431.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 18, 1861.

I STATED to M. Thouvenel this afternoon, in the terms of your Lordship's despatch No. 333 of the 16th instant, that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reinforce towards the 1st of May Her Majesty's naval squadron on the coast of Syria; and that Her Majesty's Government would be ready to communicate to the French Government the instructions to be furnished to Admiral Mundy.

M. Thouvenel replied, that the Imperial squadron would be stationed on the Syrian coast about the same time, and that he thought it would be better to defer until a little later the settlement of the instructions to be given to the Commanders-in-Chief.

His Excellency added, that he had this morning received intelligence from Beyrout up to the 1st instant, and that it was very unsatisfactory; but I could not elicit from him any statement of facts, nor do I believe that the reports to which he alludes contain more than a general and vague repetition of the apprehensions entertained by the Christian population with regard to the future.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY

No. 516.

Lord J. Russell to Earl Cowley.

(No. 344.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 19, 1861.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 431 of the 18th instant, reporting your communications with M. Thouvenel respecting the intention of Her Majesty's Government to reinforce the British squadron on the coast of Syria, as referred to in my despatch No. 333 of the 16th instant.

The instructions to the British Admiral to which I have alluded will be prepared, and will be transmitted to Paris at the end of this month.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 517.

Earl Cowley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 20.)

(No. 431.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 19, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith two copies of the Protocol of Conference on Syrian affairs held on the 15th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

Inclosure in No. 517.

Protocol of a Conference held at Paris, March 15, 1861

Présents

Pour l'Autriche, M. le Prince de Metternich,
Pour la France, M. Thouvenel,
Pour la Grande Bretagne, M. le Comte Cowley,
Pour la Prusse, M. le Comte de Pourtalès,
Pour la Russie, M. le Comte de Kussleff;
Pour la Turquie, Vefik Effendi.

LE Protocole de la séance du 19 Février est lu et adopté avec des amendements qui ne donnent lieu à aucune discussion.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France exprime le vœu que les Plénipotentiaires fissent connaître l'avis de leurs Gouvernements respectifs sur la suggestion qu'on était convenu de soumettre à leur appréciation.

Le Plénipotentiaire de l'Autriche dit que depuis la dernière réunion de la Conférence, il s'est écoulé un temps assez long pour qu'il lui semble désirable de fixer à trois mois le terme pendant lequel on prorogerait l'occupation Européenne en Syrie; il lui semble que, pendant ce délai, la Porte pourrait prendre les mesures complémentaires que l'on jugerait opportunes pour dissiper toutes les inquiétudes, et préparer ainsi l'évacuation de manière à prévenir les conflits qui, selon certaines prévisions, menaceraient d'éclater après le départ des troupes étrangères.

Le Plénipotentiaire de la France fait savoir qu'il a soumis à l'appréciation de son Gouvernement la combinaison proposée à la Conférence dans sa précédente réunion, et qu'elle ne lui a pas paru répondre aux éventualités; il y a lieu de tenir compte; il reconnaît cependant que si l'occupation est prolongée pendant trois mois, on aurait du moins une plus grande latitude pour

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prété, elle l'avait autorisé à consentir à la proposition faite le 30 Mai; que l'esprit dans lequel les Plénipotentiaires s'étaient d'acquiescer, puisque tous les Plénipotentiaires y adhèrent; que cette clause est combinée de manière à fixer exactement la date de

Le Plénipotentiaire de la Grande Bretagne croit pouvoir, après avoir entendu les autres Plénipotentiaires, proposer à la Conférence une rédaction qui lui paraît conforme aux vues conciliantes des Puissances, et il en donne lecture.

Cette rédaction est examinée par la Conférence, qui, après en avoir discuté les termes, tombe d'accord sur le libellé de l'Acte annexé au présent Protocole, et qui reçoit la signature des Plénipotentiaires.

Fait à Paris, le quinze Mars, mil huit cent soixante-et-un.

Annex.

LEURS Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, l'Empereur des Français, le Roi du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, le Roi de Prusse, l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et l'Empereur des Ottomans, après les explications échangées entre leurs Gouvernements respectifs, s'étant entendus pour modifier la Convention conclue entre eux le 5 Septembre dernier, les Représentants de leurs dites Majestés sont tombés d'accord sur les Articles suivants, qui seront textuellement

convertis en une Convention dont les instruments vont être aussitôt préparés pour être revêtus de leurs signatures —

ARTICLE I.

La durée de l'occupation Européenne en Syrie sera prolongée jusqu'au 31. 1. 1861. Le présent article est applicable aux Parties Contractantes qu'elle aura atteint son terme, et que l'évacuation aura été effectuée.

ARTICLE II

Les stipulations contenues dans l'Article II de la Convention du 27. 1. 1860, en tant qu'elles n'ont point encore été exécutées, ou qu'elles ne sont pas modifiées par la présente Convention, demeureront en vigueur pendant la période qui s'écoulera entre la date de la signature de cet Acte, et le 3 Juin de l'année 1861.

ARTICLE III

La présente Convention sera ratifiée, et les ratifications en seront échangées à Paris dans le délai de cinq semaines, ou plus tôt si faire se peut.

Les Plénipotentiaires sont convenus de se réunir March prochain, 19, pour signer la Convention.

Paris, le 15 Mars, 1861.

No 514

Sur H. Bulwer to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 20.)

(No. 172.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, March 7, 1861.

I HAVE not failed, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 2nd instant, to urge the Porte not to permit the execution of the Druse Chief Said Bey Djumblat, and I have now much satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship that Aali Pasha wrote yesterday to Fued Pasha to desire his Excellency to comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

I have already telegraphed, by way of Smyrna, in the above sense to Lord Dufferin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

No 519.

Lord Napier to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 23.)

(No. 4.)

My Lord,

St. Petersburg, March 13, 1861

IN my conversation with Prince Gortchakoff yesterday, his Excellency touched upon the question of the French occupation in Syria. He disclaimed being an exclusive partisan of France: in that respect he had been exposed to erroneous imputations. He often differed with France, and even on this very matter, the settlement of the Lebanon, he found himself nearer the views of the English than those of the French Commissioner. In reference to the military occupation of Syria by the French forces he, however, entertained no jealousy. France was the delegate of Europe. Other Powers might have taken an active part and sent their troops. They had preferred not to do so. The honour of Europe was involved in the pacification of Syria and the reorganization of its Government. His accounts led him to believe that the country was not definitively tranquilized. He could not approve of a premature removal of European control, or contemplate with indifference the renewal of the late excesses.

On my asking Prince Gortchakoff, distinctly, what term he placed to the French occupation, he replied that the country was not yet completely pacified, until the foreign Commissioners had framed their scheme of

future government for the Lebanon, and until that scheme had been accepted by the Porte, and was actually in the first stage of execution. He did not care to fix any positive date. The 1st of July had been spoken of. He trusted the objects would be attained. The duration of the French occupation should be measured by its necessity, by its results.

I remarked to the Prince, that acting on this principle, he made the French the judges of the duration of their stay, for they might prolong discussion and defer resolution as much as they pleased; I regretted that his Excellency had not taken this view, for I believed it would not be accepted by your Lordship or by the feeling in England. I also contested the necessity of a prolongation, resting myself on the opinion of Lord Dufferin conveyed to Her Majesty's Government, and on the general reflection that the disorders in Syria were neither caused by the tyranny of the Porte or its weakness, but originated in local animosities, and were continued by the wilful and culpable inaction of the Turkish Commanders, who, if they had pleased, might have mitigated the contest in the Lebanon, and prevented the outbreak at Damascus altogether. The Turks were strong enough to keep order if they pleased, and it was now their obvious policy to do so.

The Prince expressed his personal sympathies for Lord Dufferin and his admiration for his Lordship's conduct in Syria, but contended that Lord Dufferin might be mistaken, and that his single opinion could not outweigh the opinions of all the other Commissioners, who considered that foreign intervention could not yet be dispensed with. He also remarked that the French had no desire to remain longer than was necessary; of that I might be perfectly persuaded. M. de Montebello had even hinted to him the inclination of the Government to retire, but he would not take the hint. The French desired to draw in all their scattered troops from China, Cochinchina, and Syria, perhaps with a view to other objects.

Respecting the eventual government of the Mountain, Prince Gortchakoff stated that he entertained no very defined opinion. So many local interests and details were involved that he left the question to be debated and settled by the Commissioners. The last project, involving a single Christian Governor for the whole Mountain, named by the Porte, and unconnected with the place, with a Mixed Council and Communal Institutions conformable to the religion of the several separate districts and villages, seemed to him to be, on a cursory view, a reasonable one.

The Prince then presented M. Novikow's last Reports, under date of February 10th, o.s., forwarding the draft of a Plan of Government designed by the Commissioners, and accompanied by their several reservations.

In M. Novikow's Reports I remarked a greater inclination to the views of his English colleague than for those of France. He emphatically declines the suggestion of a Christian Governor selected from the house of Sheshah, and is in favour of an impartial Government, with the interests of the Greek inhabitants and with the abrogation of feudal privileges.

On the question of French occupation generally, the Prince spoke almost with enthusiasm. He seemed to be more a partisan of that occupation than the French themselves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NAPIER.

No 520

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 77.)

My Lord,

Beirut, March 4, 1861.

FROM a despatch, No. 206 of the 17th ultimo, addressed by his Excellency M. Thouverel to the Commissioners, I have been informed M. Thouverel that the Commissioners had unanimously required his Excellency Fued Pasha to add largely to the list of twenty persons already condemned to death by the Court-martial of Mokhtars; and that M. Thouverel

having expressed his dissatisfaction at such "a holocaust," has suggested the propriety of restricting the number of executions to one or two of the principal criminals.

How far M. Béchard was justified in making the statement ascribed to him by his Chief is rendered evident by the inclosed Protocol of the twenty-first sitting of the Commission; and I confess it would be a great satisfaction to me if Lord Cowley would kindly draw M. Thouvenel's attention to the great discrepancy which would seem to exist between M. Béchard's account of our proceedings and that recorded in this document.

What happened was simply this:

On the 24th of January, Abou Elendi announced to us, on the part of Pasha, that in consequence of the Christians having refused to give evidence, the Tribunal at Mokhtarah had been able to satisfy themselves of the guilt of only 20 out of the 290 persons specially accused of murder, but that if the Commission would authorize him to do so, his Excellency was anxious to join to this number the twenty-three Chiefs and others already proposed to be condemned by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrouth, in all, forty-three persons, whom he would at once proceed to execute.

To this proposal the French Commissioner professed himself anxious to assent, provided that more names were added to the list of those already sentenced at Mokhtarah, and he indicated the number eighty as a maximum.

To any proceeding of this kind I felt it my duty to offer the most strenuous opposition. As far including the Chiefs imprisoned at Beyrouth in the same category with the blood-stained assassins convicted at Mokhtarah, it was out of the question. Most of them were not even accused of participation in the massacre. The proceedings of their trials had not been yet communicated to us, and the Commission had not ratified the sentences proposed to be passed upon them. They must still, therefore, be considered as uncondemned.

As to inviting the Court-martial in the Mountain to add to the list of twenty they had already sent in, it was a very dangerous expedient. It might, indeed, be urged that twenty convictions for murder bore a very small proportion to the thousands of Christians who had been butchered; but though out of deference to my colleagues I might make this admission in the abstract, it seemed to me a horrible thing to tempt such a Tribunal as that on which we had to depend to force their consciences, and condemn persons on what would prove insufficient evidence.

In reference to the twenty already sentenced I had no scruples. A British officer had been invited by his Excellency Foud Pasha to watch the proceedings of the Court, and he reported himself satisfied with the guilt of those who had been designated to us. Should he in the meantime have ascertained that substantial proof was forthcoming against some of the others, I should not refuse on his authority to add their names to the list, but that beyond this I could not go.

In consequence of my objections to allow the Druse Chiefs to be thus summarily dealt with as well as on account of the ambiguous nature of the Commission's reply to his demands, Foud Pasha returned to Beyrouth for the purpose of conferring with us in person on the subject.

The inclosed is a copy of the Protocol of the meeting which followed, and I think your Lordship will perceive that M. Béchard must have strangely misunderstood my meaning, if he represented me as desiring to multiply the number of executions in the Mountain.

The discussion to which I refer took place more than a month ago. Since then, it is to be presumed by M. Thouvenel's language that his Commissioner must have received instructions not to insist on anything approaching to a "holocaust," as the French Minister designated the proposed execution of twenty condemned murderers. Yet only the day before yesterday M. Béchard urged upon his Excellency Foud Pasha, in the most energetic manner, the immediate putting to death of no less than fifteen persons, viz., five Turkish officials and ten Druse Chiefs, notwithstanding that a majority of his colleagues so strongly advocated a milder sentence on two-thirds of that number, and that two of them, M. Weckbecker and myself, contended for the absolute acquittal of six.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Protocol of the Twenty-first Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth, January 29, 1861.

Le vingt-neuf Janvier, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires se réunissent à Beyrouth.

Il est convenu que les procès-verbaux des deux précédentes séances

ont été lus et approuvés.

M. Pacha expose à la Commission qu'après avoir reçu son avis sur les

condamnations prononcées par le Tribunal de Mokhtarah, il a cru devoir en outre ajourner l'exécution des condamnations déjà prononcées, afin que toutes puissent s'exécuter simultanément. Ces résolutions ont été prises, Foud Pacha est revenu à Beyrouth pour s'entendre de nouveau avec la Commission. L'avis, formulé par elle dans la précédente séance, pourrait être selon lui, le résultat d'un malentendu, et il pense qu'en réalité le chiffre total des condamnations qu'il a proposé de prononcer contre les Druses, tant à Beyrouth qu'à Mokhtarah, est de nature à remplir le vœu de la Commission. En effet, l'on ajoute au chiffre des vingt condamnations proposées par le Tribunal de Mokhtarah, celui des vingt-trois condamnations proposées par le Tribunal de

Beyrouth, on arrive à un total de

quarante-trois condamnations de Damas que la

Commission a déjà ratifiées.

M. de Montebello rappelle que les condamnations à la peine de mort

ont été prononcées contre vingt-trois

Chiefs Druses, puisque les sentences prononcées contre ces Chiefs ont été soumises à son appréciation, et qu'il en était fait mention dans la lettre même par laquelle Foud Pacha demandait l'avis de la Commission relativement aux sentences du Tribunal de Mokhtarah. C'est par rapport à cette seconde catégorie de sentences, et abstraction faite de celles prononcées à Beyrouth, que la Commission avait à donner son avis; elle a distingué dans cet avis ce que par la nature même des choses devait être distingué. A Beyrouth sont détenus les Chiefs de la nation Druse, ceux que leur haute responsabilité commande de frapper. A Mokhtarah se trouvent ou devraient du moins se trouver les agents secondaires qui ont commis les 6,000 assassinats de la Montagne. C'est de ces derniers seulement qu'il était question, et au sujet desquels la Commission avait à se prononcer et l'expression de son avis n'est certainement pas le résultat

de la Commission a été unanime à reconnaître avec

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de passer celui des condamnations exécutées à Damas. La raison, dit-il, en est évidente. A Damas les meurtres ont été aussi nombreux que dans la Montagne, et ils n'avaient point été provoqués, tandis que dans la Montagne il devient

d'avance, et que presque partout ce sont les Chrétiens qui ont commencé

l'attaque. Jusqu'à présent M. le Commissaire Britannique avait hésité à se prononcer sur ce dernier point d'une façon trop catégorique, mais il ne craint pas aujourd'hui d'affirmer que les Druses ont pris les armes pour se défendre, et qu'ils n'ont été des lâches ils devaient le faire. Ceci posé et le châtiement des atrocités dont ils se sont malheureusement rendus coupables pendant la lutte étant admis en principe, il est évident que dans sa mesure ce châtiement ne s'aj

pas être aussi rigoureux que celui des Damasquins, qui ont commis autant de meurtres et autant d'atrocités, sans y avoir été provoqués par les Chrétiens. M. le Commissaire Britannique est d'avis que, dans la balance des deux répressions, il faut faire entrer en ligne de compte toutes les condamnations, aussi bien celles de Beyrouth que celles de Mokhtarah. Il a toujours cru, et les réserves qu'il a faites à ce sujet sont là pour le prouver, que si le chiffre de vingt condamnations prononcées à Mokhtarah ne semblait pas de nature à remplir l'objet qu'on se proposait, cependant il n'appartenait pas à la Commission d'engager un Tribunal à frapper de mort, dans un but purement politique, des individus dont la culpabilité ne serait pas démontrée.

Si en principe, et ainsi qu'il a été admis, la répression des Druses ne doit pas égaler celle infligée aux Damasquins, il semble maintenant à Lord Dufferin que cette répression pourrait sans inconvénient être de beaucoup moins rigoureuse, vu d'une part les souffrances endurées par la nation Druse toute entière, vu d'autre part le grand nombre de meurtres isolés qui ont été commis par les Chrétiens sur les Druses depuis les événements. M. le Commissaire Britannique s'engage à communiquer à ses collègues une liste nominale de 136 hommes, 25 femmes et 15 enfants tués, 63 hommes et 32 femmes blessés, par les Chrétiens. Il rappelle la lettre adressée par lui à Ebad Pacha, lorsqu'arriva la première nouvelle de ces représailles, lettre dont il avait fait connaître le contenu au Général Commandant-en-chef du corps expéditionnaire, et dans laquelle il exprimait l'opinion que, si tout d'abord un exemple n'était pas fait et la tentation des Chrétiens à se rendre justice eux-mêmes n'était pas réprimée dès le début, ces assassinats se multiplieraient. C'est là malheureusement, ajoute Lord Dufferin, ce qui est arrivé, et dans un tel état de choses, eu égard aux circonstances qui ont précédé, comme à celles qui ont suivi la lutte, il est difficile de reconnaître aux Chrétiens le droit d'exiger que les Druses soient frappés d'un châtiment très rigoureux.

Le Commissaire Français, en réponse au discours de Lord Dufferin, fait observer que, si la Commission de Sa Majesté Britannique a pu décliner à bon droit la responsabilité des assassinats commis par des Chrétiens, cette responsabilité, Dieu merci, ne retombe sur aucun des autres membres de la Commission. Ce n'est pas à eux en effet qu'on peut reprocher le retard apporté au châtiement des Druses. Si des assassinats ont été commis, qu'on en recherche les auteurs, mais qu'on ne confonde pas quelques actes de vengeance, accomplis par des Chrétiens ignorés, pour qui la répression prônée a été trop lente à venir, avec l'œuvre de justice que la Commission poursuit de ses vœux.

Quant au chiffre des condamnations capitales auquel le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Mokhtarrah s'étant provisoirement arrêté, et que la Commission a déclaré insuffisant, M. Héclari ne pense pas non plus qu'il ait pu donner lieu à un malentendu. La Commission avait en effet, et le Gouvernement Ottoman lui avait fourni à cet égard toutes les explications désirables, que les onze jugements déjà rendus à Bayrouz contre des Chefs Druses conclusaient à la peine de mort ; que six condamnés condamnés à la même peine venaient d'être saisis, et que les dossiers relatifs à six autres procès criminels également terminés par des condamnations capitales allaient être bientôt soumis à son examen.

Pour atténuer apparemment la culpabilité des Bruses et pour leur concéder une indulgence à laquelle ils n'ont aucun droit, on parle aussi de la provocation dont ils auraient été l'objet de la part des Chrétiens. M. Héclard considère cette allégation comme étant tout au moins imprudente. Aucune preuve ne

naque et Chrétienne, ainsi prouver que les massacres de 1842 et 1845 ont été provoqués par les

Chrétiens ! Toujours victimes de la fureur des Druses, ne faut-il voir en eux que des provocateurs et par conséquent des coupables ? Leurs malheurs seuls sont prouvés, ainsi que leur résignation. Et si cette résignation leur eût manqué, pourraient-ils bien leur imputer à crime d'avoir aspiré à la délivrance ? On sait dans tous les cas ce qu'ils ont obtenu. En demandant justice pour les Chrétiens, en indiquant la proportion dans laquelle cette justice devait s'exercer, la Commission a fait tout ce qu'elle pouvait faire. Un plus long débat devient inutile : c'est à l'autorité compétente qu'il appartient d'agir et de satisfaire à des légitimes

Fund Pache ne croit pas pouvoir laisser sans réponse deux idées qui viennent d'être émises par M. Beclard. De l'avis de son Excellence, la répartition de la Montagne en deux Camacaries, mesure purement administrative, ne saurait être considérée comme une provocation à l'adresse des Chrétiens. En second lieu, si les agents de l'autorité ont à la vérité dans ces derniers temps mal rempli leurs devoirs, on ne peut en induire que le Gouvernement a toujours favorisé les

[illegible]

à dire les représailles individuelles auxquelles ils ne sont livrés depuis les événements, fument-ils au nombre de 150, ne sont point une satisfaction pour la justice. On ne peut même sans inconvénient les faire entrer en ligne de compte, car un tel calcul conduirait à dire que, sur les 6,000 ministres commis par les Prussiens, 5,450 restent sans vengeance.

M. Novikow ne craint pas qu'il y ait d'ailleurs lieu de s'appesantir sur les caractères et les conséquences de la décision administrative adoptée en 1842, mesure qui appartient à une phase historique, placée en dehors des attributions de la Commission. Le principe sur lequel la Commission est déjà tombée d'accord, et d'où elle peut tirer une solution pratique de la question pendante, c'est que le nombre des condamnations à mort dans la Montagne ne dépassera pas celui des condamnations prononcées à Damas. Or, que l'on prenne le chiffre de vingt proposé par le Tribunal de Mokhtarah, ou celui de trente à quarante, en y ajoutant les condamnations proposées par celui de Beyrouth, il y a toujours de la marge, puisqu'il y a eu quatre-vingt exécutions à Damas, et de quelque manière qu'il entende le vœu exprimé par la Commission, le Commissaire du Sultan, s'il veut y déferer, doit encore étendre les limites de la répression. Afin pourtant de ne point leur donner une extension trop considérable et pour éviter une trop grande effusion de sang, M. Novikow rappelle qu'il a proposé dans la dernière séance l'application d'une peine accessoire, telle que la déportation, à ceux d'entre les détenus de Mokhtarah qui ne seraient point condamnés à mort, et qui cependant méritaient d'être punis. La Commission s'est unanimement ralliée à cette proposition. En conséquence M. le Commissaire Stour est d'avis que la Commission n'a rien à ajouter aux conclusions qu'elle a déjà prises et qui ont été communiquées à son Excellence.

M. de Wreckbecker rappelle que la question avait été posée dans les termes

A cette question la Commission a répondu à l'unanimité négativement. En fait, elle a déclaré que, bien qu'elle ne soit pas compétente pour statuer sur la responsabilité des auteurs de ces crimes, elle a le droit de constater les faits et de recommander des mesures de prévention. Elle a donc décidé de recommander que les autorités compétentes prennent des mesures pour empêcher de tels crimes de se répéter.

Fuad Pacha revient à ce propos sur les difficultés de toutes sortes qui ont entravé, et parfois même rendu complètement stériles, les recherches de la justice. A défaut de preuves, il a fallu dans la plupart des cas se contenter d'une simple présomption de culpabilité. Si en théorie il est facile de dire que vingt condamnations ne suffisent pas, il est difficile dans la pratique de recueillir des témoignages sur lesquels pourrait s'appuyer un plus grand nombre de condamnations.

Ce que Lord Doxford redoute par dessus tout, c'est que, pour produire un effet purement politique, on ne frappe des innocents. A ses yeux l'intérêt de la justice passe avant celui de la politique. Peu lui importe au fond le nombre des

condamnés, pourvu que ce soient des coupables. Si on lui présentait une liste de cent ou cent cinquante, il serait prouvée par des témoignages bien établis et même à réclamer leur condamnation à mort.

M. Bédard n'admet pas qu'il y ait une impuissance d'une sorte d'impunité pour les charges de punir, et ceux qui ont mission de punir cessent du défaut de preuves et de témoignages oculaires fassent souvent défaut, puisque les Druses ont mis à mort dans une telle circonstance.

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condamnés par contumace à la peine de mort : que s'ils ont échappé jusqu'à présent, c'est à cause de la saison, et non à cause d'une impuissance d'une sorte d'impunité pour les charges de punir, et ceux qui ont mission de punir cessent du défaut de preuves et de témoignages oculaires fassent souvent défaut, puisque les Druses ont mis à mort dans une telle circonstance.

M. Bédard pose la question de savoir, si une expédition dans le Hauran, jugée nécessaire par le Commissaire Ottoman, n'aurait pas pu être tentée par les troupes de la garnison de Damas avant la mauvaise saison.

M. de Weekbroker dit que les tribunaux publics peuvent servir d'exemple.

Fuad Pacha répond que ce ne sont pas là des faits exceptionnels, mais qu'ils constituent l'état normal du pays, qu'il peut répondre de la tranquillité dans les villes, mais que dans les campagnes qui sont hors de sa portée, et où il n'a pas de moyens d'action suffisants, il lui est impossible de maintenir dans l'ordre les populations qui ne reconnaissent aucune loi et n'ont jamais été qu'à moitié soumises.

M. Novikow émet l'avis que, sans la réduction du Hauran, il n'y a point de tranquillité à venir possible pour la Syrie.

Lord Dufferin est aussi d'avis que cette mesure est très-urgente.

La séance est levée 5 heures et demie.

(Suivent les signatures.)

No. 321

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 78.)

My Lord,

Beirut, March 10, 1861

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 321

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, February 27, 1861.

I HAVE to apologize for having delayed to comply with the instructions contained in your Excellency's despatch of the 12th instant, but I have been so busily occupied during the last week by business connected with the judicial proceedings of the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beirut that it was impossible for me to transmit, by last Monday's mail, the information with which your Excellency desires to be furnished respecting the amount of the indemnity it is proposed should be levied on the Moslem population of Damascus.

On the 10th of last November M. Bédard communicated to the Commission a paper, with which he had been furnished by M. Outrey at Damascus, in which the losses of the Christian population were calculated at 150,000,000 piastres (1,250,000*l.* sterling). After due inquiry it was decided by the Commission that this was a very moderate estimation of their claims, and Fuad Pacha himself was the first to accept it as a basis for the settlement of the indemnity.

The next question that arose was, as to the mode in which such a large sum was to be provided. M. Outrey had suggested that a tax of 34,000,000 piastres should be levied on Damascus, and the villages in the neighbourhood, whose inhabitants largely participated in the plunder, should be molested to the

amount of 24,000,000 piastres, either in cash or in building materials - 8,000,000 piastres should be furnished by the people of the Hauran.

Porte should supply the remainder by the sale of Government property and of confiscated estates, to the amount of 22,000,000 piastres more; the payments

Two objections were made to this proposal, one emanating from M. Reclard and the Representatives of Russia and Prussia, and the other from myself.

The French Commissioner found fault with the delay permitted for the collection of the money, which, he suggested, should be exacted in the course of a week, and I ventured to protest against the injustice of involving the innocent peasantry of the whole province in the same penal sentence with the citizens of Damascus, but no one seemed to consider that the 35,000,000 piastres, at which that city had been assessed, was an extravagant sum, and Fuad Pasha himself had even suggested 60,000,000 piastres, as the proper proportion which its inhabitants might be called upon to pay.

having been successful, and his Excellency making no objection to the amount of 40,000,000 piastres for Damascus, that is to say, 16 per cent. on one year's income of every tax-paying inhabitant, or to 24,000,000 piastres for the villages, it was agreed that the remainder of M. Outrey's proposal should be dropped, and that it should be left to the discretion of the Porte to supply the 66,000,000 piastres deficit, the Commission merely reserving to itself the right of pronouncing on the far narrower question of the periods at which the instalments were to fall due.

M. Reclard's proposal to collect the whole sum within a week was simply absurd. It was probably hazarded on the chance of entrapping the Commission into a resolution sufficiently impossible of execution, to afford to the Pasha's army an excuse for marching on Damascus, in order to enforce its decisions.

After the most careful inquiries I satisfied myself that 10,000,000 piastres a month was the most rapid rate at which the sum in question could be collected without injuring the city's already half-paralyzed springs of industry, and five months from the beginning of the year, practically seven months from the date when the question first arose, was finally adopted by the more moderate of M. Reclard's colleagues. Fuad Pasha contended for nine months; I did my best to support him, and a very satisfactory compromise was on the point of being arrived at, when the Porte suddenly transferred the settlement of this important question from Syria to Constantinople.

The consequence of this interference on the part of the Central Government has been most pernicious. As I have already informed your Excellency there is a fixed conviction in the minds of the Christian population of Province that the edicts which lately overtook them were authorized by the Porte. The only way for Fuad Pasha to remove such an impression was by at once entering on the work of reparation. But whence were the necessary funds to be obtained? It was evident Constantinople could not be expected to supply them. A retributive tax on Damascus seemed to be the most expeditious, just,

of the sincerely beneficent intention of the Government towards its Christian subjects.

From any politic act of this kind he was unexpectedly barred: whether his Government acted at his own invitation or not is, of course, another question. The consequence has been, that up to this moment, although he has been more than seven months in the country, not a single step has been taken to restore the wretched Christians of Damascus to their homes. Their quarter stands as it was left on the morning after the massacre. The greater part of its inhabitants are at Beyrout, and the small proportion who have lingered behind, under the sinister shelter of the Moslem houses, into which they were originally thrust, are coming away as soon as the roads are open, not unreasonably refusing to sojourn any longer in a town where they can have no homes of their own, where no means remain of earning a livelihood, and where the daily rations of the Government on which they have been dependent during the winter are kept thirty or forty days in arrear.

This renewal of the exodus, stimulated and encouraged by designing persons at Damascus, exaggerated and attributed to other causes by designing

persons here, naturally enough reacts upon the minds of the panic-stricken Christian population of the country, and a state of unreasonable alarm is everywhere maintained which paralyzes every description of trade, and will probably greatly endanger the silk crop in the Mountain.

If only Fuad Pasha could have been put in a position to make a *bond fide* commencement of the work of reparation at Damascus, if it had become generally known that the question of the indemnities was settled in a manner satisfactory

subjects was prepared even to press, with a certain amount of vigour, their would have been less disadvantageous, and we who are endeavouring sincerely to aid its efforts, would be enabled to counteract more successfully the efforts of those whose only object is to vilify all it does.

Your Excellency will now understand the sense in which I alluded to the way in which the Turkish Commissioner's action on the spot has been sometimes prejudicially hampered by his colleagues at head-quarters. I was far from desiring to make any complaint against his Excellency. In a most difficult and painful position, he has done his best to act in accordance with the interests of a Sovereign, and it is probable that no one in the service of the Porte would have held up so stoutly against the difficulties which beset him on every side; and I only regret that, in endeavouring to submit to your Excellency my appreciation of what I saw passing around me, I should have expressed myself so hastily, to have left on your mind a different impression than that which I intended.

Not a day passes but I hear of some influential personage at Damascus who had distinguished himself by protecting the

the functionary last come from Constantinople, it was because an unfortunate significance naturally attaches itself to such an act.

I am painfully aware, however, that my inexperience and imperfect acquaintance with the way in which the administration at Constantinople is conducted renders me quite unfit to pronounce an opinion on such matters; and if from time to time I am bold enough to hazard a conjecture in the sense of those to which your Excellency alludes, it is only because I am aware that your Excellency will at once correct whatever is erroneous in my impressions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYNE.

P.S.—I ought to have informed your Excellency long ere this that the Commission had furnished Fuad Pasha with a joint list, containing the names of those persons who, in consideration of their good conduct during the disturbances, ought to be exempted from the tax it was proposed should be levied on Damascus.

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Enclosure 2 to No. 321

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, March 4, 1861.

I TRUST your Excellency will forgive me if I venture to trouble you with a statement of one of the Articles in a Memorandum for the reorganization of Syria, to which I refer, by a despatch addressed by your Excellency to the British Government, from that which I intended it should convey.

The Article in question proposes "to extend the benefit of European intervention to all the Christians in Syria;" but your Excellency has concluded that I intended "to place all the Christian subjects of the Porte in Syria under foreign protection."

This is quite the reverse of what I should ever think of advocating. It is a kind of extending the benefit of the intervention of Europe to the Christians of Syria, it was with reference to the labours of the Commission itself who represented the Christians of Syria, and it was with reference to the labours of the Commission itself who represented the Christians of Syria, and it was with reference to the labours of the Commission itself who represented the Christians of Syria.

So far from desiring to enforce the system of "Consular protection," which is so far as to propose to my colleagues that its entire abolition should be especially recommended in our Report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 3 in No. 521.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Beyrout, March 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, two letters, one written previously to the occurrence at that place; and the other from a Christian named Halib Akawi, also of Deir-el-Kamar, to Sir H. Bulwer, written about the same time. Accompanying the latter is an explanatory Memorandum by Mr. Consul Rogers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE

Inclosure 4 in No. 521.

Bishop Tobia to the Chief People of Deir-el-Kamar.

Translation.)

May 20, 1860.

ALLER invoking on you the Divine blessing, and inquiring after your health, I am to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated two days before yesterday (May 18), and am much pleased to hear of your peace. I understand the reasons of your illness, and am very sorry to hear of it. Your excuse has been accepted, and no blame has been attached to you. I am pleased to see your energy in everything which concerns public affairs, and your interest in the welfare of the Christians. We have made out a diary containing the news of your district up to the present day, which exhibits the direction of the thoughts of the Chiefs of the Druze community for quietness, and removal of motives for intriguing disturbance which might lead to a civil war.

When I examined these thoughts, and compared them with the statements of the Christians, who are present in the district, and who are open and covertly, as is well known to you, from this comparison I am obliged to turn aside and to look at the statements of the Christians, or to the comparison of these statements with what has been seen by their acts, and is still seen by their deeds, against the people of the district of Jezzin, slaying and robbing them by false testimony, and stoppage of the roads from their homes in all directions, so that they (the people of Jezzin) have become shut up in their homes, and are in a state of great distress. We have seen the Druzes over against them. Therefore I shall be obliged to alter my opinion, but I fear being betrayed; and if that happen, seeing that the Christians are sleeping on the cushions of security, without doubt there will happen to them what happened in the years 1841 and 1845, and we cannot rely on our thoughts nor assure ourselves from betrayal until we see the road to Jezzin open, at least

before you, and until you are able to repair to Jezzin in all security. When you have accomplished this, then indeed we will consent to that which you saw and witnessed. We do not object to anything which is opposed to this, because the people of the district of Jezzin have clearly shown that they have given up all hope of their lives, owing to the stoppage of all communications with them from every direction.

Direct your attention and give true intelligence of this attempt, and if you succeed in it, I shall be grateful for your acts of zeal, and I shall be able to agree entirely to your proposition for the removal of the Druzes (who are) the causes of movements and intrigues. If you do not succeed in this endeavour in a short time, we shall be obliged to follow the thought which is hateful, and, what is more, will have a bad end if you divert your attention and confide matters to chance. This, for the excellence of your intelligence, is sufficient, and we look for an answer on this matter as soon as possible, for the tranquillity of our mind.

We pray God to open the eyes of the foolish, that they may foresee the end of these matters, and beware of dangers which lead to destruction and perdition. May the Divine blessing rest upon you, and may you be preserved.

Inclosure 5 in No. 521

Halib Akawi to Said Bek Jumblat.

ON my arrival at this place (Beyrout), I found the Maronites here causing much trouble, and I found that they had broken out between the Druzes of Shuf and the Christians of Aklim Jezzin, and telling them to keep themselves in readiness to proceed upon the receipt of another letter. I found that they had sent fifty men of Deir-el-Kamar and of Aklim Jezzin, with Tannus Shakin, the Aga and Emir Nauf of Jezzin, to Hadeth, that thence, on their own being completed, they should go by the way of Sidon to Jezzin, and that they should kill any Druzes or Metuals they might meet on the road. On hearing this I went immediately to Mr. Nicola Portaba, who gave notice of it to the Government. The Government sent and gave notice to the Maronites of Beyrout, telling them, that if they did not send and disperse these people, soldiers would be sent against them, who would seize them and take them to the galleys for life. So the Maronites sent and informed the assemblage of this message.

On the following day this answer was received in Beyrout:—

"We have made all our preparations, and it is our intention to send 500 people to the assistance of those at Jezzin, &c., and have given notice in all the districts for the people to prepare themselves."

This letter came to Bishop Tobia.

They answered that they should send word to Jabbet B'aheni, to Jebel, to Batrin, to Youssef Keram, and to Tannus Shakin, to prepare themselves to come to the Meten, and asking them for ammunition to be sent to Juneh. The people of Beyrout then took the letter, sent copies of it to all parts, and excited the people to rise in numbers and repair to the Meten.

On hearing this, Assad Shawsah went to Bishop Tobia and asked what was the object of the proceedings, showing the ruin which would accrue. The Bishop answered him, "If you, people of Deir-el-Kamar, do not obey, and refuse to go to war, then I will cause the Druzes and Christians together to attack you."

On receiving this answer he left the Bishop, who afterwards sent B'ahara Faroon to Tannus Shakin to excite him to make haste and come, and also sent Shantari to the Meten and to the Mokkida, to collect people of the Mokkida in the Meten. We understand that they went. The heads of this movement amongst the Maronites are Khafid Efendi Naknah, Noun Kikono, and Assad Tabet; and the Maronite community have declared themselves willing to pay expenses to the amount of 1,000 purses (about 4,170l. sterling), and it is Bishop Tobia's wish to lead the troops in person.

Assad Shawsah and myself (your servant), when we saw this, we foretold the ruin of the country.

We went together to the notables of our community, and informed them we found that they knew nothing about it. They told us to go to the British Consul-General, so we went and told him all, and he answered that he would inform the Government, and also said that if the Christians persisted, the Government would attack them with soldiers, and, moreover, he promised to take measures. The Greek Catholic community wrote letters to their consuls, and to publish that this movement was from the Maronites alone, and it is certain that after the receipt of such a letter they (the Greek Catholics) will take no part.

When I left Beyroul, I sent a messenger to Khalil Efendi Shawish, and asked for an interview at Kefr Shama; he came, and I told him all, and I asked him to inform the Kamakam, and afterwards to inform the Mushir. Immediately after the interview he went to Shweifat to tell his Excellency.

There was a talk with Emir Mejd that he should become the leader; he promised to do so, but he is not a person to be trusted, and he is afraid that they would excite the people to rise. On the road, I met a messenger from Beyroul going to Aher.

This is what I have learnt, and I here communicate it to you. I beg you to inform the Government that the information from the Consuls, from the Kamakam, and from yourself, be all in accordance.

In Beyroul the Greeks and the Greek Catholics refused to join the Maronites in this work, the latter invited them to a meeting, but they would not go, yet the Maronites say that the Greeks and Greek Catholics are wishing for war, and that they themselves wish to avoid it.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) HALIB AKAWI.

Memorandum on Halib Akawi's Letter to Saad Bek Jumbili.

THE writer of this letter is a Christian of Det-el-Kamar, whose house and much of whose property were destroyed by the assailants during the siege. His evidence at the trial of Saad Bek, and the information he has imparted at private conferences, is framed in temperate language and bears the stamp of truthfulness. The Emir Mejd, who is alluded to, is of the Shehab family, and is the same who, some time ago, divorced his Turkish wife and embraced Christianity, on the promise of the Bishop Tobia that he should be proposed as Kamakam of Mount Lebanon.

This letter bears no date, but appears to have been written a few days before the outbreak, probably a day or two after the accompanying letter from Bishop Tobia. It is even probable that the inclosed letter from Bishop Tobia is the one alluded to, and that the important matter was detailed in an unsigned note inclosed in it, as is the custom in this country.

(Signed) E. T. ROGERS.

Beyroul, March 1, 1861.

Inclosure 6 in No. 521.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyroul, March 10, 1861.

WITH reference to the 22nd Protocol, inclosed in my despatch of the 7th inst., I beg to inform you that I have received from the Greek Catholics information, copy of a letter addressed by Tanios Shaheen to the inhabitants of the district of Jebail, in the Kesrouan.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 521.

Tanios Shaheen to the Wakeels and Inhabitants of Jebail

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

April 3, 1860.

I HAVE received your letter and understood all that you say with regard to the arrival of Emir Yousef and the Birbaslu, bearing a bouyourouldi for the administration of Jebail. Do not accept it, for I have a bouyourouldi from the seven Sovereigns for the emancipation of all the Christians, who are no longer to be oppressed. No one can prevent you, neither the Mushir nor the Kamakam. I inclose an order to the Emir Yousef to return to his place; deliver it to him without delay, and do not fear anything. If you require a body of men let me know, and I will send one immediately. Should the Emir venture to do anything let me know, and I will come myself with all my men. Fear nothing, for this is a matter which no longer concerns you, it concerns me. Any village of Jebail that wishes to unite with you let it name Wakeels over it in the village, who will enter their names with the Wakeel, lest the assembly should break up entirely, he that wishes to do so let him come on the part of the village, or let him inscribe his name in the register, which will be sufficient. I have charged the bearer with certain verbal communications, which he will deliver to you.

Your Brother,

TANIOS SHAHEEN.

P.S.—I transmit herewith a letter to Emir Yousef; deliver it to him at once and immediately, for it is most important that it should be delivered, and let me know what his answer will be, for I have plainly told him that if he hesitates he will have my men upon him from every direction. I also inclose a letter to Yezbek Lahoud; deliver it to him and intimate to him verbally that he is to desert from his design, do not fear anything; and this is sufficient for your sagacity.

(Signed)

TANIOS SHAHEEN.

No. 522

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 79.)

Beyroul, March 10, 1861.

My Lord,

PERHAPS I may be permitted to correct a misapprehension relative to the late outbreak at Damascus, which I see has found its way into the newspapers.

It is stated, and I believe generally credited, that it was a horde of Druses who broke into that city and sacked the Christian quarter. This, however, is not what took place. The slaughter, rapine, and burning at Damascus were the work of its Moslem population. A certain number of Druses resided in the town, and a few may have come in from the neighbourhood, and some of them, no doubt, participated in the plundering, as did also a large number of the inhabitants of the Koordish villages in the vicinity, but the authors of what occurred, and the chief actors, were the citizens themselves.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

No. 523

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 26.)

(No. 80.)

Beyroul, March 10, 1861.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of my despatches to Sir Henry Bulwer relative to the judgments which have been passed by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyroul, and by the Court-martial of Mokhtara, on the Turkish and Druse prisoners.

It is not my intention to trouble your Lordship with any further observations on the painful and anxious question connected with these proceedings.

but I cannot allow the mail to be closed without particularly calling your attention to the inconsistent reasonings of a portion of the communication (Annex 3 to the twenty-third Protocol) addressed by his Excellency Fuad Pasha to the Commissioners of France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, in reply to the note they had the honour of transmitting him.

The Ottoman Plenipotentiary justifies the sentence of death passed indiscriminately on all the Druse Chiefs by a reference to a Law of the Empire which decrees capital punishment against those "who organize a conspiracy to promote a rising of one section of a population against another." But a little further on he states, "Le Kesrouan était devenu depuis longtemps le foyer de cette opposition, et d'une grande agitation." And again, "Ce sont les Maronites qui se sont soulevés en masse contre les Druses." Le signal de la guerre est donné par les premiers, une bande armée de Chrétiens était venue la première passer de la Kismalanie Chrétienne dans celle des Druses. Ce fut le début de cette guerre civile qui a fini par tant de calamités.

If these latter statements are true—and all the information I have been able to obtain tends to confirm them—how can those who were attacked be punished as "conspirators who plotted a rising?"

This time, at all events, it was the lamb who dirtied the stream, and if the wolf standing lower down took it amiss, it must thank its own folly for the consequences. As far as I have been able to unravel the abominable mystery of the late disturbances in the Mountain, the case stands pretty much thus:—

For some time past the Christian population, already agitated by the success of the anti-feudal movement, and stimulated to further efforts by the intrigues of their priesthood, had been long meditating an onslaught on the Druses, which was eventually to end in the overthrow of Turkish authority in Lebanon. The Turks perceiving what was intended, and afraid, probably, of using force towards the Christians, determined to chastise them through the instrumentality of the Druses.

Whether they foresaw the length to which matters would be carried it is impossible to say, but it is certain they evinced in the pursuit of their object a

represent themselves as the victims of Christian intolerance and Druse disobedience; but whatever may be the truth of the former of these statements, every one acquainted with the country must smile at the transparent inaccuracy of the latter. Had the Turkish Pasha really desired the Druses to keep quiet not a man would have stirred; and although all evidence on the subject has been perked, there are unmistakable indications of the kind of understanding which existed between the authorities and the Chiefs. Said Bek seems to be the only one of the Druse magnates who foresaw the trap into which they might fall, and

people's enthusiasm, and the tacit encouragement of the Government, he did his best to keep out of the scrape. Are, then, the Turkish authorities allowed to make scapegoats of the Druses? In order to be logical, Fuad Pasha has sentenced the eleven Chiefs to death. By stigmatising them as rebels he hopes to make us forget they were accomplices. If his victims were really the men who perpetrated the horrors that astounded Europe last summer, the title under which they suffered would be a matter of more indifference. But the scandalous character of the present proceeding consists in the fact that it is the innocent portion of the community that are sacrificed.

Against such an outrage it is natural to suppose all Europe would protest; but unfortunately, among the prisoners who surrendered themselves, are one or two especially obnoxious to the Maronite nation. In condemning these persons his Excellency could count on the support of a majority of the Commissioners, and although I do not imagine he is really anxious that the unjust decision of his Tribunal should be carried into execution, he not unreasonably looks forward to the eventualities which may arise in favour of the Turkish prisoners, by giving the subject its present shape before reference to Constantinople.

In conclusion, it is unnecessary for me to assure your Lordship that during the whole of this anxious time I have done my best to act with honesty and impartiality. Convinced that it was not your Lordship's wish I should constitute myself the partizan of any particular community, or still less become the apologist of murderers and assassins, I determined that no local

jealousies should sway my judgment. Having done what was possible to direct the proceedings, I waited patiently till the investigation was concluded before pronouncing an opinion. As long as the case was pending I would not even speak to his Excellency upon the subject; and I have never endeavoured, by my personal influence, to modify his intentions. Had the prisoners been proved guilty, though I might have appealed to his clemency on behalf of the sentence, and if I have now interfered to prevent the ratification of the verdict of the Court, it is because I considered it to be unjust.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 523.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beirut, March 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour of forwarding to your Excellency a copy of the Commission on the proceedings of the Court of the Mountain.

Your Excellency will perceive that in consequence of the great divergence of opinion among the Commissioners, and himself regarding the degree of culpability attaching to the Turkish officials, as well as on account of the want of unanimity among ourselves on many vital points affecting the Druse Chiefs, the Turkish Plenipotentiary has determined to maintain *ad interim* the verdicts recorded in the Court of the Mountain, and to refer the further consideration of the subject to Constantinople.

Such a course seems to have been the only one left open to his Excellency, and I cannot but congratulate myself that so favourable an opportunity should be afforded for revising the decisions of the Beirut Tribunal, founded, as I believe many of them to be, on a false interpretation of the law, and on a misapprehension of a question on which the lives of so many human beings are depending, should be transferred from a locality so rife with passion and prejudice as Beirut to the more tranquil atmosphere of a distant capital and above all things it is a personal satisfaction to myself to think that your Excellency's efficient interposition will probably lead to the reversal of many of the absurd and unjust verdicts pronounced by the Court of the Mountain. On his arrival in Syria, was obliged to extemporize out of the first materials that came to hand.

As I have already written at great length on the various topics connected with the subject, I need not trouble your Excellency with many additional observations, more especially as I have minutely described in my previous despatches the individual opinions of each of my colleagues. Nevertheless, it may be well, before altogether concluding the exposition of the case, to notice the various considerations which have induced me to adhere now to one, now to another of the sections into which each successive phase of the debate divided the Commission.

As, however, no two of us thought exactly alike on the various and complex as the changes in a kaleidoscope, and it becomes difficult to do more than distinguish the broader features of the dispute. For example, in conjunction with my colleagues of France, Prussia, and Russia, I felt compelled to oppose the indiscriminate, and in our opinion unjust, severity with which Colonel Nouri Bey, but at this point M. Novikow and myself separated from the French and Prussian Commissioners, and united with the Austrian Representative in declining to press for any extreme punishment being inflicted on the subordinate Turkish officials. Again, M. Weickbecker, M. Novikow, and I opposed the indiscriminate, and in our opinion unjust, severity with which F.

prison at Beirut, inasmuch as most of them had merely taken part in

and were far less likely to be influenced by the passions of the moment who had been condemned at Mokhtara. The case of Said Bey, however, again separated M. Novikow from the Austrian Commissioner and myself, for whereas we thought that the evidence against him was sufficient for a conviction, he considered that he ought to be put to death.

Your Excellency will thus perceive that independently of the difference of opinion existing between myself, in common with the majority of the Commission, and Fud Pasha, supported by M. Weekbecker, on the culpability of the case, I am also at issue with his Excellency and two of my colleagues on the principles which ought to guide us in estimating the guilt or innocence of the Druse Chiefs. As almost all the Commissioners share my opinion on the first point, it is unnecessary I should trouble your Excellency by enforcing it; I will, therefore, merely confine myself to that which has regard to the Druse prisoners.

The Turkish Commissioner contends that because the Druse nation flew to arms, they come within the meaning of that section of the Turkish law which condemns to death all those who excite one portion of the Sultan's subjects to make war on another. But as it is universally admitted that it was the Christians who commenced the attack, it is absurd to apply the canon in question to the present case. The relations of the Lebanon tribes to each other are so exceptional, their right to defend themselves when attacked has been so often recognised, the Turkish authority has always been so incompetent to maintain order, and its attitude on this occasion was, to say the least, so very unwarrantable, that the distinction should be maintained between the ordinary hostile encounters which in this

Now, among the captive Druse Chiefs at Beyrout there are certainly five who are not even supposed to have had anything to do with the butcheries in which the contest terminated, and another, Said Bey Jumblatt, who seems from the first to have desired peace, to have remained at home, and to have saved hundreds of Christians. Are those men to be treated as murderers? Are they even deserving of punishment? Yes, says M. Bédard, they are the Chiefs of the nation. The nation has been guilty of great crimes, punish the Chiefs, and you will have a long delay of five months, the innumerable witnesses, and the superfluous intervention of a Court of Justice? Why not have taken their heads off directly

that action to be drawn between those who are known to have been the most moderate of the Druse leaders, who voluntarily challenged an investigation of their conduct, and the bloodstained barbarians whose avowed atrocities induced them to fly to the Hauran? Are the least compromised to suffer because the most guilty have escaped? Such jurisprudence would render the Commission odious in the eyes of Europe.

But there is another momentous principle on which I am at issue with my colleagues, and more especially with M. Novikow.

In dealing with the case of Said Bey Jumblatt, this latter gentleman admits in the most explicit terms that the proceedings before the Court have not been sufficient to prove his complicity, either in the massacre or in the war. But public opinion, private information he has himself received, nay, the "fatal exigencies of the prisoner's position," are presumptive evidences of his guilt, therefore let him perish! But is this justice?

Here is a man arraigned on a charge of high treason; for months his trial has been going on; the Crown has strained every nerve to procure his condemnation; all the ordinary indulgences due to his situation have been denied him; yet in the opinion of all the Commissioners except M. Bédard, and even he seemed shaken by the last perusal of the procès-verbal, the evidence against him has completely broken down, notwithstanding that none of the witnesses for the prosecution have been challenged, and that M. Novikow declared it a sacrilege to dispute any Christian testimony given in on oath!

If then, in spite of such ready credence awaiting every accusation produced in Court against Said Bey, nothing has come to light to prove his guilt, how unfair is it to supplement the case against him by accepting as gospel truth all

the vague allegations in which an exasperated and unscrupulous population may induce.

It is far more necessary to be guided by the evidence in a court of justice. How much more necessary is it to be guided by the evidence in a court of justice, than to be guided by the evidence in a court of justice.

verbi ally untruthful as that of a person, I believe, with that of the Russian Commission. The case then, in a simple manner:—

His premises once admitted, no other issue was open to him. He naturally enjoys the confidence of all the Greek Christians. It is this community which suffered most severely at Hasbeya; and Said Bey is no doubt considered by them as a personal enemy.

Constantly surrounded thus by such influences, my mind, I believe, became warped, and I consider it a remarkable proof of the impartial spirit with which M. Novikow conducted the investigation, that he should have made so

ing the legal validity of the verdict, as founded on the evidence before the Court. I believe, with that of the Russian Commission.

The case then, in a simple manner:—

If a participation in the defensive war forced upon them by the Christians is to be considered an act of high treason, punishable with death, the sentences

put themselves within the reach of the Turkish law, and the sentences of the Court.

If public opinion is to be accepted as proof, if the tales current among an exasperated multitude is proof of, irrespective of all internal evidence to the contrary, and in spite of the evidence and self-contradictions it is a sacrilege to dispute, the sentences of the Court are just.

But if a distinction is to be drawn between mountain warfare and savage massacre; if each prisoner's case is to be decided on its own individual merits; and if the verdict is to depend on the evidence adduced before the Court by whom the case is examined,—of the eleven Druse prisoners tried by the Extraordinary Tribunal of Beyrout, six, including Said Bey, must be acquitted. The sentences of three more ought to be commuted, and two may be allowed to suffer the just penalty of their crimes.

I have, &c.
(signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANBOYE.

P.S.—In order to make the matter as clear as possible, I transmit a Table of the prisoners' names, the sentences passed by the Court, together with the opinions of the several Commissioners on each sentence.

Inclosure 2 to No. 523

Protocol of the Twenty-second Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, February 27, 1861.

Le Mercredi, vingt-sept Février, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fud Pasha, la séance est ouverte à 2 heures et demie.

Le procès verbal de la dernière séance en date du 29 Janvier, est lu et adopté.

Son Excellence Fud Pasha fait part à la Commission de diverses informations qu'il a recueillies, touchant les questions qui lui ont été posées au sujet de

Baïbek et Tripoli. Il résulte d'une première pièce, signée par les sept membres du Medjlis de Tripoli, que trente-trois Damasquins seulement résident dans cette ville. Une lettre adressée par l'Empereur à l'Empereur de France, atteste que le Mudir du district du Caïti ne retient dans son harem aucune femme chrétienne de Damas, comme on l'en avait accusé. En troisième lieu, par une déclaration en règle, les Représentants des Patriarches Grec, Catholique, et Maronite, et des Evêques, ainsi que de plusieurs religieux et laïques notables de Baïbek, déclarent que le Gouverneur de cette localité, Emin Bey, bien loin d'y commettre des exactions, y procure aux Chrétiens toute la sécurité désirable, s'emploie avec zèle tant à leur faire restituer les objets qui leur avaient été enlevés, qu'à leur fournir les secours nécessaires pour la culture de leurs terres, le tout conformément aux intentions de son Excellence.

Son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman du Caïti, a été chargé de l'envoi qui lui a été fait des instructions qu'il a données à son Gouvernement sur la question de l'indemnité due aux Chrétiens. Des lettres adressées à cette question, dit Fund Pacha, ont impérieusement réclamé, par les circonstances, cependant il est une autre affaire dont la solution est plus urgente encore, c'est celle de la répression et du châtiment à infliger aux individus qui ont participé aux massacres de la Montagne, ou aux fonctionnaires et Chefs Druses qui, par position, en ont été considérés comme responsables. Son Excellence a reçu à ce sujet de M. le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, de France, de Prusse, et de Russie, une note collective, contenant l'expression de leur opinion sur les sentences proposées par le Tribunal Extérieur (Annexe 1) et de M. le Commissaire d'Antioche. Son Excellence Fund Pacha a rédigé un

rapport à l'Empereur, dans lequel il expose les raisons qui ont motivé son opinion, et les circonstances qui ont conduit à la décision prise. Il conclut par la recommandation que les sentences proposées soient maintenues, et que les individus coupables soient punis conformément à la loi. Son Excellence Fund Pacha a également adressé une lettre au Ministre des Affaires étrangères de France, dans laquelle il expose les raisons qui ont motivé son opinion, et les circonstances qui ont conduit à la décision prise. Il conclut par la recommandation que les sentences proposées soient maintenues, et que les individus coupables soient punis conformément à la loi.

M. le Commissaire Français remarque à ce sujet que, dans le mémoire dont il vient d'être donné lecture, on présente, comme circonstance atténuante, ce fait que Kourchid Pacha ne serait plaint antérieurement auprès de son Gouvernement de n'avoir point à sa disposition des forces suffisantes pour maintenir l'ordre, et qu'il n'aurait offert sa démission, qu'après avoir été informé, par l'ex-Gouverneur de Syrie, de la situation des affaires. Mais, si l'on considère que la responsabilité de la situation des affaires, en Syrie, est au moins partagée par le Sublime Porte, et que la gravité ne doit certainement

pas pour cela être diminuée, on ne peut que conclure que la responsabilité de la situation des affaires, en Syrie, est au moins partagée par le Sublime Porte, et que la gravité ne doit certainement pas pour cela être diminuée.

Damas lui-même n'aurait offert sa démission, et cependant il a été puni de mort. On voit donc que la responsabilité des événements de Syrie, est au moins partagée par le Sublime Porte, et que la gravité ne doit certainement pas pour cela être diminuée. On voit donc que la responsabilité des événements de Syrie, est au moins partagée par le Sublime Porte, et que la gravité ne doit certainement pas pour cela être diminuée.

Baïbek. Mais le Commissaire du Sultan ne doit point ignorer que, le 13 Mai, les Druses de Qaddi-Etten se sont rassemblés pour arrêter les Chrétiens sur les routes.

Que, le 15, les Druses de Chouf ont levé l'étendard de guerre et se sont portés vers Hama, sans que les Chrétiens eussent même de chez eux pour venir à leur rencontre.

Que, le 19, deux Chefs Druses de la famille de Beit-el-Kad, accompagnés de dix de leurs, ont attaqué les villages de Mazara et de Merjeh, desarmés les Chrétiens et pillé des maisons.

Que, le même jour, les Druses du Menacab et de Bakim, avec armes et dragons, se sont portés sur Beit-el-Kamar, et que, les Chrétiens n'étant pas venus à leur rencontre, ils ont rebroussé chemin, non sans se livrer au pillage, notamment à Mazara et à Menouf, où ils tuèrent un Chréti en désarmant les autres, et détruisirent un moulin.

Que, le 27 Mai, les Druses du district de Chénhar, après s'être réunis et avoir pris les armes, se rendirent à Hama, où ils tuèrent Elias Chantour et que ceux de Amamoun-el-Garb se sont portés au Mazara d'Ein-el-Khalil, où ils pillèrent et incendièrent les villages.

Le 29 enfin, jour où pour la première fois les Chrétiens, après tant de

El Arkoub et de Chouf, se précipitèrent sur le village d'Ein-el-Majar et à Beit-el-Kamar, où ils massacrèrent plusieurs personnes, brûlèrent les récoltes et incendièrent quelques maisons. Il résulte de ces faits et de ces dates dont l'exactitude peut être prouvée, que les Druses ont pris les armes bien avant les Chrétiens; que ces derniers mêmes ont trop longtemps tardé à le faire pour leur salut, et que l'autorité, en ne réprimant point les premiers mouvements des Druses, et en les encourageant par son inaction, demeure entièrement responsable des fatales conséquences de l'insurrection.

M. le Commissaire de France n'admet pas non plus que les conditions administratives particulières auxquelles la Montagne se trouvait soumise, puissent être considérées comme une circonstance atténuante en faveur de Kourchid Pacha. Sans administrer directement la Montagne, il était tenu de maintenir l'ordre, et cette obligation devenait pour lui de ce seul fait, qu'il avait des troupes à Beit-el-Kamar et à Beit-el-Kamar.

Fund Pacha répond qu'il n'a pas eu l'intention de déplacer la question. L'état critique des choses en Roumélie a pu mettre la Porte dans la nécessité de dégarnir la Turquie d'Asie, et dans l'impossibilité de déléguer à la direction des Gouverneurs qui, à Damas et à Hama, réclamaient des renforts de troupes, sans qu'il soit pour cela possible de faire remonter jusqu'à elle l'accusation qui pèse sur les agents de l'autorité Ottomane en Syrie. Kourchid Pacha, bien que réduit à des forces insuffisantes, aurait pu faire un meilleur emploi de celles dont il disposait. Avec plus d'énergie et d'habileté, il eût réussi non pas sans doute à prévenir les événements, ni à les réprimer, mais il aurait au moins pu en empêcher l'extension. Il ne l'a pas fait. Voilà comment il mérite, pour l'exemple, d'être sévèrement puni. Il avait offert sa démission. Cela ne le dispensait point de coup sûr d'agir, mais cela prouve du moins l'embarras où il se trouvait. Ahmed Pacha avait offert sa démission, mais sa situation, par rapport aux événements de Damas, était toute différente. Il ne prit aucune mesure pour les arrêter, tandis que Kourchid Pacha fit quelques efforts, et donna des ordres qui ne furent point exécutés, ou le furent très mal. Ahmed Pacha n'en avait donné aucun, et cependant les désordres avaient lieu dans la ville même qu'il habitait, sous ses yeux pour ainsi dire, tandis que ceux de la Montagne se produisaient en beaucoup d'endroits à la fois et hors de la présence de Kourchid Pacha.

Après une étude approfondie des pièces de ce procès, tant en ce qui concerne les faits qu'en ce qui concerne les questions de droit, M. le Commissaire Russe est obligé, à son grand regret, de déclarer qu'elles ne lui paraissent pas de nature à établir d'une manière bien positive ni la culpabilité judiciaire de la culpabilité des accusés, ni la valeur intrinsèque des circonstances atténuantes qui ont été prises en considération par le Tribunal de Beyrout. Il

"Five hundred Christians marched from the Karaman into the Moud districts. This was the last military movement on either side. The other occasion to which M. Bérard refers were comparatively insignificant outbreaks, and would be matched by analogous attacks by small parties of Christians upon Druses. Very early in May bands of Christians had begun to murder Druses."

"In the case of the Druse Chiefs, the Sultan did its best to procure a submission, and in

s'est donc trouvé dans la nécessité de rechercher des éléments de conviction en dehors des pièces qui lui ont été communiquées. N'ayant à donner son avis dans cette affaire ni comme Juge, ni comme juré, mais comme Agent Politique, il doit se borner, aux termes de ses instructions, à déterminer la part de responsabilité qui revient à chacun des coupables et provoquer leur punition. Si comme individus, placés dans telle ou telle position, ayant à lutter contre telle ou telle difficulté, les principaux accusés ont pu invoquer, et Kourchid Pacha tout le premier, des circonstances qui paraissent atténuer leur culpabilité personnelle, il en est autrement de la responsabilité qui pèse sur eux comme délégués du pouvoir, chargé de veiller efficacement au maintien de l'ordre. De deux choses l'une : ou ils sont innocents, et dans ce cas ils doivent être acquittés, ce que le Tribunal lui-même n'a pas admis, ou bien ils sont coupables, et dans ce

cas, les conséquences en ont été plus funestes. Or, si y a eu dans la Montagne une immense effusion de sang qui aurait pu et dû être prévenue par les Représentants de l'autorité.

Le Gouverneur-Général de Sayda a encouru la plus grave responsabilité, comme Chef supérieur de la province. Le Général de Division Tahir Pacha partage cette responsabilité comme Chef militaire. De plus, ayant été chargé

Kumar il a rempli cette mission de manière à ce que les résultats en ont été diamétralement opposés au but qu'il s'agissait d'atteindre. Nouri Bey, par une négligence fatale dans l'exécution des ordres, contenus dans le beyrouddi qui lui traçait sa ligne de conduite, s'est rendu coupable d'un grave délit. La chute de Zahlé, qui a entraîné d'autres malheurs, en a été le résultat.

Quant à Vassif Efendi et à Ahmed Efendi, la voix publique les accuse d'avoir exercé la plus funeste influence sur les déterminations de Kourchid Pacha. Toutefois les réponses qu'ils ont données au Tribunal sont tellement évasives et leurs dénégations si complètes, que, tout en opinant pour une aggravation de

certains points, possible de se retrancher derrière la responsabilité de leurs Chefs. Au dire de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, les premiers actes d'agression, même à Rachaya et Hasbeya, seraient venus des Chrétiens. Mais ce n'est qu'après huit jours de calme parfait, et après que les Chrétiens avaient été démantés par la garnison Ottomane à Hasbeya que l'arrivée d'Aly Amadé y a

donné le signal du massacre. Un fait analogue s'est passé à Deir-el-Kamar, où la population musulmane a été surprise et massacrée, après quelques jours d'un calme relatif. Peu importe au fond que les Chrétiens aient été les agresseurs sur quelques points, et n'ils l'ont été, ce qui est bien loin d'être prouvé, si même on peut les accuser de s'être rendus coupables de quelques provocations morales, cette circonstance ne disculperait pas les fonctionnaires Ottomans de n'avoir

rien fait pour empêcher qu'ils ont encouru doit être proportionné à l'étendue des dégâts qui ont résulté de leur inaction, pour ne pas dire de leur connivence.

En ce qui concerne Kourchid Pacha, Tahir Pacha, et Nouri Bey, son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan croit devoir répondre que des ordres avaient été adressés par le premier à Tahir Pacha, qui les avait transmis à Nouri Bey et à Abdul Selam, chargés l'un de se rendre à Zahlé et l'autre d'empêcher les troubles à Deir-el-Kamar. Ces ordres ne furent point exécutés ponctuellement à Deir-el-Kamar ; ce qui amena la condamnation d'Abdul Selam, comme des autres officiers qui se sont trouvés présents à des massacres dans d'autres localités. Nouri Bey, mal reçu par les habitants de Zahlé, fut dans l'impossibilité d'exécuter son mandat, et cette circonstance constitue évidemment une atténuation de sa faute. Vassif Efendi et Ahmed Efendi ne peuvent qu'à peine être considérés comme des fonctionnaires, et leur responsabilité s'efface devant celle de leurs Chefs.

Avant d'émettre une opinion sur chacune des sentences soumises à son examen, M. le Commissaire Britannique eut d'abord à exposer avec précision les principes qui l'ont guidé dans cet examen. D'après ce qui a été convenu entre les Représentants des cinq Puissances et son Excellence Fasil Pacha, la Commission avait le droit d'assister, soit en personne, soit par délégué, aux séances du Tribunal et avant qu'une sentence quelconque fût rendue exécutoire par Fasil Pacha, les Commissaires pouvaient soumettre à son Excellence toutes les

observations qu'ils jugeraient nécessaires. Par suite de cet arrangement, les Représentants de l'Europe sont devenus en quelque sorte les assesseurs du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, et doivent partager avec lui la responsabilité des arrêts qui seront définitivement prononcés. Cette participation leur impose le devoir de se faire non seulement une conviction sur la culpabilité ou l'innocence absolue, mais même sur le degré de culpabilité de chacun des accusés. L'importance de cet point de vue est d'autant plus sérieuse, qu'il y a, on doit le remarquer, plus de deux parties engagées dans la cause. Les Chrétiens accusent non seulement les Druses, mais encore les autorités Ottomanes ; les Druses à leur tour accusent les Chrétiens, et les autorités Ottomanes accusent les uns et les autres. Il est donc du devoir de ceux qui assistent à ce débat, au nom de l'Europe, de démêler soigneusement la vérité du réseau de récriminations qui s'enveloppe, afin de mieux rendre ensuite à chacun ce qui lui appartient.

L'enquête ordonnée par son Excellence pour l'éclaircissement de cette grave question simplifie déjà beaucoup la difficulté. Le Tribunal condamne à la peine capitale non seulement les Chefs Druses qui se sont réfugiés dans le Hauran, mais encore les onze Chefs qui sont venus volontairement, il y a eu, mais, soumettre leur conduite à l'approbation de l'autorité. D'autre part, il inflige aux fonctionnaires et officiers Musulmans une peine beaucoup moins sévère. La Commission a donc été d'abord conduite à se demander par quel raisonnement le Tribunal est arrivé à faire peser la responsabilité d'une façon si inégale entre les deux parties principales incriminées. Lord Dufferin rappelle qu'à l'exception d'un seul de ses membres, la Commission a été d'avis que ce partage n'était pas équitable. Dans la note qu'ils ont adressée à son Excellence, les quatre Représentants de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie ont déclaré que la responsabilité des fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans était au moins égale à celle des Chefs Druses les plus coupables. Lord Dufferin n'hésite pas à renouveler cette déclaration et à dire que ce seul fait, que des massacres si abominables ont eu lieu dans l'étendue des territoires placés sous l'autorité de ces fonctionnaires, suffit à établir contre eux, à priori, la présomption de leur culpabilité. Ils sont d'avance et par position réputés coupables. C'est donc à eux qu'incombe le soin de se disculper, et si pendant la durée d'une si longue procédure, ils n'ont pas réussi à fournir la preuve certaine de leur innocence, ils sont coupables, et il y a lieu de prononcer contre eux la peine la plus rigoureuse. M. le Commissaire Britannique, n'ayant trouvé ni dans les pièces du procès, ni dans la mémoire que son Excellence veut de communiquer, aucune preuve de leur innocence, ou de l'atténuation de leur faute, persiste dans sa demande, tendante à ce que la sentence du Tribunal de Beyrouth, concernant Kourchid Pacha, Tahir Pacha, et Nouri Bey, soit révisée dans le sens d'une aggravation de peine. Pour ce dernier, il ne verrait pas d'inconvénient à ce que l'arrêt de mort fût recommandé à la miséricorde du Souverain. Quant à Vassif Efendi et Ahmed Efendi, il ne croit devoir à leur sujet émettre aucun avis.

La position des Chefs Druses dans le procès est, selon Lord Dufferin, bien différente. Ce n'est point comme représentants de l'autorité, et responsables à ce titre du maintien de l'ordre qu'ils gouvernaient ; c'est comme Chefs et membres éminents de la nation qui est entrée en lutte avec celle des Maronites. Ils ne sont pas d'avance réputés coupables. Ils sont seulement prévenus, et, comme tout prévenu, réputés innocents jusqu'à preuve contraire. Ce n'est point à eux à se disculper. C'est au Ministère Public, et comme dit Lord Dufferin, à la Couronne, qu'incombe la charge de prouver tout d'abord leur culpabilité. Malgré une position si avantageuse, il y a lieu de remarquer que, tandis que les fonctionnaires Ottomans sont tous plus ou moins condamnés à la prison, il n'y a pas un Druse, parmi les onze détenus de Beyrouth, qui échappe à la peine de mort. Cette uniformité de part et d'autre semble étrange et s'explique d'autant moins que, parmi ces onze Chefs Druses, les uns sont accusés d'avoir pris personnellement part aux massacres, tandis que d'autres sont en thèse générale accusés seulement d'avoir pris part à la guerre. On est porté à croire que le Tribunal de Beyrouth a jugé que la nation Druse s'étant rendue coupable d'un grand nombre d'atrocités, il fallait en tirer vengeance, en appliquant uniformément et indifféremment la peine de mort à tous ceux d'entre ses Chefs qui viendraient se remettre entre les mains de l'autorité. Si en était ainsi, M. le Commissaire Britannique n'hésiterait point à s'élever contre un tel principe. Il croit devoir, dans tous les cas, protester contre l'application d'un système de peine si exceptionnel. Mais l'instruction des procès a mis au

* I believe that in 1860, as far as regards the burning of homes and isolated villages.

grand jour certains faits dont la portée inattendue doit exercer une

Lord Dufferin avoue que, lors de son arrivée en Syrie, il était sous l'impression d'un sentiment d'indignation très naturel que lui avait inspiré le récit des atrocités commises par les Druses. Il avait autrefois, à son premier voyage, entendu parler vaguement d'un état de lutte entre les deux races, mais on lui avait laissé ignorer leur énorme disproportion numérique, et il ne savait pas que l'existence même de la nation Druse ou son expulsion de la Montagne étaient, pour ainsi dire, deux questions à l'ordre du jour chez les Chrétiens. Il a appris seulement depuis que sur toute la ligne de démarcation qui sépare le Kesrouan des districts Mixtes, une attaque contre les Druses avait été entreprise et devait se terminer, telle était du moins l'attente des Maronites, par l'extermination des Druses ou leur expulsion; que des armes étaient importées en quantité extraordinaire, et des réunions belliqueuses fréquemment tenues dans plusieurs parties de la Montagne; que le pays était inondé de mandements

et de Conseil central d'un caractère fort suspect menaçant à Beyrouth, et que, de vengeance ultérieure, à prendre part à la guerre sainte; que, enfin, non content de la supériorité d'une nation de 150.000 âmes contre une tribu de 35.000, le clergé cherchait à ranimer le courage de ses ouailles, en leur donnant l'assurance que leurs efforts, quels qu'ils fussent, pour acquiescer la possession incontestée du Liban, seraient appuyés par les Puissances de la Chrétienté.

Il n'est guère supposable que de tels desseins, ouvertement poursuivis et devenus notoires plusieurs mois avant l'événement, demeurassent ignorés de ceux contre qui ils étaient dirigés. L'insolence et l'ambition de l'un des partis devait naturellement exciter les instincts féroces de l'autre, et les préparatifs d'attaque entraînant les mesures défensives, l'atmosphère se chargea peu à peu et l'explosion devint imminente. Des collisions isolées, provoquées on ne sait par qui, mais remarquables de part et d'autre par une cruauté traditionnelle, firent les avant-coureurs de l'orage qui allait éclater. Des corps d'hommes armés passèrent du Kesrouan dans les districts Mixtes, hantant sur leur passage l'incendie et le massacre. Les Chrétiens de Zahlé marchèrent au combat, et c'est ainsi que la guerre devint inévitable, après avoir été longtemps

Dans une telle conjoncture en effet, quel parti les Chefs de la nation Druse pouvaient-ils prendre? Demander tranquillement chez eux, tandis qu'on pillait et brûlait les villages de leur proches? Une telle conduite eût été aussi lâche que lâche. Les autorités Ottomannes ne paraissant point disposées à intervenir dans l'intérêt du maintien de la paix publique il ne restait aux Druses qu'à prendre en main leur propre défense. Mais cet acte de bravoure, autorisé, commandé même par la loi naturelle, doit-il être confondu avec ces horribles massacres qui eurent lieu en dehors des limites de la Montagne Druse, en présence des garnisons Ottomannes? Si, par suite du tempérament propre aux peuples montagnards non encore civilisés, et surtout grâce à l'attitude équivoque des soldats Ottomannes, d'épouvantables crimes ont été commis, dirait-on que chaque Chef qui, après avoir rassemblé ses vassaux, se prépara à la lutte et même y prit part, doit répondre de toutes les violences que ses gens auront pu commettre, et être confondu avec des incendiaires et des assassins? A Dieu ne plaise! Il est impossible de ne pas établir une distinction fondamentale entre ceux qui ne firent que courir aux armes pour leur propre défense et celle de leur nation, et ceux qui auraient ouvertement d'avoir organisé le massacre et trempé leurs mains dans le sang. Lord Dufferin espère que la Commission reconnaîtra avec lui la nécessité de cette distinction, et qu'elle se gardera de frapper, comme des assassins, les hommes qui ont seulement pris part à une guerre dont l'initiative, de l'avou de tous, revient de droit aux ennemis de la nation Druse.

et que
à nombre de témoins dont la déposition était indiquée.
L'examen de différents points, et qui n'ont pas été entendus. Il est souvent fait mention dans les interrogatoires de pièces, de lettres, de correspondances, qui n'ont pas été recherchées, ou du moins qui n'ont

pas été produites et jointes au dossier. Une confrontation entre les Chefs Druses et quelques-uns des agents de l'autorité Ottomane était nécessaire; elle n'a pas eu lieu.

Toutes ces observations ont conduit M. de Rehsœs à penser qu'une instruction supplémentaire serait utile, et qu'il faudrait même la confier à un juriconsulte Européen; mais, en égard aux retards qu'une telle mesure entraînerait et à l'incertitude du résultat final, il ne croit pas devoir insister sur cette idée, quelque juste qu'elle lui paraisse.

Pour arriver à se former une opinion sur ce procès et sur la culpabilité des différents accusés, il a donc dû, lui aussi, chercher en dehors des documents, des éléments de conviction, et il n'hésite pas à déclarer, comme il l'a déjà couramment avec ses collègues de France, de Grande Bretagne, et de R. que la responsabilité des fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans demeure pleine et entière. De quelque côté que vint le signal du désordre et la provocation, avec

l'autorité, chargée de veiller au maintien de l'ordre, devant s'interposer entre les combattants, essayer au moins d'arrêter un mal qu'ils n'avaient pas eu

prévenir. Ils ne l'ont pas fait. On ne peut élever, on ne cite de leur part aucun les conséquences de leur coupable conduite. Le Gouverneur de Sayda eût-il offert vingt fois sa démission avant les événements, tant qu'il était Gouverneur, il se devait tout entier, sans réserve, aux devoirs de sa position. Il n'y a donc aucune circonstance atténuante qui puisse être invoquée en sa faveur. Tahir Pacha mérite la mort à un égal titre, car il commandait en chef des troupes à Dar-el-Komar qu'il a livré aux massacres, et Nouri Bey a failli aux lois de l'honneur, en n'exécutant point l'ordre formel qui lui avait été donné d'occuper Zahlé. Vassily Efendi a prouvé après les événements, par le meurtre juré qu'il a commis, qu'il était capable d'y avoir trempé, et sa part de responsabilité dans les événements est telle qu'il mérite la peine de mort. La sentence rendue contre Ahmed Efendi devant nous être revuée dans le sens d'une aggravation.

M. le Comte d'Autriche a fait une étude de cette affaire. Il a examiné les documents avec soin, et il a été le témoin des événements. Ces deux études ont tour à tour contribué à faire naître en lui l'opinion qu'il a exprimée dans sa note particulière, savoir, que les désordres qui ont eu lieu dans la Montagne doivent être considérés comme une guerre de peuple à peuple, et que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ont fait ce qui était en leur pouvoir pour

Dans les districts du Nord, dans le Kesrouan, comme dans le Meten et les districts du Sud, l'abus des droits féodaux dont les seigneurs ou Mokattadja étaient en possession, avait soulevé dans les classes inférieures de la population un vif mécontentement. Dans les districts de la partie septentrionale, où les Mokattadja étaient les corrépondants des Fodahs, l'insurrection, quand elle eut lieu, conserva le caractère d'une guerre civile. Dans les districts où les populations chrétiennes étaient soumises à des Mokattadja Druses, la difficulté politique et sociale prit naturellement le caractère d'une lutte mal lue entre deux nationalités. Au fond, le principe des troubles était le même dans les deux Casernes. Mais, dans le Sud, à ce principe il se joignait d'autres circonstances qui aggravèrent singulièrement le mal et amenèrent de véritables désastres. L'organisation des Druses, leur esprit de solidarité, la faculté pour les Chefs de rassembler en un moment autour d'eux leurs vassaux, permettant à cette nation, la moins nombreuse, de se défendre avec succès contre l'autre, et même de remporter facilement sur elle une victoire qui fut souillée par de déplorables excès. M. le Comte d'Autriche ajoute que ces atrocités ont soulevé en Europe une douloureuse émotion, et il ne croit pas se tromper en disant que ce n'est point le fait de la guerre lui-même que l'Europe a haï, car en Europe il y a aussi des guerres qui coûtent la vie à beaucoup d'hommes. Ce sont les assassinats, c'est l'incendie, le pillage effréné que l'opinion publique a flétris et qu'elle voudrait voir réprimer. Or, dans les pièces du procès des accusés de Beyrouth, M. de Weckbecker a vainement cherché la preuve que les accusés, tant Ottomans que Sheks Druses, aient été les instigateurs du massacre, ou qu'ils y aient pris personnellement part, sauf deux, Mouhaddin Chikli et Becht Meri, au sujet desquels il a déjà fait des réserves dans sa note particulière. Il ne peut que persister dans l'opinion

There is a good deal of truth in what M. de Weckbecker says about the anti-national character of the movement.

général qu'il a exprimée, savoir, que le Tribunal de Beyrouth n'a point tenu suffisamment compte, à ses yeux, du caractère qu'il vient d'assigner à la lutte entre Druses et Maronites. Quant aux fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans, M. de Weikbecker vient de prononcer, la justification d'une motion qu'il a déjà faite dans une réunion particulière des cinq Commissaires, et tendante à ce que les Chefs Druses étant rigoureusement frappés, les coupables vulgaires, détenus et commutation de peine. L'organisation de la nation Druse à laquelle M. le Commissaire d'Autriche a fait allusion, l'influence énorme, presque absolue, des principaux Chefs sur le reste de la nation, prouvent d'une manière certaine que ce sont eux qui doivent surtout porter la responsabilité des événements, et qu'il n'est point indispensable à l'œuvre de répression que ceux qui n'ont été que des instruments soient punis de la peine de mort. M. Béclet donne lecture de la note dans laquelle il a développé cette idée, et demande qu'elle soit annexée au procès-verbal (Annexe 4). M. le Commissaire Français rappelle à ce propos que son Excellence Fuad Pacha avait promis à la Commission de faire de nouvelles recherches pour arriver à prononcer un plus grand nombre de condamnations à Mokhtara, conformément au vœu émis par la Commission. Si ces recherches ont amené un résultat, il prie son Excellence de vouloir bien le faire connaître. Il y aurait lieu dans ce cas d'étendre à ces nouveaux condamnés, comme aux vingt premiers, la faveur d'une commutation de peine, mais seulement après que leur condamnation aurait été prononcée et publiée avec solennité. Ce qu'il a en vue, en faisant cette proposition, c'est d'éviter l'effusion du sang, et de favoriser, par cette mesure de clémence, la réconciliation si désirable des Druses avec les Maronites. Il espère que ce double objet sera également pris en considération par tous ses collègues.

M. le Commissaire Français trouve dans les propres paroles que M. de

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Lord Dufferin s'associe au vœu exprimé par M. Béclet.

Fuad Pacha répond à la question qui vient de lui être posée au sujet des condamnés de Mokhtara. Après de nouvelles investigations, il est arrivé à un chiffre total de cinquante-huit condamnations à mort, auxquelles il y aurait lieu d'adjointer encore quelques individus, récemment arrêtés à Dama, et qui avaient pris part aux troubles de la Montagne. On pourrait appliquer à tous ces gens le bénéfice d'une commutation de peine.

M. de Rehsues adhère à la proposition de M. Béclet, mais à une condition toutefois, c'est que cette commutation de peine pour la masse des criminels

It was at this interview that Bishop Tabai boasted that whatever he might have said, he had never written anything to compromise himself.

M. Béclet's was the result of M. Thourvet's communication on the subject of the massacre. It is to be regretted, however, that the result of the French Minister's humane reference should endanger the heads of persons far less deserving of punishment than the butchers whose heads he refers to.

de Mokhtara n'entraînera point de mesure analogue en faveur des Chefs détenus à Beyrouth.

M. Béclet fait observer que, bien loin d'entraîner cette conséquence, elle l'exclut. On n'épargnerait les coupables d'ordre secondaire que parce que la responsabilité, et par conséquent la peine de premier ordre, pèseraient sur les Chefs. Ces deux idées sont si étroitement liées, à ses yeux, qu'elles ne peuvent être séparées.*

M. le Commissaire de Russie s'associe de grand cœur à l'idée de clémence qui a dicté la proposition de M. Béclet, avec cette réserve qu'elle ne puisse être prise par les uns comme un encouragement, ni par les autres comme un déni de justice. Il reconnaît la nécessité de confirmer les sentences des tribunaux contre quelques-uns des Druses les plus coupables. Il voudrait seulement que l'on ait un discernement tout particulier dans leur désignation. M. le Commissaire de France croit devoir provoquer la peine capitale à l'égard de la presque totalité des Chefs Druses condamnés à Beyrouth, comme appartenant à la catégorie des Chefs, et il réclame une commutation de peine pour les condamnés de Mokhtara qu'il considère tous comme des assassins obscurs. Cette classification ne paraît pas entièrement exacte. Parmi les condamnés de Mokhtara, il se trouve des membres de la famille Arim, une des plus considérables de l'Anti-Liban, et des Chefs de bandes, convaincus d'avoir pris part aux massacres. Par contre, sur les onze condamnés de Beyrouth, il y a des individus de la basse classe, et des Chefs de second ordre qui sont seulement convaincus d'avoir parcouru le pays à la tête de leurs bandes les armes à la main, mais sans qu'il soit prouvé que ces bandes aient commis des meurtres. En conséquence

M. le Commissaire de Russie propose que la commutation de peine pour les condamnés de Mokhtara, ne doive être appliquée ni l'un ni l'autre rigoureusement. Il y aurait lieu peut-être, selon lui, de condamner à des

Amad, Cassim Neked, et l'Emir Cassim Rodan, et à exécuter la condamnation à mort contre ceux d'entre les détenus de Mokhtara qui, appartenant ou non à des familles influentes, seraient convaincus d'avoir conduit des bandes aux massacres. L'amendement proposé par M. le Commissaire Russe à la motion de M. Béclet, ne soulevant aucune objection, paraît de nature à être adopté. Lord Dufferin fait observer toutefois que la clémence en faveur des condamnés de Mokhtara convaincus pour la plupart d'assassinat, ne saurait servir à ses yeux de justification à une aggravation de peine contre une autre classe d'accusés dont la culpabilité doit être considérée isolément.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche appuie la proposition de M. Béclet, relativement aux condamnés de Mokhtara, mais en réservant expressément l'opinion qu'il a formulée dans sa note particulière touchant les onze accusés de Beyrouth. L'union entre deux peuples destinés à vivre l'un à côté de l'autre sur un même territoire.

La séance est levée à six heures et demie

(Suivent les signatures.)

Annex 1.

Beyrouth, le 23 Février, 1861.

Les Soussignés, après avoir pris connaissance des pièces du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et des Chefs Druses détenus à Beyrouth, croient devoir se borner à constater que, de ces pièces, il ne résulte aucune circonstance atténuante de nature à établir avec certitude que les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ne sont pas responsables en principe des événements qui ont ensanglanté la Montagne et amené le massacre de 6,000 Chrétiens. Dans la pensée des quatre Commissaires de France, de Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, cette responsabilité continue, ils ont regret à le dire, à peser sur les agents de

* This does not appear just. Amongst those condemned at Mokhtara are many Sherifs of no influence as the Chiefs at Beyrouth, and I am afraid that it is a political object that dictates this language, rather than abstract considerations of justice.

† This is quite true.

‡ I quite agree with M. de Rehsues.

L'autorité Ottomane au moins autant que sur les plus coupables des Cheiks Druses, et la différence des châtements infligés aux uns et aux autres ne trouve pas, à leurs yeux, sa justification suffisante dans les pièces du procès soumises à leur examen.

En conséquence les Soussignés ont l'honneur d'inviter son Excellence Fuad Pacha à suppléer, par sa propre initiative et dans le légitime exercice des pleins-pouvoirs dont il est muni, en consultant à la fois les inspirations de sa conscience et les nécessités aussi impérieuses qu'urgentes de la justice, à ce qu'il y a d'incomplet dans l'instruction et d'inéquitable dans les sentences du tribunal de Beyrouth, et à terminer le plus promptement possible cette œuvre de répression dont les lenteurs ont entravé depuis six mois le rétablissement de l'ordre dans le Liban.

(Signé) L. BECLARD
DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE,
DE RHEUFS
NOVIKOW

Annex 2

Beyrouth, le 23 Février, 1861.

Le Soussigné a lu avec attention les documents que son Excellence Fuad Pacha a soumis à l'examen de la Commission Internationale

Il a vu que le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth, en proposant de les frapper d'une peine rigoureuse, a eu sans doute en vue un genre de culpabilité que l'examen attentif des pièces du procès ne fait pas apercevoir.

Quant aux Chefs Druses, le Soussigné est d'avis que le Tribunal n'a pas pris suffisamment en considération le caractère particulier de la lutte entre Druses et Chrétiens. Ce n'était pas un acte de rébellion de la part des Cheiks Druses contre l'autorité du Souverain, c'était une guerre civile entre deux populations rivales qui, en se disputant un territoire, se sont défendues ou ont pris l'offensive tour à tour et selon l'occurrence.

La Commission, loin de méconnaître le caractère de la lutte, avait pris soin de le constater, pour ainsi dire, elle-même, en établissant dans sa dixième séance du 24 Novembre, 1860, trois catégories de coupables qu'elle jugeait passibles de la peine de mort, savoir :

Les instigateurs des massacres,

Les chefs des bandes des assassins et des incendiaires ;

Et les assassins les plus sanguinaires, c'est-à-dire, les individus ayant pris une part personnelle aux massacres, sans distinction s'ils sont des chefs de la nation ou de simples administrés.

Or, le Soussigné ne trouve pas que les Druses détenus à Beyrouth et condamnés à mort, savoir, Mehieddin Chibli et Bechir Mers, puissent être compris dans l'une des autres catégories contre lesquels les preuves à charge ne lui paraissent pas suffisantes.

Le Soussigné, &c. (Signé) DE WECKBECKER.
A son Excellence Fuad Pacha,
&c. &c. &c.

Annex 3.

Fuad Pacha a pris en sérieuse considération la communication collective de MM. les Commissaires de France, de la Grande Bretagne, de Prusse, et de Russie, lui ont adressée au sujet du procès des fonctionnaires Ottomans et des Cheiks Druses, dont les pièces de procédure leur avaient été communiquées.

L'autorité Ottomane et les Chefs Druses, et considérant que la responsabilité des premiers dans les événements de la Montagne est aussi grande que la culpabilité des derniers, constatent dans leur opinion la nécessité pour le Plénipotentiaire du Sultan de suppléer, par son initiative et d'après l'inspiration de sa conscience et l'exigence de la justice, à ce qu'il y a d'incomplet dans l'instruction et d'inéquitable dans les sentences de ce Tribunal.

Fuad Pacha, appelé par les pouvoirs que le Sultan son auguste Maître lui a confiés, à sanctionner les sentences que les Tribunaux Extraordinaires donnaient, conformément aux dispositions des lois existantes de l'Empire, a cru de son devoir impérieux de laisser une liberté d'action aux Tribunaux qu'il avait institués d'office, et se conformant aux attributions du pouvoir exécutif qu'il représente en Syrie, il s'est abstenu de se constituer soit en délateur, soit en accusateur, mais en laissant à la justice pourvoir. Comme la communication de MM. les Commissaires des quatre Puissances invite aujourd'hui le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman à se mettre au-dessus d'un Tribunal, et à rendre un jugement suprême par sa propre initiative, il se trouve dans la nécessité d'exprimer les inspirations de sa conscience, d'après lesquelles il doit non pas faire appliquer une sentence, mais rendre, pour ainsi dire, un jugement ou dernier ressort.

Il faudra d'abord établir la différence qu'il y a entre les crimes commis dans la ville de Damas, et les événements qui ont ébranlé la Montagne. Le premier est un soulèvement d'une partie de la population d'une ville contre une autre, sans cause et sans provocation. C'était un crime prévu explicitement par le Code de l'Empire. Une peine sévère fut infligée à cette population, et ceux parmi les fonctionnaires qui n'ont pas su remplir leurs devoirs, en protégeant les sujets de leur souverain, ont été frappés de la plus sévère punition.

Quant aux événements de la Montagne, ils diffèrent, de l'avis et de l'avis de tout le monde, dans leur cause et dans leur forme de ceux de la ville de Damas, quoique le caractère de ces événements ne soit pas légalement établi. Les atrocités commises contre les Chrétiens, et le torrent de sang humain qui a été versé, ont produit naturellement une telle émotion que sans nous enquêter on ne voit, pour ainsi dire, que le corps du délit, sans entrer dans la recherche des causes qui ont produit ces malheurs. Mais pour bien éclairer la justice, il aurait fallu du prime abord, et avant d'entrer dans ses procès individuels, prescrire la nature et le caractère de ces événements. C'est sous cette inspiration que le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman avait énoncé, lors de l'ouverture de la Commission Européenne, en répondant aux quatre points qui avaient été soumis à son examen, l'idée que la Commission Européenne doit, comme un Tribunal, juger d'abord non pas les individus dont le jugement appartient à leur autorité légitime, mais les événements dans leur cause et leur forme. Ce procédé général et poli qui aurait fourni au jugement individuel des matières d'éclaircissement, si nécessaires pour le rendre aussi juste qu'impartial.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman ayant été obligé de donner une autre direction à ce procès, c'est-à-dire, d'ordonner des poursuites individuelles, le Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth n'a cherché que les individus auxquels les peines indiquées dans les Articles 56 et 57 du Code Pénal pourraient être appliquées. D'après ces articles les individus qui sont passibles de la peine capitale sont :

1. Ceux qui organisent et dirigent un complot dans le but de soulever une partie de la population de l'Empire contre l'autre.

2. Ceux qui exercent, dans une bande organisée pour un complot, un commandement.

3. Ceux qui, faisant partie d'une bande armée, commettent des assassinats. Le Tribunal Extraordinaire, conformément au rôle qui lui a été assigné, n'a fait qu'instituer le procès des individus qui ont été accusés de ces trois degrés de crimes, sans entrer dans aucune considération politique. De cette procédure il a constaté ces crimes sans pouvoir chercher dans leurs causes des circonstances atténuantes ou aggravantes, et il a donné sa sentence pour l'application des peines prévues par la loi.

Quant aux agents de l'autorité, aucun indice ne venant constater leur participation aux crimes de ceux qui ont été accusés comme graveurs compromis dans ces événements, à trois degrés de culpabilité cités plus haut, le

n'ayant pas rempli leurs devoirs, en défendant les Chrétiens qui s'étaient réfugiés sous la protection de leurs armes, ont été jugés et condamnés comme coupables de trahison. Les deux premiers sont déjà exécutés, et les deux derniers subiront immédiatement leur peine.

Le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman, étant desirux plus que personne de finir au moment plutôt cette partie si pénible de sa tâche, espère qu'une entente qui ne manquera de s'établir entre les membres de la Commission le mettra à même d'achever l'œuvre de justice qui traîne depuis trop longtemps, contrairement à sa volonté.

Beyrouth, le 7 Février, 1861.

Annex 4

Note Particulière présentée par M. le Commissaire Français.

Le Commissaire Français, après avoir fait une étude attentive des documents communiqués à la Commission par son Excellence Foud Pacha, déclare que dans son opinion, tant que les condamnations capitales prononcées contre les Chefs Druses, détenus à Beyrouth, sont pleinement justifiées et justifiées, rien n'explique au contraire l'indulgence relative dont le Tribunal a fait preuve envers l'ex-Gouverneur Kourchul Pacha, le Général Tahir Pacha, le Colonel Noury Bey, le Kachim Vassif Kfendi, et l'employé Ahmed Kfendi. La responsabilité la plus entière pèse toujours à ses yeux sur les fonctionnaires ou officiers Ottomans dont il vient de citer les noms, et il ne voit pas pourquoi ces derniers, instigateurs ou complices des massacres dont le Liban a été le théâtre, ne seraient pas aussi sévèrement punis que ceux qui ont toléré ou provoqué les mêmes crimes à Damas. Mais, tout en réclamant contre eux une aggravation de peine que l'on paraît d'accord avec les exigences de la justice, le Commissaire Français croit devoir poser à ses collègues la question de savoir si, exercée dans de telles limites, c'est-à-dire, appliquée avec la dernière rigueur aux principaux accusés, tant Musulmans que Druses, la répression, en ce qui constitue son caractère le plus terrible, n'aurait pas atteint pleinement le résultat auquel il était permis de prétendre. Sa conscience qu'il a d'abord interrogée sur ce point, lui dit que l'humanité, pour venger les outrages qu'elle a subis, n'admet pas l'emploi immodéré de ces mêmes armes dont on s'est servi contre elle. D'après ce principe, le sort des plus grands coupables devrait être considéré comme une expiation suffisante. Quant aux autres accusés, si leur conduite est également odieuse, leur responsabilité est moindre. Il y aurait donc lieu de les recommander à la clémence du Plénipotentiaire Ottoman. En agissant ainsi, la Commission ne devrait pas craindre de se mettre en contradiction avec elle-même. Cette contradiction d'ailleurs n'existerait pas. La Commission a pu vouloir, et elle a voulu en effet qu'une sévérité méritée fût infligée à un nombre plus ou moins grand d'accusés parmi ceux que le Tribunal de Mokhtarah avait choisis en diverses catégories. Il lui est certainement loisible aujourd'hui, une fois cette satisfaction obtenue, d'intervenir, au nom de l'Europe civilisée, en faveur d'individus, obscurs pour la plupart, qui n'ont été que les instruments de passions détestables, qu'une différence soit faite entre les assassins qui ont frappé sans discernement et ceux qui, au lieu d'empêcher le mal, l'ont favorisé, soit par une impulsion déterminante, soit par une lâche inaction. Ceux-ci pourraient arrêter le bras des assassins : ils l'ont eu quelque sorte dirigé. À eux la responsabilité des crimes commis ; aux autres une punition moindre, quoique proportionnée à leurs forfaits.

purifier par le repentir. Les nécessités inhérentes au rétablissement de l'ordre et de la sécurité dans la Montagne pourraient ainsi se concilier avec les conseils de la clémence.

* The French Commissioner here proposes to let off all those condemned at Mokhtarah, if the evidence is not sufficient to condemn them. He is aware that many of them are persons of great influence and power among their nation.

Inclosure 3 in No. 523.

Protocol of the Twenty-third Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth, February 28, 1861.

Le vingt-huit Février, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Foud Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi.

M. les Commissaires reviennent sur le sujet qu'ils ont traité la veille. Ils l'examinent en détail, et cherchent à établir, chacun tour à tour, selon les lumières qu'ils possèdent, le degré de culpabilité des différents accusés. Après l'exposé et le développement de toutes les opinions contradictoires, son Excellence le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman résume le débat, et rend compte à la Commission de l'embaras où il se trouve par suite des divergences qui se sont produites dans son sein.

M. de Weckbecker, dit-il, demande que je révisé dans le sens d'un acquittement les sentences prononcées par le Tribunal de Beyrouth contre les fonctionnaires Ottomans, tandis que les quatre autres Commissaires demandent qu'un châtiment sévère leur soit infligé. Une divergence d'opinion radicale existe d'ailleurs entre ces quatre Commissaires au sujet des Druses ; et même sur le premier point concernant les agents de l'autorité, ils diffèrent d'avis sur le degré de culpabilité, et par conséquent sur le degré de la peine qu'il faut appliquer.

M. le Commissaire de France demande que la peine de mort soit infligée aux cinq fonctionnaires Ottomans incriminés ; M. le Commissaire de Prusse aux quatre premiers ; M. le Commissaire d'Angleterre et celui de Russie à trois seulement. Encore M. le Commissaire Britannique admet-il que le troisième, Noury Bey, puisse être recommandé à la bienveillance miséricordieuse du Sultan. Lord Dufferin et M. Novikow ne demandent pour le quatrième et le cinquième qu'une aggravation de peine d'un degré *. Sur la première question, relative aux agents de l'autorité Ottomane, Foud Pacha, s'il veut prendre en considération l'avis exprimé par les Commissaires, se trouve donc en présence d'au moins trois opinions.

Quant aux Chefs Druses, les avis sont encore plus contradictoires. Les Représentants de l'Autriche et de l'Angleterre demandent la révision du procès pour six accusés dans le sens de l'acquiescement, une mitigation de peine pour trois, et la confirmation du jugement pour deux seulement, Moumeddin Chibh et Bechar Meri. M. de Kefelars et M. Beclard demandent la confirmation de toutes les sentences, sauf pour Hussein Talhouk et Ali Suid, en faveur desquels ils admettent une commutation de peine. M. Novikow, tenant pour nous dans une position intermédiaire, réclame une diminution de peine pour Hussein Talhouk, et s'abstient de se prononcer sur Essad Talhouk, Choum Nekid, Essad Arsed, et Hassan Mohammed Cassim Rodan†.

Il est clair que toutes ces opinions, également respectables aux yeux de son Excellence le Commissaire Ottoman, ne peuvent être en même temps satisfaisantes. Comme Représentant du pouvoir exécutif du Sultan, il a mission de donner force exécutoire aux sentences rendues par le Tribunal conformément à la loi. Comme membre de la Commission il a le droit de se former une opinion personnelle sur ces sentences. S'il use de ses plénipotentiaires pour réviser les sentences, il doit rendre compte à son Gouvernement du motif de sa résolution. Il aura obéi à l'inspiration de sa conscience ou bien à une nécessité de l'ordre politique. Or, en ce qui concerne les fonctionnaires Ottomans et Kourchul Pacha notamment, qui, d'après les renseignements fournis dans la séance d'hier par M. de Weckbecker, a fait appel au Corps Consulaire pour réclamer son intervention, nouvelle circonstance évidemment très atténuante, Foud Pacha déclare que, suivant les inspirations de sa conscience, les accusés sont non-seulement punis par la détention à perpétuité, peine dont le relâchement de ce procès et son caractère pour ainsi dire Diplomatique assurent la continuité. S'il dit qu'il a, contrairement à sa

Représentants des Puissances étrangères demandaient leur tête, il assumerait à son tour une responsabilité telle, vis-à-vis de son Gouvernement, qu'en aucun cas il ne pourrait prendre cette résolution. En conséquence M. le Commissaire du

* This is a mistake, I do not require the two subordinates to be imprisoned for life; I merely require them to be imprisoned for a term of years.

† Yet, though he admits there is no evidence whatever against them, the Russian Commissioner proposed to class them with those condemned to death at Mokhtarah, but whose sentences were to be commuted.

Sultan ne voit d'autre moyen de trancher la question que de confirmer purement et simplement les sentences, et d'en référer, pour leur exécution, à Constantinople.

M. le Commissaire Français fait observer que, si malgré les instances de la majorité de la Commission, son Excellence ne croit pas devoir user sur-le-champ de ses pleins-pouvoirs pour réviser dans le sens d'une aggravation la sentence du Tribunal, en ce qui concerne les officiers et fonctionnaires Ottomans, ses collègues et lui sont obligés de souscrire à cette démarche, et d'accepter les nouvelles lenteurs qu'elle entraîne. Mais par rapport aux Cheiks Druses la même difficulté n'existe pas, puisque sa tâche se bornerait à confirmer les sentences du Tribunal. M. le Commissaire de France pose à son Excellence la question de savoir si elle ne jugerait pas convenable de procéder immédiatement à leur exécution pour terminer au moins cette partie de la répression.

Son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan se déclare prêt à obtempérer au vœu formulé par M. le Commissaire de France. La pacification du Liban est ce

mmultané de la répression qui corrige et de la clémence qui ramène. Plus heureux à l'égard des Druses qu'à l'égard des fonctionnaires Ottomans, il pourra peut-être donner dans une certaine mesure satisfaction aux opinions divergentes de ses collègues.

Il se propose de ratifier d'abord purement et simplement les sentences rendues

atténuantes, telles que celles indiquées ci-dessus, paraissent devoir être prises en considération, il atténuera ce que les sentences du Tribunal auraient pu avoir de trop rigoureux.

Il exprime la crainte que l'œuvre de la répression ne soit complètement manquée. Nous avons, dit-il, devant nous trois catégories d'accusés :

Les fonctionnaires et officiers Ottomans ;

Les Cheiks Druses détenus à Beyrouth ;

Et les Druses de rang inférieur détenus à Mokhtarah.

Si le procès des premiers, ainsi qu'il a été dit, est renvoyé à Constantinople, si la sentence des seconds est confirmée, mais non exécutée sur-le-champ et soumise à une sorte de révision déguisée, et enfin la peine des Druses de Mokhtarah est commuée en masse, ainsi qu'il a été convenu, il n'y a plus aucune répression.

Fuad Pacha fait observer que le principe de la répression est admis, et M. de Werthecker que la répression peut avoir lieu sans la peine de mort. M. Novikow s'associe à la remarque de son collègue de France, et M. de Rehfues exprime la crainte que la répression ne devienne tout-à-fait illusoire. Si après six mois d'efforts de la part du Tribunal et d'instances de la part de la Commission, Fuad Pacha admet de nouveaux délais, et contrairement à la sentence du Tribunal accepte le principe des circonstances atténuantes en faveur des Cheiks Druses, la répression disparaît de tous les côtés à la fois : aucune satisfaction délatante n'est donnée à la justice, le malaise du pays se prolonge, et de nouveaux désordres sont rendus possibles. M. de Rehfues croit devoir se prononcer contre un tel résultat.

M. le Commissaire Britannique, en se plaçant à un autre point de vue, ne saurait davantage approuver la marche indiquée plus haut par Fuad Pacha. Son Excellence propose de ratifier uniformément toutes les sentences, et de prononcer ensuite, partout où besoin serait, des commutations de peine ; ce qui, dans la pensée du Commissaire Ottoman, équivaudrait à une révision du juge-

est absolument nécessaire, selon lui, de distinguer entre une révision de sentence et une commutation de peine. La première permet à celui qui est innocent d'échapper à la condamnation, tandis que la seconde ne peut pas empêcher que

soit souverainement injuste de confondre les Cheiks Druses, détenus à Beyrouth, avec les criminels détenus à Mokhtarah. Ceux-ci, reconnus coupables, et, en conséquence, condamnés, ainsi qu'à l'égard desquels Lord Dufferin renouvelle les réserves exprimées par lui dans une précédente séance, peuvent être l'objet d'une grâce inspirée par les soins de la situation politique. Mais ceux-là ne peuvent être condamnés

à une peine quelconque par le seul fait qu'ils sont des Cheiks, et sans que leur culpabilité ait été bien démontrée.

La divergence d'opinion qui existe entre les différents membres de la Commission, par rapport aux Cheiks Druses, se reproduisant de nouveau sur ce terrain, et une conciliation, par voie de discussion, semblant de toute façon impossible, M. le Commissaire d'Autriche émet l'avis que c'est à la source même de ce dissentiment qu'il faudrait remonter pour essayer de le faire disparaître. On diffère sur le principe, c'est-à-dire, sur le bien-fondé des preuves du procès, mais chaque opinion a été conçue de part et d'autre séparément. Chaque Commissaire a examiné individuellement les pièces du procès qui ont été communiquées. Peut-être une lecture collective et l'échange des idées et des appréciations qu'elle susciterait, seraient-ils de nature à faciliter entre tous une certaine entente.

Lord Dufferin appuie cette proposition, et M. Novikow la considère comme un dernier effort de conciliation qu'il est au moins louable de tenter. M. de Rehfues déclare se rallier à l'avis de la majorité, et M. Bréard ne peut s'opposer à cet expédient. Fuad Pacha propose d'introduire auprès de la Commission deux des membres du Tribunal qui pourraient, s'il y a lieu, donner sur-le-champ des explications sur tel ou tel point. Cette seconde proposition est encore adoptée. M. le Commissaire de France demande toutefois la permission de faire observer que la Commission est sur le point de se transformer en cour de justice et de perdre son véritable caractère, celui d'une réunion diplomatique, chargée non pas de juger les coupables, mais de provoquer seulement leur punition. Cette réserve est admise par tous les Commissaires.

La séance est levée à six heures et demie.

Suivent les signatures :

Enclosure 4 in No. 323

Protocol of the Twenty-fourth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrouth, March 2, 1861.

LE deux Mars, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrouth sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à

Mohammed Ros had Elendi et Alio Elendi, membres du Tribunal Extraordinaire de Beyrouth, sont introduits, et il est donné lecture de l'interrogatoire de Said Bey Jumblat, ainsi que des dépositions faites par les témoins à charge ou à décharge, et de diverses autres pièces jointes au dossier concernant cet accusé. A diverses reprises durant cette lecture, MM. les Commissaires font ressortir soit les lacunes qui se trouvent dans la procédure, soit les preuves qui leur semblent établir la culpabilité de l'accusé ou son innocence.

M. le Commissaire Britannique, après l'audition de cette longue procédure, ne veut pas prétendre que Said Bey Jumblat s'est conduit en héros, et qu'il a tenté ce qu'Abd-el-Kader n'a pas osé tenter de faire à Damour. Mais ceci posé, il y a lieu de remarquer la faiblesse de toutes les preuves sur lesquelles le Tribunal s'appuie. Ce ne sont guère que des présomptions, et il est au moins étonnant que si l'accusé a participé aux désordres de la Montagne, un Tribunal évidemment peu disposé à la bienveillance à son égard, n'ait pas pu

bien loin de pousser à la lutte, s'est efforcé de rester neutre et d'observer une stricte impartialité. La population de ce pays étant peu commune, et l'époque où les témoignages furent

gathered. His Excellency declared that other testimony had been submitted, but that the accuracy of this statement. It is moreover certain that two of the principal witnesses had not been examined, and, indeed, were ignorant of what was being done.

1 M. Davidson said he considered it sacrilege to doubt a direct statement made on oath by a Christian.

(Suivent les signatures.)

TABLE of Prisoners with their Names, and showing the Opinions of the Commissioners on to & respective cases

Prisoner	Age	Rank	Opinion of the Commissioners	Remarks
1. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
2. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
3. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
4. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
5. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
6. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
7. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
8. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
9. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
10. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
11. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
12. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
13. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
14. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
15. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
16. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
17. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
18. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
19. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
20. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
21. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
22. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
23. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
24. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
25. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
26. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
27. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
28. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
29. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
30. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
31. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
32. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
33. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
34. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
35. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
36. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
37. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
38. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
39. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
40. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
41. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
42. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
43. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
44. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
45. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
46. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
47. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
48. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
49. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
50. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
51. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
52. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
53. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
54. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
55. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
56. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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58. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
59. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
60. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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62. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
63. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
64. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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67. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
68. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
69. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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71. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
72. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
73. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
74. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
75. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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85. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
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94. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
95. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
96. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
97. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
98. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
99. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	
100. Pasha	35	Major	Guilty	

Sir,

Beirut, March 7, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Excellency's information, a list of Druses condemned to death by what his Excellency Foud Pasha terms "a summary process."

The evidence against twenty-two of these persons was considered convincing by Mr Vice-Consul White and by Colonel Fraser, who was allowed to take cognizance of the proceedings of the court-martial who condemned them, and it is regrettable that the rest of their nation some of them having butchered, in cold blood, dozens of Christians.

Many of them are Sheikhs and persons of influence, and I am sometimes anxious to see that the law is not used as a mere pretext to profit by the act of grace which is recommended by the British and French Governments, the consequences might be the reverse of what is intended.

In this country of blood-feuds, it is considered incumbent on the next of kin to remedy, by his personal interposition, any laxity of the criminal law, and the habit of "vendettas" has been created by the absence of more legitimate punishment.

If then, all these recognized assassins are suffered to escape without any greater punishment than imprisonment, the relatives of those they have slaughtered may think it necessary to satisfy their vengeance on some innocent member of the murderer's family, and the origin of future atrocities may be thus engendered.

On the other hand, I am so loth to counsel any unnecessary severity, that if it should be considered expedient not to exceed the limits agreed on by the Cabinets of London and Paris, I should be disposed to recommend that the punishment of death should be declared altogether inapplicable on the present occasion, as the effect of the execution of one or two persons would be nugatory and their death useless, either as a satisfaction to the Christians, or a warning to the Druses.

With regard to those in the accompanying Table against whose names there is no marginal reference, I have to say that the proceedings against them has been irregular and unjust. Six of them have been imprisoned for five months in Beirut, and the *procès-verbaux* of their trials have never been communicated to the Commission, in that they have not been examined: why should they be dealt with in so summary a manner? Another six have been condemned because they did not surrender when summoned to take their trial, a very small aggravation of their crime under present circumstances; and the remaining twenty-six have been arbitrarily removed from the first to the second category by only a portion of the Court that tried them, two of its members, one of them Hasan Bek, Colonel O'Reilly, being quite ignorant of what was being done. Foud Pasha assures me that the subsequent testimony on which these additional condemnations took place was convincing, but I have reason to be dissatisfied with this statement, and I informed his Excellency officially that I could not recognize such an irregular mode of procedure. He has, consequently, consented to submit this Table also to a revision by his Government, and I sincerely trust they will refrain from confirming sentences of death passed in this wholesale manner, by a portion only of the court-martial, which had expressly announced to us, that the entire want of evidence precluded it from placing among the criminals of the first category those very names they have now placed there.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Lord J. Russell to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 78.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 27, 1861.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch No. 80 of the 10th instant, explaining the course which you pursued in regard to the trial of the Druse prisoners and their condemnation, and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve your proceedings in those matters.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 525.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 28.)

(No. 81.)

My Lord,

Beyrout, March 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of further despatches which I have this day addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 525.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, March 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that in addition to sixty-eight Druses whose cases have been referred to Constantinople, and certain others whom Fuad Pacha proposes to imprison here, there are a body of about 150 or 200 more he has determined to transport to Tripoli.

At first it was his Excellency's intention to send them to Constantinople or some other locality in that neighbourhood, but I ventured to suggest the propriety of their being sent to an Arab-speaking country.

Although it is very probable that most of these persons were engaged in the disturbances of the Mountain, and that some of them took part in the atrocities which followed, they cannot be considered as criminals in the legal acceptance of the term, inasmuch as very little evidence was produced against any of them.

At the same time, I am myself of opinion that it would be unadvisable to set them immediately at liberty. Some satisfaction must be given to the Christians, and if persons who are known to have dipped their hands up to their elbows in human blood are immediately allowed to return to the villages where the wives and children of their victims are residing, it would give rise to an amount of panic and clamour against the Government which might become extremely embarrassing.

On the other hand, it is revolting to the principles of every just man to allow any one to be punished whose guilt has not been fully proved; but any misgivings on this head have been considerably diminished by his Excellency assuring me that these persons are not to be treated as prisoners when they arrive, that due provision shall be made for their support there and for that of their families here, and that he has purposely refrained from affixing any term to the duration of their exile, in order that no obstacle may exist to their return to their own country whenever the present excitement shall have a little subsided. The climate, moreover, is healthy, as his Excellency has assured me, who was once there himself when attached to the army in a medical capacity, and at no great distance from the shore rise a chain of mountains not unlike the Lebanon.

In addition to these securities, which humanity has induced me to insist

upon, I have the satisfaction of reflecting that Tripoli is close to Malta, and that our Consul will always be able to prevent these unfortunate persons from sharing the fate of the Circassian emigrants into Turkish territory.

I will send your Excellency further particulars by next mail.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 525.

Lord Dufferin to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Beyrout, March 15, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copy of the Protocol of the twenty-fifth sitting of the Syrian Commission held on the 5th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLANEBOYE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 525.

Protocol of the Twenty-fifth Meeting of the Syrian Commission, held at Beyrout, March 5, 1861.

LE cinq Mars, mil huit cent soixante-un, tous les Commissaires étant réunis à Beyrout sous la présidence de Fuad Pacha, la séance est ouverte à midi.

Les procès-verbaux des 22^{me}, 23^{me}, et 24^{me} séances ayant été lus et adoptés dans une réunion exclusivement consacrée à cet objet, Fuad Pacha propose à MM. les Commissaires de passer immédiatement à la discussion du projet d'indemnité relatif à Damas, et récemment envoyé de Constantinople.

Lord Dufferin demande la permission de faire auparavant des réserves formelles et explicites au sujet des nouvelles condamnations à mort prononcées contre des détenus de Mokhtara. Déjà, lorsque la Commission a été d'avis que le chiffre de vingt condamnations ne remplissait pas le but politique qu'on se proposait, Lord Dufferin avait eu soin de faire connaître que, tout en ne s'opposant point à l'émission de cet avis, il ne croyait pas toutefois que la Commission pût engager un Tribunal à frapper de mort dans un but politique des hommes dont la culpabilité ne serait point parfaitement démontrée au point de vue judiciaire. Il vient d'apprendre que les formalités de procédure dirigées contre les trente-huit nouveaux condamnés ont été encore plus contraires aux règles ordinaires de la justice que celles qui avaient été suivies à l'égard des vingt premiers; que, notamment, ces trente-huit sentences de mort subséquentes avaient été prononcées, à Beyrout, par une partie seulement des juges de Mokhtara, et hors de la présence des accusés, qui n'ont pas pu se faire entendre. M. le Commissaire Britannique croit devoir en conséquence déclarer que ces nouvelles condamnations ne peuvent être considérées par lui comme ayant une valeur quelconque. Lord Dufferin demande ensuite à Fuad Pacha, si, par suite des décisions qui ont été prises dans les précédentes séances, il ne se propose point de mettre un terme aux inquiétudes et aux souffrances de la nation Druse, en lui faisant savoir qu'elle est désormais à l'abri de toute poursuite. Les nombreuses pétitions qu'il reçoit le portent à croire qu'une mesure de ce genre est impérieusement réclamée par l'état des esprits dans la Montagne.

Fuad Pacha répond que les formalités suivies pour les trente-huit nouvelles condamnations à mort sont celles d'une procédure extraordinaire. La Commission, y compris Lord Dufferin, avait été elle-même d'avis que la justice à rendre contre les Druses devait être sommaire, expéditive, militaire pour ainsi dire, et d'un caractère exceptionnel, comme les événements qui l'ont rendu nécessaire. On a suivi pour les Druses nouvellement condamnés exactement les mêmes formalités d'instruction que pour les vingt premiers.

Sur la seconde question son Excellence répond que l'idée d'une sorte d'amnistie judiciaire au profit de la nation Druse toute entière est loin d'être abandonnée. Mais il est clair qu'elle ne peut recevoir d'exécution qu'après la

clôture définitive de l'œuvre de répression. Or, la nécessité où Fuad Pacha se trouve d'en référer à Constantinople, et le caractère conditionnel des diverses propositions relatives à la répression, l'obligent à attendre les instructions de son Gouvernement. Il a toutefois donné à ses agents l'ordre de ne plus procéder dans la Montagne à aucune arrestation, et il a menacé de frapper d'un châtiment exemplaire ceux d'entre les habitants qui chercheraient à se faire justice eux-mêmes par des représailles individuelles.

M. le Commissaire Russe pense que l'inquiétude et le malaise qui régneront encore dans la Montagne et notamment dans les environs de Racheya, seraient en partie calmés par un commencement de répression qui consisterait à exécuter les sentences qui infligent des peines de second ordre à un certain nombre des accusés de Mokhtara.

Fuad Pacha répond que l'on est actuellement en train de préparer par son ordre des mesures d'exécution. Quant aux habitants des environs de Racheya venus à Beyrouth, il a fait droit à leur réclamation, en envoyant dans leur pays de nouvelles troupes, et en adressant au nouveau Commandant des instructions très sévères pour le maintien de l'ordre.

M. de Rehfues est d'avis que, pour rétablir le calme dans la Montagne, il faudrait déployer une égale et très grande rigueur contre les Chrétiens et les Druses qui se livraient à des actes de représailles individuelles.

M. le Commissaire Français a appris que deux assassinats venaient d'être commis aux environs de Baalbek. Il demande que des poursuites soient dirigées contre les meurtriers et qu'ils soient frappés d'un châtiment. Il persiste à croire, d'après ses propres renseignements, et malgré les pièces officielles récemment communiquées, que l'état des choses dans cette partie de la Syrie laisse beaucoup à désirer.

Fuad Pacha fera prendre de nouvelles informations sur l'état du pays, et a déjà ordonné des poursuites relativement aux deux assassinats qui viennent d'être signalés.

Son Excellence le Commissaire du Sultan fait part ensuite à la Commission des instructions qu'il a reçues de Constantinople au sujet de l'indemnité due aux habitants Chrétiens de Damas. La Porte a reconnu, comme la Commission, que le principe d'une somme fixe et déterminée à l'avance, à répartir ensuite entre les ayants-droit au prorata de leurs pertes, était le meilleur qu'on pût adopter. Mais, si la Porte est tombée d'accord avec la Commission sur le principe, elle s'en éloigne dans l'application. Au lieu de 150,000,000 de piastres que la Commission proposait de répartir entre les Chrétiens, la Porte serait d'avis, eu égard aux ressources dont elle croit pouvoir disposer, de s'en tenir au chiffre de 75,000,000 de piastres, dont le Gouvernement du Sultan se constituerait le débiteur vis-à-vis des Chrétiens, et qu'il leur paierait en six à-comptes semestriels, c'est-à-dire, dans le laps de trois années. Dans le plan arrêté à Constantinople, une imposition sur Damas et les environs serait le moyen employé pour faire face aux intérêts et à l'amortissement des sommes que le Gouvernement avancerait.

M. le Commissaire d'Autriche est d'avis que, si l'arrêté de la Porte est définitif, toute discussion semble inutile. Si ce n'est qu'un projet, il doit dire que dans sa pensée le chiffre de 75,000,000 de piastres est insuffisant. En étendant les délais du paiement, la Porte pourrait élever le chiffre même de l'indemnité sans grand inconvénient. Elle pourrait même encore adopter ultérieurement le chiffre proposé par la Commission, en divisant le paiement en douze à-comptes semestriels. M. de Weekbecker fait remarquer en outre que le taux de l'argent dans la Montagne étant actuellement de deux et même trois pour cent par mois, toute lenteur apportée au paiement de l'indemnité occasionne pour les Chrétiens un surcroît de pertes considérables.

M. le Commissaire Français constate que la Porte, après avoir écarté le système proposé par la Commission, et paru donner la préférence à celui d'une enquête spéciale et judiciaire pour chaque individu, adhère maintenant au principe de la Commission, c'est-à-dire, à la fixation d'une somme totale déterminée à l'avance et à répartir ensuite entre tous les ayants-droit. Quant aux chiffres qu'elle a posés, M. Bédard ne trouve pas qu'ils soient de nature à assurer aux Chrétiens une réparation suffisante des dommages qu'ils ont soufferts. 150,000,000 de piastres étaient dans la pensée de la Commission un minimum indispensable, et le terme de huit mois pendant lesquels la population Musulmane de Damas et des environs devait payer la portion de l'impôt mise à sa charge, était un délai suffisant pour les Musulmans et déjà très-long pour les Chrétiens.

La Commission avait été conduite à proposer ces chiffres par des recherches nombreuses et approfondies. Rien ne vient au contraire à l'appui des nouveaux chiffres présentés par la Porte. En conséquence, M. le Commissaire Français ne peut que persister dans l'opinion que d'accord avec ses collègues il a émise, il y a déjà trois mois, sur la question de l'indemnité. Mais quelle que soit la combinaison définitivement adoptée, il y a un point sur lequel il doit s'empreser de faire dès aujourd'hui les réserves les plus formelles, c'est qu'en aucune partie de l'Empire les populations Chrétiennes ne seront ni directement ni indirectement tenues de concourir au paiement de l'impôt d'indemnité. Il est bien entendu en effet que les Musulmans seuls doivent être soumis aux conséquences de la mesure financière quelle qu'elle soit, qui sera ultérieurement adoptée.

M. Bédard demande en outre que des délégués Européens soient appelés à participer aux travaux de la Commission de répartition. Une telle mesure lui paraît être la conséquence nécessaire de la concession faite au Gouvernement local à l'égard des protégés, en faveur desquels le principe d'un arrangement particulier entre Fuad Pacha et les Commissaires respectifs n'a point été réservé.

Lord Dufferin ne voit aucune raison pour que la Commission revienne sur l'avis qu'elle a exprimé. 150,000,000 de piastres d'indemnités étaient le résultat du calcul le plus modéré auquel on pût se livrer sur les pertes subies par les Chrétiens de Damas, en ne comprenant encore dans cette évaluation ni bijoux, ni matières précieuses ni argent comptant. Quant aux délais fixés à la perception de l'impôt, Lord Dufferin a toujours été d'avis que la Commission s'était montrée trop rigoureuse à l'égard de Damas. Il est convaincu que, pour ne pas épuiser la force contributive de cette cité, on ne peut lui demander au plus que 10,000,000 de piastres par mois; mais en revanche il continue de croire que 40,000,000 n'excèdent pas la somme totale que Damas devrait fournir dans l'ensemble des ressources affectées au paiement de l'indemnité. Lord Dufferin est d'avis en outre que ce n'est pas sur la population, soit Musulmane, soit Chrétienne, de la province dans sa généralité, mais seulement sur Damas et les villages environnants compromis dans les désordres, que l'impôt pénal en question devrait porter.

M. le Commissaire Prussien rappelle que la Commission, en donnant son avis, il y a trois mois, sur cette question, avait été guidée par deux motifs: éviter les lenteurs d'une enquête judiciaire, et frapper Damas d'un impôt pénal. Les retards que le rappel de la Porte a entraînés dans le règlement de cette question ont déjà fait perdre aux Chrétiens tout le bénéfice du système qui n'avait été proposé que parce qu'il était sommaire et expéditif; et en ce qui concerne les Musulmans de Damas, la combinaison financière que propose la Porte n'a aucun rapport avec l'impôt pénal que la Commission avait en vue. M. de Rehfues ne cesse pas de croire que le plan d'indemnisation indiqué par la Commission était aussi expédient que modéré, et qu'il correspondait au minimum de ce que le Gouvernement Ottoman doit faire en faveur d'une population sujette du Sultan, et que la protection de son Souverain n'a pas empêché d'être chassée de ses foyers, soumise aux plus horribles traitements, et réduite en masse à la plus extrême misère.

M. le Commissaire Russe déclare n'avoir presque rien à ajouter à toutes les idées justes qui viennent d'être exprimées par ses collègues. Il renouvelle pour son compte la réserve faite par M. Bédard, et d'après laquelle les Chrétiens d'aucune localité ne doivent contribuer à la création des ressources nécessaires pour le paiement des 127,000,000, attribués dans le projet de la Commission aux victimes de Damas, abstraction faite de ce qui reviendrait aux établissements religieux indigènes, au sujet desquels le principe d'une enquête séparée a été et demeure admis d'un commun accord, les indemnités dues aux Consuls et nationaux étrangers seulement devant être l'objet d'un arrangement particulier entre Fuad Pacha et les Commissaires de chaque Puissance intéressée.

Son Excellence Fuad Pacha, manquant d'informations suffisantes pour soutenir contradictoirement, soit auprès de son Gouvernement, soit auprès de la Commission, l'un et l'autre des deux projets qui se trouvent en présence, va, dit-il, se rendre à Damas et y recueillir sur les lieux tous les renseignements dont il a besoin. Lors de son retour et même auparavant, s'il est nécessaire, il fera connaître à la Commission le résultat de son enquête.

Sur la proposition de M. Bédard, appuyée unanimement par la Commission, M. le Commissaire Ottoman s'engage à faire payer immédiatement par la population Musulmane de Damas un premier à-compte de 12,500,000 piastres. Fuad

Pacha promet de dépasser même le chiffre de 12,500,000 piastres, s'il trouve que cela soit possible, et prie la Commission de vouloir bien s'en remettre à lui sur ce dernier point.

Il est bien entendu d'ailleurs que, dans la pensée de la Commission, ce paiement d'un premier à-compte ne préjugera rien sur la fixation ultérieure et définitive du chiffre total de l'indemnité. Il est en outre convenu qu'une fois le chiffre fixé et le tableau de répartition établi, les Chrétiens, devenant pour ainsi dire les créanciers du Gouvernement, seront payés dans les délais de rigueur, et qu'il leur sera même loisible de transférer à des tiers, pour se procurer l'argent dont ils auraient besoin avant l'expiration de ces délais, les titres de créance dont ils seront munis.

MM. les Commissaires des cinq Puissances se proposent de mettre à profit l'absence de Fuad Pacha, en préparant un projet de réorganisation du Liban, au sujet duquel ils devront ultérieurement s'entendre avec son Excellence, avant de le transmettre à leurs Cours respectives.

La séance est levée à quatre heures et demie.

No. 526.

Lord Dufferin to Lord J. Russell.—(Received April 4.)

(No. 83.)

My Lord,

Beirut, March 28, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copy of a communication which has been addressed to the European Commissioners by Bishop Tobia and three other Maronite Prelates, denying all cognizance of the denunciatory lists furnished to his Excellency Fuad Pasha, and stating that the 4,600 names inscribed thereon were taken from a mixed army of 30,000 Mussulmans, Metualis, and Druses, of the Hauran, as well as of the Lebanon.

As these assertions differ materially from the account of the transaction I have felt it my duty to convey to your Lordship, it is necessary I should recapitulate the facts of the case.

By a reference to the Protocol of the tenth sitting of the Commission, it will be seen that it was determined to try those of the Druse nation supposed to be implicated in the disturbances of the Mountain, by the summary process of a court-martial; that death was the sole penalty the Court was declared competent to pronounce; and that only those persons were to be put upon their trial who were supposed to have instigated or directed the massacres, or who were denounced, "par la voix publique," as more particularly notorious for the atrocity of their crimes.

This decision was then followed by a discussion as to how Fuad Pasha was to ascertain the names of those who would come within the above categories, as his Excellency had justly observed that it would be necessary "d'avoir presque exclusivement recours aux dépositions des Chrétiens, et qu'alors il en redoublerait le nombre; si on lui demande 1,000 ou 1,500 têtes, et s'il consente à les faire tomber, il craint de s'exposer à l'accusation d'être plus Druse que les Druses eux-mêmes, et de répondre à un massacre par une boucherie."

In order to avoid this danger, it was agreed that recourse should be had to the intervention of the Christian Bishop, through whose influence it was hoped the denunciations might be restrained within reasonable limits; and it was agreed, on the proposition of Fuad Pasha, "que les notables de chaque localité seront invités par lui à faire devant leurs Chefs spirituels, et sous la foi du serment, les dépositions qui, sans être dans la plupart oculaires, serviront cependant de bases aux mises en accusations."

From the letter of the Prelates themselves it would appear that in compliance with the arrangement thus come to, an interview took place upon the subject between themselves and the Turkish Commissioner, the result of which we find recorded in the Protocol of the 16th Conference.

Abro Efendi, a Christian, and Fuad Pasha's delegate to the Commission, "constata à son tour que la conduite des Prélats Chrétiens ne paraît pas avoir été inspirée par un sentiment de justice Chrétienne qui devrait la caractériser. Ils ont d'abord dénoncé 4,600 personnes. M. le Plénipotentiaire Ottoman a dû leur faire remarquer qu'il s'agissait uniquement de condamnations à mort, et que le chiffre de

leurs dénonciations n'était point en rapport avec la gravité de cette peine. Ils ont alors, sur l'invitation de son Excellence, divisé leur liste en trois catégories, comprenant seulement dans la première les noms de ceux qui doivent être condamnés au dernier supplice. Cette première catégorie renferme encore, au grand étonnement du Haut Commissaire du Sultan, les noms de 1,200 individus, parmi lesquels son Excellence, après avoir communiqué les projets de sentences, se trouva dans le cas de faire exécuter seulement les plus coupables."

This statement of his delegate Fuad Pasha himself confirmed at the next meeting of the Commission (see 17th Protocol): "La Commission sait comment ces listes ont été dressées et quel nombre de dénonciations elles contiennent. Fuad Pasha entre dans de nouveaux détails à cet égard et confirme ceux qui ont déjà été donnés par Abro Efendi dans la précédente séance. Une première liste générale contenant 4,600 noms avait été dressée. Fuad Pasha, en égard au système de pénalité qu'il a résolu d'adopter, conformément au vœu de la Commission, a cru devoir demander aux Evêques une liste des principaux coupables. Les Evêques ont alors dressé trois listes d'accusations graduées selon le degré apparent de la culpabilité. La première de ces listes contient encore 1,200 noms d'individus accusés comme organisateurs, chefs des bandes, ou assassins."

In the presence of such a sequence of facts, and considering the notorious influence exercised by the spiritual Chiefs of the Maronites over their co-religionists, it seems impossible to admit the assertion of Bishop Tobia and his colleagues that they were not cognizant of the lists in question. It is possible perhaps, that Fuad Pasha was not quite exact when he stated that they were "dressed par les Evêques." This operation would naturally be performed by the Christian notables, but that it was done with the knowledge and approval of the Prelates in question can scarcely be questioned. Did any doubt exist upon the subject it would be set at rest by the following circumstances, the truth of which is vouched for by three persons who were present, two of them being Christians.

When Fuad Pasha required the number of denunciations to be reduced, it was for the Bishops as well as for the notables that he sent. The lists were canvassed in their presence; they took part in the discussion; and it was not until after a debate of upwards of three hours that his Excellency could obtain, not a reduction on the original figure of 4,600, but a division of that number into three classes: even so, 1,300 individuals remained still designated for death, and a person who was present, and took part in the discussion, states positively that when he hazarded a remonstrance against the enormous total, Bishop Tobia turned round on him, and said, "Hold your tongue, you'll spoil everything," or words to that effect.

It is now pretended that the names furnished to Fuad Pasha were merely "des renseignements propres à éclairer la justice," but the whole tenour of the proceedings I have narrated is inconsistent with such a supposition. If this had been the case how can we account for the subsequent refusal of the Christians to come forward with any supplementary evidence. Had the lists been regarded as nothing but a preliminary indication, a mere "renseignement," the difficulty with which all further testimony was withheld from the Court-martial at Mokhtara becomes unaccountable, and it is known that on that occasion the Maronite notables acted in accordance with the advice of their spiritual Chiefs. Such an interpretation of the transaction is, in fact, a disingenuous after-thought, and reflects but little credit on those who invented it. In this country, blood for blood is a formula consecrated by immemorial usage. The lists in question were drawn up in accordance with it, and the Maronite Bishops, to put the most favourable construction upon their conduct, seem at all events to have sanctioned, if they did not encourage, the application of this horrible doctrine.

I would wish, however, particularly to mention that none of the above observations ought to be referred to the clergy of the Greek Church. Their conduct on this occasion has been most moderate and humane, and although the loss of life among the members of their congregation has been probably greater than that among the Maronites, they have denounced but comparatively few persons. It is also to be observed that they have not signed the document now under our consideration.

Before concluding, I will pause to examine another remarkable assertion contained in the communication of the Maronite Prelates, as its extreme inexactitude will show with what caution their other statements ought to be received.

Referring to the proportion which the number of 4,500 might be supposed to bear to the total of those implicated in the late disturbances, the Maronite prelates state that the names in question are taken indiscriminately from a horde of Mussulmans, Metawali, and of Druses, not merely of the two Lebanons, but also of the Hauran, and that, therefore it is unfair to represent it as a per-centage on a population of 8,000 males. Now this assertion is simply untrue, and its falsehood is proved in the most obvious manner. The lists furnished to Fuad Pasha distinguish not only the nationality of each individual mentioned, but the name of the village of which he is an inhabitant. His Excellency Fuad Pasha has allowed me to have access to these lists, and they have been carefully examined by four persons. The result of this analysis, which has been repeated twice over, shows that the total of names sent in was not 4,500, but 4,946. Out of these 4,946 persons stated by the Bishops to represent a mingled array of Moslems, Metawali, and Druses of the Lebanons and the Hauran, it appears that only 633 are Moslems or Metawali, and that only four are inhabitants of the Hauran; the remaining 4,310 persons being Druses of the Lebanon.

According to the statistics which have been furnished to the Commission by the French and Austrian Consulates, but which the Austrian Consul and Commissioner tells me are not very accurate, it would appear that in Mount Lebanon Proper, there are no more than 5,000 taxable Druses, i. e., males, above the age of 15. On referring to the documents appealed to by the Bishops themselves, it would appear that out of this adult male population of 5,000, the names of no less than 3,479 persons, or about two-thirds of the adult population, have found their way into the lists of the Christians.

Such, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are the exact facts connected with this transaction.

As the letter of the Maronite prelates contains an express allusion to myself, and as it is probable copies of that document will be forwarded to the Governments of Europe, I should esteem it a great kindness if your Lordship would allow the narrative contained in this despatch to be communicated to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at the Courts of the Five Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN AND CLAREBOYE.

Inclosure in No. 521.

Petition.

A Messieurs les Membres de la Commission Internationale en Syrie.

C'EST avec affliction et douleur que nous avons lu dans "l'Indépendance Belge" du 11 Février l'article dont copie est ci-jointe. Si cet article calomnieux, appuyé sur les déclarations faites à la Chambre des Communes par Lord John Russell dans la séance du 8 Février, ne concernait que nous, nous ne nous serions point soucies de le réfuter; mais il s'agit ici des populations Chrétiennes que l'on cherche à représenter comme indignes des sympathies que leurs malheurs leur ont attirées de la part du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Sultan et des Grandes Puissances Européennes, venues si généreusement à leur secours. C'est donc un devoir pour nous de rétablir les faits, et ce qui nous encourage à l'accomplir, c'est, que nous savons que nous n'en appelons point en vain aux souvenirs de son Excellence Fuad Pacha, à la loyauté de Lord Dufferin dont la pensée n'a pu être que mal interprétée, et aux sentiments de justice des Représentants des Puissances Européennes.

Lorsque son Excellence Fuad Pacha a dû s'occuper de la répression des Druses, il a réuni chez lui six Evêques Chrétiens et les a priés de lui faire connaître ceux des notables Chrétiens, hommes consciencieux et au courant des événements, qui pourraient lui donner des indications sur les coupables. Les Evêques firent observer que le caractère dont ils étaient vêtus leur interdisait de s'immiscer dans une question qui était du ressort exclusif de la justice. Fuad Pacha reconnut la justesse de cette observation et s'empressa d'ajouter qu'il ne leur demandait pas de se substituer à la justice, mais de désigner seulement quelques personnes capables de le bien renseigner. Les Evêques désignèrent alors seize Chrétiens laïques choisis parmi les plus honorables qui furent chargés par son Excellence de lui fournir les renseignements dont elle avait besoin et qui

s'engagèrent par serment à ne dire que la vérité. Ces notables remirent quelques jours après à son Excellence une liste nominative de 4,500 Druses, Musulmans, et Métawalis habitant le Liban, l'Anti-Liban, et le Hauran, et pris parmi 30,000 combattants et non pas seulement parmi 8,000 Druses comme le prétend "l'Indépendance Belge," en indiquant la nature des crimes qui étaient reprochés à chacun des individus compris dans la liste. Son Excellence fit de nouveau appeler les Evêques pour leur dire qu'elle savait fort bien que tous les Druses étaient criminels, mais que le nombre désigné à la justice était trop considérable, et qu'il fallait se borner à désigner les plus coupables. Les Evêques répondirent qu'ils n'avaient connaissance ni de la liste ni des individus qui y étaient portés, et que vu leur caractère il ne leur convenait point de se mêler de cette affaire. Mais les seize notables Chrétiens appelés de nouveau par Fuad Pacha, répondirent que la liste qu'ils avaient remise sur son ordre n'était qu'un renseignement propre à éclairer la justice, et que bien certainement ni eux ni la population Chrétienne ne songaient à demander que la répression atteignît un aussi grand nombre de victimes. Toutefois sur la demande de son Excellence ils réduisirent alors la liste à 1,200 des plus compromis, laissant à la justice le soin d'établir leur culpabilité et au Gouvernement celui de fixer l'étendue et le nombre des châtimens.

Les Evêques n'ont point eu à se mêler de la répression, et les notables n'ont eu pour mission que de fournir à titre de renseignements les indications que son Excellence avait elle-même demandées. Quant au document dont il a été parlé à la Chambre des Communes les Evêques sous-signés déclarent qu'ils n'ont jamais signé une pièce de cette nature et qu'on serait dans l'impossibilité d'en produire aucune.

Tels sont les faits; en les rappelant au souvenir de la Commission, les Evêques sous-signés osent lui demander, au nom des Chrétiens auxquels on cherche à enlever par cette étrange calomnie les sympathies du monde civilisé, de vouloir bien faire connaître cette déclaration à leurs Gouvernements respectifs et de la livrer à la publicité afin que l'intérêt dont les Chrétiens de Syrie sont l'objet ne puisse être amoindri par la pensée qu'ils ont pu s'en montrer indignes.

Beirut, le 15 Mars, 1861.

(Signé)

TOBIA AOUN, Evêque de Beyrouth.

BOTROS BOSTANI, Evêque de St. Jean d'Acre.

BASILIOS CHAHIAT, Evêque de Zahlé et Beca.

MATATHIOS, Evêque de Haulbre et Dépendances.